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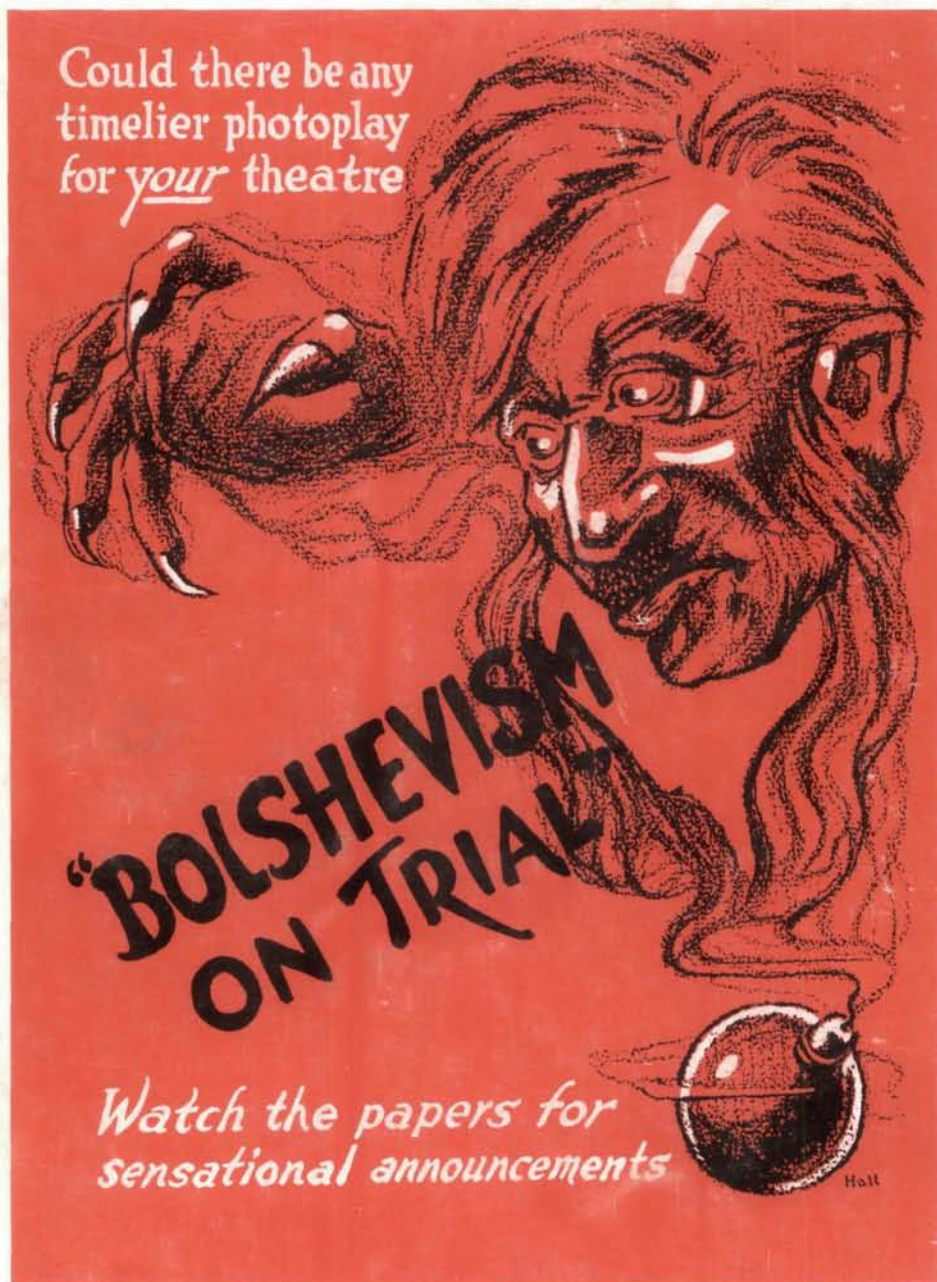
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The American Historical Review

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In This Issue

Recent studies by American and European specialists on mass culture have challenged the long-established view that amusement parks, movies, radio, and television were tools of the elite used to manipulate passive audiences. To the argument that ordinary people were creative receivers of these cultural products, **Steven J. Ross** adds that they were also producers of mass culture. Early in this century, American radicals and labor organizations made feature films and newsreels that challenged the representations of political and economic struggle shown in establishment films. In response, industry leaders, federal agencies, and state censors tried to block worker films, thus demonstrating that mass culture could become an arena of struggle between various groups and classes. This early twentieth-century struggle within the motion picture industry was to shape its ideology and subsequent development.

Melissa L. Meyer offers an example of a new approach to American Indian history. She deploys a world-systems model as a framework for exploring the loss of reservation land. On Minnesota's White Earth reservation, the two ethnic groups of the Anishinaabeg (Chippewa) managed to coexist, adapt, and maintain their autonomy into this century. Business and political interests from the outside, however, used the removal of restrictions by the U.S. government on allotted land in 1906 to penetrate the reservation and destroy the ecological and economic relationships that had allowed the Anishinaabeg to be self-sufficient.

Our *AHR Forum* focuses on labor history, specifically, the well-known troika of labor economists at the University of Wisconsin: Richard T. Ely, John R. Commons, and Selig Perlman. **Leon Fink** analyzes the conceptual separation between "workers" and "intellectuals" that academy and labor leaders enforced as a condition of the dual roles, political and scholarly, of these men. In the case of Perlman, an academic climate of anti-Semitism deepened a sense of alienation. Fink wonders if the "new labor historians" have been sufficiently sensitive to the conditions that confronted and constrained these "labor intellectuals." **Ellen Fitzpatrick** takes Fink to task for limiting the intellectual history of labor to the history of the relationship of academic intellectuals to organized labor. This approach ignores the champions of the unskilled and unorganized, who took a more radical path. The Wisconsin School cannot therefore serve as a model for all of the intellectual history of labor. In this connection, she argues that Fink fails to acknowledge the responsibility of the Wisconsin scholars for the intellectual limitations and political vulnerability of their views. **Leon Fink** offers a brief rebuttal.

Everard H. Smith looks at the destruction of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, by occupying Confederate troops and finds the roots of this action in cultural misunderstanding. Southern officers and men prided themselves on their initially respectful treatment of the local inhabitants. But when the German-American women of the town failed to respond with the deference the invaders expected from "social inferiors," the soldiers reacted with dehumanizing comments that psychologically prepared the ground for the later burning of the city. Smith defines the act as a Southern charivari against a Northern community that offended the mores of the invaders. The destruction of Chambersburg, according to Smith, was a watershed in the mounting violence of the two armies against civilian populations.

Steven F. Lawson uses the 18-volume series on Martin Luther King, Jr. edited by David J. Garrow as a point of departure for a review of work on the Civil Rights Movement. He sees the focus of interest shifting away from national institutions and leaders to community-based organizations, from political and legal history to social history, and from Eurocentric to Afrocentric sources. But many important topics remain to be explored, according to Lawson, including indigenous black and radical strains of protest before 1954, the central and varied roles of women in the struggle, the black church traditions that shaped the outlook of King and other leaders, and the internal struggles of the Civil Rights Movement that belie the homogeneous picture of it that now dominates popular memory.

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Contributors

A professor of history at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and currently a Fellow at the National Humanities Center, **Leon Fink** was a student of the late Herbert G. Gutman at the University of Rochester. He is author of *Workingmen's Democracy: The Knights of Labor and American Politics* (1983) and co-author of *Upheaval in the Quiet Zone: The History of Hospital Workers' Union, Local 1199* (1989). Trained as a labor historian, with strong interests in politics and culture, Fink is writing a larger collection on intellectuals and America's working people, 1890–1940.

Ellen Fitzpatrick is an assistant professor of history at Harvard University. She received her doctorate in history from Brandeis University. The author of *Endless Crusade: Women Social Scientists and Progressive Reform* (1990), she is currently working on a study of women intellectuals during the interwar period. A forthcoming essay in the *American Quarterly*, "Caroline Ware and the Cultural Approach to History," explores several of the salient themes in her current research.

Steven F. Lawson is a professor of history at the University of South Florida, Tampa. His published works include *Black Ballots: Voting Rights in the South, 1944–1969* (1976), *In Pursuit of Power: Southern Blacks and Electoral Politics, 1965–1982* (1985), and *Running for Freedom: Civil Rights and Black Politics in America since 1941* (1991). Lawson has studied the expansion of black suffrage for over two decades as an outgrowth of his interest in national politics, African Americans, and the South. He received his doctorate from Columbia University (1974), where he studied with William E. Leuchtenburg. An adviser to *Eyes on the Prize, I and II*, he is currently researching the adoption of majority-vote requirements in Georgia elections and Lyndon Johnson's relations with black leaders.

Melissa L. Meyer is an assistant professor of history at the University of California at Los Angeles who specializes in American Indian history. She was a pre-doctoral fellow at the D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian during 1984–1985 and completed her doctorate at the University of Minnesota in 1985. She has been employed by both the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe and the Indian Claims Section of the Department of Justice. Her published works include "Signatures and Thumbprints: Ethnicity among the White Earth Anishinaabeg, 1889–1920," *Social Science History*, 14 (1990): 305–45. She has a book titled *The White Earth Tragedy: Ethnicity and Dispossession at a Minnesota Anishinaabe Reservation, 1889–1920* forthcoming from the University of Nebraska Press.

Steven J. Ross, an associate professor of history at the University of Southern California, did his graduate work at Oxford University and Princeton University. He is author of *Workers on the Edge: Work, Leisure, and Politics in Industrializing Cincinnati, 1788–1890* (1985), and numerous articles on working-class life in nineteenth-century America, such as "Cinema and Class Conflict: Labor, Capital, the State and American Silent Film," in John Milton Cooper, Jr., and Charles E. Neu, eds., *The Wilson Era: Essays in Honor of Arthur S. Link* (1990). Ross is now working on a book-length study of audience response during the rise and fall of the first American worker-film movement.

Everard H. Smith is special assistant to the chancellor of the University of North Carolina at Wilmington. Educated at Yale University and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where he studied with Frank W. Klingberg, he specializes in Civil War military history as well as the interrelationship of war and society. Currently, he is at work on a full-length study of the campaign in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia in 1864.

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Struggles for the Screen: Workers, Radicals, and the Political Uses of Silent Film

STEVEN J. ROSS

ON A SATURDAY AFTERNOON IN OCTOBER 1913, hundreds of thousands of people throughout the United States witnessed an amazing series of events. Carla Wayne, a laundress tired of eking out a living in the slums, led her co-workers in a militant strike for better wages and working conditions. A few minutes later, Dan Grayson and a group of iron molders, enraged by a factory explosion that killed several of their mates, launched a strike to gain union recognition. Thwarting attacks by company-hired thugs and antilabor city councilmen, the molders quickly succeeded in winning their demands. Inspired by these victories, working-class voters swept the Socialist party into office and cheered as newly elected Governor Dan Grayson signed a right-to-work bill that plunged the state into socialism. When Carla, Dan's ally during the campaign, accepted his marriage proposal, the extraordinary two hours came to an end. Theater lights went on and audiences, their hands red from clapping and throats sore from cheering, slowly made their way home. *From Dusk to Dawn*, the "first film to carry the clearcut message of class consciousness," had reached its happy conclusion.¹

What viewers saw that afternoon was not an isolated cultural product but part of a grass-roots campaign by workers, labor organizations, and radicals to make films that would educate and politicize millions of Americans. Although film scholars have generally pointed to the late 1920s and 1930s as the birth of radical filmmaking in the United States, workers and radicals had begun producing feature films nearly two decades earlier. In this country, as well as in England, France, Belgium, Germany, and Holland, labor and the Left used the newest medium of mass culture, the movies, as a political weapon in their struggles for greater justice and power. Unknown to modern audiences and largely unchronicled by scholars, these pioneering efforts at creating an oppositional cinema deserve our attention and consideration.²

The research for this article was made possible by grants from the John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation and from the Faculty Research and Innovation Fund of the University of Southern California. I would like to thank Ed Berenson, Kevin Brownlow, Bob Edelman, Dana Frank, Ron Gottesman, Linda Kent, Gary Kornblith, Arthur Link, Jeff Lipkis, Lary May, David Montgomery, Ed Perkins, Roy Rosenzweig, Dan Schiller, and the members of the Los Angeles Social History Study Group and the Working-Class History Seminar of the Pittsburgh Center for Social History for their valuable comments and criticisms.

¹ *Los Angeles Citizen*, October 10, 1913.

² The Parisian General Confederation of Labor began making films as early as 1911. By 1914, trade unionists and socialists in Belgium, England, Holland, and Germany also produced, distributed, and exhibited movies and newsreels. For radical filmmaking efforts by Americans during the late 1920s and 1930s, see William Alexander, *Film on the Left: American Documentary Film from 1931 to 1942* (Princeton, N.J., 1981); Russell Campbell, *The Cinema Strikes Back: Radical Filmmaking in the United States 1930-1942* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1982); Bert Hogenkamp, "Worker's Newsreels in the 1920s and 1930s," *Our History*,

Since the late 1920s, American scholars of mass culture, and of movies in particular, have focused on one of three themes: mass culture as a form of social control or escapism, the extent to which movies shape or reflect society, and the presentation of “images” on the screen of women, blacks, immigrants, or ethnic groups. These familiar approaches ignore two critical issues: the uses of mass culture by segments of the masses themselves and the material processes involved in producing mass culture. Amusement parks, movies, radio, and television are all too frequently seen as activities imposed on audiences. Workers are consistently portrayed as passive consumers of culture and rarely as actors capable of producing culture. There is very little sense of the ways in which ordinary men and women responded to these new cultural endeavors. Consequently, many scholars have held that mass culture lulled the working classes into believing they were happier than they really were and, in so doing, diverted energies that might otherwise have gone into constructive political action.³

The longstanding influence of Frankfurt School theories about mass culture and uncritical applications of Gramscian notions of hegemony have contributed to our limited view of mass culture. Writing in the 1930s and 1940s, when European fascism and American mass culture and consumption appeared to be the greatest threats to democracy, Frankfurt theorists such as Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Leo Lowenthal, and Herbert Marcuse portrayed mass culture as a degraded entity used to manipulate, pacify, and control the populace. Ruling elites and bourgeois capitalists, they insisted, employed mass culture to set the dominant values of society and deflect major political challenges through the peaceful imposition of diversionary forms of culture and amusement. Movies, radio, records, and television, argued Horkheimer and Adorno, were used by capitalists to turn attention away from the real problems of the world and encourage people to become passive consumers rather than powerful actors. Mass culture was also utilized to homogenize autonomous ethnic and working-class values and to portray bourgeois values as classless “American” values. Only Walter Benjamin stressed the liberating possibilities of mass culture and its potential uses by workers to promote greater collective consciousness and action. But his theories and influence were overshadowed by those of his colleagues.⁴

pamphlet 68 (1977); and special issue on “American Labor Films,” *Film Library Quarterly*, 12 (1979). For silent films and newsreels made by European and Russian workers and radicals, see Stephen G. Jones, *The British Labour Movement and Film, 1918–1939* (London, 1987); Bert Hogenkamp, *Deadly Parallels: Film and the Left in Britain, 1929–1939* (London, 1986); Vance Kepley, “The Workers’ International Relief and the Cinema of the Left 1921–1935,” *Cinema Journal*, 23 (Fall 1983): 7–23; R. Taylor, *The Politics of the Soviet Cinema, 1917–1929* (Cambridge, 1979); Peter Kenez, “The Cultural Revolution in Cinema,” *Slavic Review*, 47 (Fall 1988): 414–33; Robert Sklar and Charles Musser, eds., *Resisting Images: Essays on Cinema and History* (Philadelphia, 1990).

³ The literature on American mass culture is so voluminous that I offer only a few key works in different areas. The themes of social control, deception, or homogenization are pursued in Robert S. Lynd and Helen Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in Modern American Culture* (New York, 1929); Daniel Bell, *The End of Ideology* (New York, 1962); John Kasson, *Amusing the Millions: Coney Island at the Turn of the Century* (New York, 1978); Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture* (New York, 1976); Stanley Aronowitz, *False Promises: The Shaping of American Working-Class Consciousness* (New York, 1973); Christopher Lasch, *The Culture of Narcissism* (New York, 1979).

⁴ For key works and overviews of the Frankfurt School, see Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, “The Culture of Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception,” in *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, John Cumming, trans. (New York, 1972); Herbert Marcuse, *Negations: Essays in Critical Theory*, Jeremy Shapiro, trans. (Boston, 1968); Walter Benjamin, “The Work of Art in an Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” in *Illuminations*, Harry Zohn, trans. (New York, 1969); Andrew Arato and Eike Gebhardt, eds., *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader* (New York, 1982); David Held, *Introduction to Critical*

These dark views of mass culture were kept alive by New York intellectuals of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, and by radical scholars of the 1970s and 1980s. Expressing the fears of the former group, sociologist Bernard Rosenberg speculated in 1957 that "mass culture threatens not merely to cretinize our taste, but to brutalize our sense while paving the way to totalitarianism." During the 1970s and 1980s, radicals such as Stanley Aronowitz and Stuart and Elizabeth Ewen drew on social control and *embourgeoisment* critiques to produce works echoing Marcuse's early view that mass culture was capable of the "systematic moronization of children and adults alike."⁵

The problem with these analyses has less to do with the theories than with the ways in which scholars have applied them. "Hegemony" has become the buzzword of modern cultural analysis, a concept that many know but whose operation few can describe. A teleological determinism has penetrated historical analyses of mass culture. That is, knowing how things turned out, we assume the triumph of bourgeois hegemony over emerging forms of mass culture and simply chart its subsequent development. Even fine social historians of film such as Robert Sklar and Lary May fall victim to such oversights. Both document the early struggles between middle-class reformers and emerging movie entrepreneurs in which an accommodation was reached and the industry went on to develop an essentially capitalist, middle-class view of American life. Yet Sklar and May overlook another group contesting for power and influence over motion pictures: workers and radicals.⁶

What is lost in these approaches is an analysis of the actual class struggles surrounding the making, reception, and uses of mass culture. Only recently have historians challenged monochromatic portrayals of workers as the dupes of mass culture. In Europe, Raymond Williams, Richard Hoggart, Stuart Hall, and scholars at the Birmingham University Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies have demonstrated the variety of ways in which the "masses" receive and transform cultural forms to serve their own interests. In the United States, Roy Rosenzweig, Frank Couvares, Kathy Peiss, and Elizabeth Cohen reject social-control models and show how workers and immigrants recast various forms of mass culture to further specific class, gender, and ethnic needs. Yet, while these studies sharpen our

Theory: Horkheimer to Habermas (Berkeley, Calif., 1980); Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research, 1923–1950* (Boston, 1973); Susan Buck-Morss, *The Origin of Negative Dialectics: Theodor W. Adorno, Walter Benjamin and the Frankfurt School* (Sussex, 1977).

⁵ Bernard Rosenberg, "Mass Culture in America," in Bernard Rosenberg and David Manning White, eds., *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America* (Glencoe, Ill., 1957), 9; Marcuse quoted in Donald Lazare, "Introduction: Entertainment as Social Control," in Donald Lazare, ed., *American Media and Mass Culture: Left Perspectives* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), 7; for various American views of mass culture between the 1940s and early 1980s, see *ibid.*; Rosenberg and White, *Mass Culture*; Neil J. Munro, "The New York Intellectuals and Mass Culture Criticism," *Journal of American Culture*, 12 (Spring 1989): 87–95; Jay, *Dialectical Imagination*, 217–18; Stuart Ewen and Elizabeth Ewen, *Channels of Desire: Mass Images and the Shaping of American Consciousness* (New York, 1982); and the sources in note 3. For recent debates over mass culture, see "Scholarly Controversy: Mass Culture," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 37 (Spring 1990): 2–40.

⁶ Robert Sklar, *Movie-Made America: A Cultural History of American Movies* (New York, 1975); Lary May, *Screening Out the Past: The Birth of Mass Culture and the Motion Picture Industry* (New York, 1980). Gramsci's theory of hegemony and the subsequent academic fascination with it are described in Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, trans. (New York, 1971); T. J. Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities," *AHR*, 90 (June 1985): 567–93.

understanding of the vibrant cultural struggles between different groups and classes, they still portray mass culture as something produced from above.⁷

Building on these works, this article examines workers not just as creative receivers but as actual producers of mass culture. Beginning in 1907 and blossoming after World War I, various American workers, labor organizations, and radicals created their own working-class film movement. It produced entertaining features and newsreels that addressed the political concerns of the day and challenged the anti-Left images of studio features. For millions of Americans, movies and newsreels made by workers and capitalist filmmakers were important political documents, as well as forms of entertainment, that allowed them to see a different construction of what was happening in the nation.

We need to redirect the study of movies and mass culture by analyzing the actual historical processes by which a bourgeois-oriented mass culture prevailed. While movies ultimately came under the control of big business, it was not foreordained that they should do so. Someone or some group had to make it happen. Between 1900 and 1930, when the class character of the movies was still being formed, workers and radicals battled with movie industry personnel, local and state censors, and federal agencies to define the images and political content of silent films. These early struggles are critical to our own times, for their outcome affected the subsequent development of the motion picture industry and its ideology.

By employing little-used sources drawn from labor, film, and political history, I have uncovered a number of "unknown" movies and newsreels made by trade unionists, labor organizations, socialists, and communists between 1907 and 1929. The leaders of this movement were not filmmakers who happened to be radicals, as was the case in the 1930s and 1940s, but members of labor and radical organizations who used film to portray their cause visually. Their story includes three themes: how and why American workers, socialists, and labor organizations used films to oppose capitalist domination; the kinds of movies they made; and why their efforts ultimately failed. This quest to create a proletarian cinema passed through several stages: the sporadic but steady rise of worker-made films that responded to the antilabor productions of the film industry (1907 to 1917), the formation of working-class film companies that endeavored to regularize production and distribution (1918 to the late 1920s), and the decline of this first generation of worker-filmmakers and the onset of similar battles to participate in another medium of mass culture—radio (late 1920s to early 1930s).

⁷ Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford, 1977); Raymond Williams, *Problems in Materialism and Culture* (London, 1980); Raymond Williams, *The Sociology of Culture* (New York, 1982); Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy* (London, 1958); Stuart Hall, "Notes on Deconstructing 'the Popular,'" in Raphael Samuels, ed., *People's History and Socialist Theory* (London, 1981), 227–40; Stuart Hall, et al., eds., *Culture, Media, Language* (London, 1980); Michael Green, "The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies," in Peter Widdowson, ed., *Re-Reading English* (London, 1982), 77–90; Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870–1920* (Cambridge, 1983); Francis G. Couvares, *The Remaking of Pittsburgh: Class and Culture in an Industrializing City, 1877–1919* (Albany, N.Y., 1984); Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia, 1986); Lizabeth Cohen, "Encountering Mass Culture at the Grassroots: The Experience of Chicago Workers in the 1920s," *American Quarterly*, 41 (March 1989): 6–33; Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919–1939* (Cambridge, 1990). Two recent collections that contain a number of similar approaches to mass culture are Lazare, *American Media and Mass Culture*; and Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, eds., *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Urbana, Ill., 1988).

FEW FORMS OF ENTERTAINMENT have had a more meteoric rise than the movies. The low cost of making and exhibiting early films and the tremendous appeal of a new medium that required no English-language skills sparked the rapid proliferation of nickelodeons and small theaters throughout the country. Early movies were “mass culture” in two senses: they reached great numbers of people, and they were patronized largely by what reviewers called the “working masses.” By 1910, 26 million Americans, nearly 30 percent of the nation’s population, flocked to the movies each week. Four years later, the popularity of movies was so great that every town larger than 4,000 had at least one movie house. By 1920, over 15,000 movie theaters served over 50 million Americans, nearly one half the population. “The motion picture,” boasted movie czar Will Hays in 1922, had become the “principal amusement of the majority of all the people.”⁸

Film scholars have debated when middle-class viewers first started going to the movies, but it is clear that workers and their families comprised the bulk of the moviegoing population before World War I. “The picture theater,” remarked one film periodical in 1910, “is pre-eminently the theater of the working man.” It was in the “densely populated foreign and labor quarters of the industrial cities,” observed early film historian Terry Ramsaye, that movies found their greatest audience. A survey conducted in New York in 1912 found that 70 percent of audiences were blue-collar workers, 25 percent clericals, and 5 percent business class. During the next several years, the class composition slowly changed as entrepreneurs opened elegant “movie palaces” that attracted more middle-class patrons. Yet, as late as 1924, the Motion Picture Theater Owners’ Association insisted that “80% of the movie patrons were either poor or only moderately well off.”⁹

Movies were seldom just vehicles of entertainment. While primarily aimed at amusing audiences and making money, they were also part of a growing battleground for control of consciousness and class loyalties. While some middle-class reformers and religious leaders condemned films for their immoral and corrupting influence, other groups and classes seized on their potential to reach large audiences with partisan ideas about society, authority, and class relations. Before the rise of expensive, multireel features severely limited access to the screen, the modest cost of making a one or two-reel film—\$500 to \$1,000 in most instances—allowed a wide range of reformers, religious organizations, manufacturers, and government agencies to make movies advancing their various causes. And the enormous demand for new films meant that many of these productions were shown in local movie houses. Thus, in addition to the usual array of comedies, melodramas, and adventure stories, audiences saw films advocating women’s suffrage,

⁸ *New York Call*, February 25, 1922. For attendance figures, see Russell Merritt, “Nickelodeon Theaters 1905–1914: Building an Audience for the Movies,” in Tino Balio, ed., *The American Film Industry* (Madison, Wis., 1976), 63; *Chicago Daily Worker*, April 14, 1924.

⁹ *The Film Index*, September 10, 1910; Terry Ramsaye, “The Motion Picture,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 127 (November 1926): 15; *Chicago Daily Worker*, January 28, 1924. Survey figures are quoted in May, *Screening Out the Past*, 164. The changing nature of audiences is explored in Merritt, “Nickelodeon Theaters,” 59–82; Robert C. Allen, “Motion Picture Exhibition in Manhattan, 1906–1912: Beyond the Nickelodeon,” *Cinema Journal*, 18 (Spring 1979): 2–15; Alan Havig, “The Commercial Amusement Audience in Early 20th-Century American Cities,” *Journal of American Culture*, 5 (Spring 1982): 1–19; Douglas Gomery, “Movie Audiences, Urban Geography, and the History of American Film,” *The Velvet Light Trap Review of Cinema*, 19 (Spring 1982): 23–29; Garth Jowett, *Film: The Democratic Art* (Boston, 1976); Sklar, *Movie-Made America*; May, *Screening Out the Past*.

prison reform, the abolition of child labor, aid for widowed mothers, and the efforts by businesses to ensure greater safety in the workplace.¹⁰

Yet workers and radicals went further than any of these groups in exploiting the overtly political potential of film. Beginning in 1907, when a union-conscious movie-house manager in Cleveland made and exhibited to packed houses films of Cripple Creek, Colorado—the site of a recent major strike—workers, labor organizations, and socialists throughout the nation began making and using movies to educate, entertain, and politicize a mass public.¹¹ In order to understand why and how labor and radical organizations used movies, we need to examine the historical context in which this movement emerged. The images and ideologies that appeared on the screen did not develop in a historical vacuum but were closely linked to the bitter class conflicts throughout the nation.

Union interest in film was initially prompted by the proliferation of antilabor movies that accompanied the Open Shop movement during the first decades of the century. Films such as *The Blacksmith's Strike* (1907), *The Molly Maguires, or, Labor Wars in the Coal Mines* (1908), *Awakened Memories* (1909), *The Hero Engineer* (1910), *Tim Mahoney, the Scab* (1911), and *The Strike* (1912) offered negative depictions of workers, unions, and labor struggles. "In these films," complained the *New York Call*, a socialist and militant trade union daily, "working men and women on strike are pictured as brutal monsters, constantly attacking, beating, abusing or robbing the good, angelic, heroic strikebreakers who are always wronged and abused persons . . . These anti-trades union pictures have been used so frequently and hatred against the organized working class is so carefully cultivated by them, there can be no doubt but it is part of a deliberate campaign to discredit and injure the unions."¹²

By 1910, movies dealing with aspects of class conflict had grown so numerous that we can speak of a genre contemporary reviewers dubbed "Labor-Capital" movies. Films within this genre did not impose a single "capitalist" vision on audiences but offered a variety of ideological perspectives. *Why?* (1913) and *The*

¹⁰ Films produced by these organizations are most thoroughly discussed in Kay Sloan, *Loud Silents: Origins of the Social Problem Film* (Urbana, Ill., 1988); Lewis Jacobs, *The Rise of American Film: A Critical History* (New York, 1968); Myron Loundsbury, "'Flashes of Lightening': The Moving Picture in the Progressive Era," *Journal of Popular Culture*, 3 (Spring 1970): 769–97; Kevin Brownlow, *Behind the Mask of Innocence* (New York, 1990); Steven J. Ross, "The Unknown Hollywood," *History Today*, 40 (April 1990): 40–46; Steven J. Ross, "Cinema and Class Conflict: Labor, Capital, the State and American Silent Film," in John Milton Cooper, Jr., and Charles E. Neu, eds., *The Wilson Era: Essays in Honor of Arthur S. Link* (Arlington Heights, Ill., 1990); Thomas Brandon, "Populist Film," unpublished manuscript, Thomas Brandon Collection, Film Studies Center, Museum of Modern Art, New York City (hereafter, MOMA).

¹¹ *Cleveland Citizen*, September 14, October 26, 1907. I interpret "politics" in its broadest sense, that is, as an arena of power aimed at influencing or gaining control over others—be it family, friends, co-workers, community, or nation.

¹² *New York Call*, July 10, 1911; also see Philip Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, Vol. 3: (1900–1909) (New York, 1964). My analysis of the depictions of workers, unions, and radicals is informed by my viewing of 175 films made between 1898 and 1929. Whenever possible, I use surviving films to illustrate particular points. I found labor and socialist periodicals, many of which contain film reviews, movie gossip columns, and stories about the "stars," an invaluable and underutilized source of information about film and ideology (in particular, *New York Call*, *Los Angeles Citizen*, *Chicago New Majority*, *Seattle Union Record*, and *Chicago and New York Daily Worker*). Other sources that were especially useful in leading me to silent films about workers and radicals are *The American Film Institute Catalog of Motion Pictures Produced in the United States*, 6 vols. (Berkeley, Calif., 1971–88); Kemp R. Niver, *Early Motion Pictures: The Paper Print Collection in the Library of Congress* (Washington, D.C., 1985); *The George Kleine Collection of Early Motion Pictures in the Library of Congress*, prepared by Rita Horowitz and Harriet Harrison (Washington, D.C., 1980); Richard Fauss, *A Bibliography of Labor History in Newsfilm*, 4 vols. (Morgantown, W.Va., 1980); Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration, *The Film Index*, 3 vols. (New York, 1941, 1985).

Jungle (1914), adapted from Upton Sinclair's novel, presented powerful defenses of socialism and its vision of a cooperative commonwealth. *The Long Strike* (1911), *The Struggle* (1913), *The Lost Paradise* (1914), and *The Blacklist* (1916), though less radical, advanced positive depictions of unions, strikes, and strikers. Audiences also saw a number of anti-authoritarian films, such as those made by Charlie Chaplin or Mack Sennett of Keystone Kops fame, which, while not directly challenging capitalism, mocked the authority of foremen, judges, police, and employers.¹³

Pro-labor films, however, were greatly outnumbered by ideologically conservative features that attacked unions and radicals and by liberal films sympathetic to individual workers but not to collective action. Through a careful reading of surviving films, we can see how producers imparted a variety of capitalist images and fantasies about working-class life through the repeated use of similar story lines, stock images, editing techniques, casting, and choreography. Drawing on caricatures created in the wake of the Haymarket riots of 1886, conservative filmmakers consistently portrayed strikes and radical movements as led by a handful of foreign-born agitators who relied on violence and duped good but dim-witted workers into serving their own selfish ends. "Intertitles" were not needed to convey these messages, for, to paraphrase movie critic and baseball star Yogi Berra, audiences could see a lot just by looking. In *The Nihilists* (1905), *The Voice of the Violin* (1909), and *The Dynamiters* (1911), socialist and anarchist men are depicted as East European foreigners with disheveled hair, wild beards, and bulging eyes that shine with madness. Their female counterparts dress in male clothes and look like "modern" women but are decidedly unfeminine women. Scenes of meetings offer no insights into radical politics but focus on bizarre initiation rituals and the inevitable throwing of a bomb.¹⁴

Organized labor came in for similar vilification. In *The Iconoclast* (1910), *A Poor Relation* (1914), and *Bill Joins the WWWs* (1915), union leaders are unshaven, slovenly men who look more like immigrants than like "real Americans." Collective action is condemned or ridiculed through the costuming and placement of actors. Rank-and-file workers are always dressed in similar outfits, while their leader is a Svengali figure who stands apart from the crowd and mesmerizes them into blind obedience. A strike scene in *A Poor Relation* depicts factory workers as a frenzied, unruly mob that moves as one, acts as one, and unleashes violence with no purpose other than wanton destruction. When strikers are beaten and clubbed by mounted police, the dominant impression conveyed is that they deserve their fate. The camera shows us that the forces of the state never initiate violence, they only respond to it. None of these films provides an explanation of the grievances that sparked protest.¹⁵

Even seemingly sympathetic films proved problematic for organized labor. Reflecting the dominant modes of Progressive Era thought, many liberal films deplored extremes in class conditions and denounced great wealth as well as dire

¹³ For examples of anti-authority films, see *The Coal Heavers* (1904), *The Eviction* (1904), *The Kleptomaniac* (1905), *The Misadventures of a Sheriff* (1909). Copies of the first three films can be found in the Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division of the Library of Congress (henceforth, LC). Discussions of "Labor-Capital" films can be found in Brandon, "Populist Film;" MOMA; Sloan, *Loud Silents*; Jacobs, *Rise of American Film*; Philip Sterling, "A Channel for Democratic Thought," *Films*, 1 (Spring 1940): 8–14; Peter Stead, *Film and the Working Class: The Feature Film in British and American Society* (London, 1989); Brownlow, *Behind the Mask*. For a discussion of the anti-authoritarian aspects of Charlie Chaplin's movies, see Charles Musser, "Work, Ideology and Chaplin's Tramp," *Radical History Review*, 41 (Spring 1988): 36–66.

¹⁴ Copies of these films are housed, respectively, at the LC, MOMA, and LC.

¹⁵ All three films are at the LC.

poverty. *The Mill Girl* (1907), *Children Who Labor* (1912), and many of D. W. Griffith's works, such as *The Song of the Shirt* (1908), *A Corner in Wheat* (1909), *The Lily of the Tenements* (1911), and *Intolerance* (1916), show how poor-but-honest working men and women (most often women) are badly treated by their bosses. Yet the limitations of Progressive ideology are also evident in these films. Individual capitalists are lambasted but never capitalism. Despite their sympathy for workers, these films rarely offer solutions to the workers' plight. Self-activity or collective action are never presented as viable responses. Instead, workers are advised to keep at their labor and patiently await outside intervention by ministers, government officials, or middle-class reformers.¹⁶

Trade unionists and radicals grew increasingly worried about the negative public impact of these films, for they appeared at a critical period in union organizing activities. The American Federation of Labor (AFL), whose membership rose from 625,000 in 1900 to 1.6 million in 1910, was fighting to increase its national power and legitimacy, while the more radical Western Federation of Miners and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) were gaining strength on the western frontier. Similarly, Socialist party candidates were capturing local offices around the country, and, after garnering nearly 1 million votes in the 1912 presidential campaign, the party was ready to challenge the Democrats and Republicans. The repeated appearance of antiunion, antiradical films deeply concerned these organizations because the people they were trying to recruit comprised the majority of the moviegoing public. Union leaders and socialists had already complained about capitalist newspapers either distorting or ignoring their struggles, and the prospect of another medium of mass culture turning against them seemed daunting indeed.¹⁷

Beginning in 1910, labor and radical organizations around the country launched aggressive campaigns to stop these visual assaults. In August, Chicago socialists and Washington, D.C., trade unionists called for a national boycott of movie houses "that display lurid scenes of . . . so-called strikers, blowing up bridges and committing other depredations."¹⁸ Two months later, AFL convention delegates passed a resolution condemning films that "prejudice the minds of the general public against our movement by falsely and maliciously misrepresenting it." Unionists were urged to pressure theater managers and boycott houses that ran antilabor films. These instructions were heeded. When a Brooklyn theater showed a movie depicting "alleged outrages by miners during a strike," working-class patrons responded by walking out en masse.¹⁹

Workers, labor organizations, and socialists also began to produce their own feature films. Such efforts at politicizing popular culture were not unprecedented, for various workers and radicals were already using the stage to convey their messages to local audiences. Others believed that film offered a more powerful medium and could reach a larger and more diverse population. Millions of

¹⁶ The first two films in this can be found at MOMA, the next three at LC, and the last in the Special Collections Department, University of Southern California.

¹⁷ For general descriptions of labor and socialist activities during this period, see James R. Green, *The World of the Worker: Labor in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1980); David Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism, 1865–1925* (New York, 1987); James Weinstein, *The Decline of Socialism in America: 1912–1925* (New York, 1967); Melvyn Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All: A History of the IWW* (New York, 1969).

¹⁸ *Chicago Socialist*, August 30, 1910; also see *Motion Picture News*, October 8, 1910.

¹⁹ *Report of the Proceedings of the 30th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor . . . for 1910* (Washington, D.C., 1910), 228, 338 (hereafter, *AFL Proceedings*); *New York Call*, May 15, 1911.

potential union members, many of whom were immigrants who could neither read nor speak English, could be reached through the visual language of the silent screen. "The Russian Jew, the German, the Austrian or the Italian who has not been in this country a week and cannot understand English," explained one labor daily in 1913, "goes to the motion picture theaters because what he sees on the screen is very real to him, and he understands as well as the American." For this reason, noted another reviewer, the movies could be used as "a mighty agency for the working class," more powerful than the spoken word, for "we *see* the message to be conveyed. It is there, where the eyes cannot miss it."²⁰

Rallying audiences to the cry of "use your nickel as your weapon," workers made films that spoke to the lives, experiences, and fantasies of working-class patrons.²¹ Although these first efforts were sporadic and reflected a variety of different ideologies and purposes, they shared a number of important characteristics. Early filmmakers were determined to reach a mass audience, not just the already converted; to produce commercially viable theatrical films that would entertain, not merely preach. "We can make a pleasure of agitation if we choose," explained one socialist in 1911, "and enjoy it as we go along." They did this by giving the dominant film conventions of the time a radical twist. Wrapping explicit political messages in the popular garb of romantic melodramas, their films focused on stories and laments familiar to generations of workers: poor wages, unsafe working and living conditions, and the repression of wage earners by company thugs, police, corrupt politicians, and government troops. Yet, unlike contemporary liberal films, the heroes and heroines of worker-made features—films actually made or produced by workers or radical organizations—were unionists or socialists who offered solutions to the problems vexing wage earners. While particular solutions varied according to the ideology of the filmmaker, these films all advocated collective action—whether in the form of workplace militancy, trade unionism, or socialist politics—as the answer to capitalist exploitation. A brief examination of several prominent films allows us to see how unionists and radicals wished to portray themselves, their goals, and their enemies.²²

THE FIRST MAJOR LABOR FEATURE, *A Martyr to His Cause* (1911), was produced by the AFL at the Seeley Studios in Dayton, Ohio. It cost \$2,577 and aimed at countering the visual and written propaganda of the Open Shop movement. *A Martyr to His Cause* portrayed the McNamara brothers, then on trial for bombing the rabidly antiunion *Los Angeles Times*, as the innocent victims of overzealous Open Shop crusaders. Merging traditional melodramatic narrative with pointed political messages, the film depicts John McNamara as a hardworking citizen who loves his family, his country, and his craft and who embraces trade unionism as the best means to protect all three. *Martyr* answered antilabor film portrayals of unionists as lawless and violent men with scenes exposing manufacturers, private police, and

²⁰ *New York Call*, October 5, 1913, June 8, 1914; for early plays staged by radical organizations, see July 30, December 28, 1908, May 21, 1909; Harry Goldman and Mel Gordon, "Workers' Theatre in America: A Survey, 1913–1978," *Journal of American Culture*, 6 (Spring 1978): 169–81; Raphael Samuels, Ewan MacColl, and Stuart Cosgrove, eds., *Theatres of the Left 1880–1935: Workers' Theatre Movements in Britain and America* (London, 1985).

²¹ *California Social Democrat*, September 19, 1911.

²² *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, Kansas), September 23, 1911. The melodramatic forms of these films often followed the popular conventions of nineteenth-century dime novels; for an excellent analysis of the latter, see Michael Denning, *Mechanic Accents: Dime Novels and Working-Class America* (London, 1987).

corrupt courts as co-conspirators who try to crush the spirit of democracy by acting “contrary to the laws and traditions of our republic.” The film closes with an emotional scene of John’s mother sitting alone, weeping over a letter from her son in which he assures her that the public will not judge him “until a fair and full defense has been afforded.”²³ *Martyr* opened in October 1911 and played to crowded houses in “leading theaters and moving picture houses” throughout the country. Unfortunately for its producers, its run came to an abrupt halt just after Thanksgiving when brother James McNamara confessed to the bombing.²⁴

During the next several years, workers made films that offered distinctly different views of contemporary society from those produced by the studios. Just as D. W. Griffith used film to rewrite the history of Reconstruction, so, too, did Frank E. Wolfe, a Socialist party activist and former union organizer, use film to rewrite the history of class struggle. Unlike the more reformist AFL, Wolfe was determined to “take the Socialist propaganda into the motion picture show” and tell a story about men and women “whose aim it is to overthrow an entire social system.” Yet he was equally adamant about making a film that would “appeal to the masses” and not just socialists and unionists.²⁵ *From Dusk to Dawn* would “be successful as an instructor,” he insisted, “[only if] it amuses while it instructs.” Nonunion audiences “will watch the message eagerly when they would not listen to it for a moment.”²⁶

Made in 1913 with professional actors and production personnel at the Occidental Studio in Hollywood, *From Dusk to Dawn* was a popular drama filled with love, violence, politics, class conflict, and a spectacular cast of over 10,000. Wolfe’s five-reel feature employed the same plot devices and visual techniques as nonradical films but to very different ends. His story line, described in the opening paragraph of this essay, centered on the budding romance between iron molder Dan Grayson and laundress Carla Wayne. But it also showed working-class audiences how, by abandoning individualism in favor of collective action, they could succeed in transforming production and politics. The narrative structure provided viewers with a blueprint for action: from workplace militancy to unionization to socialist politics. Wolfe’s visual images of unionists and socialists stood in sharp contrast to antilabor films. Strikers and socialists were depicted as well-dressed, law-abiding individuals who freely chose to join in nonviolent protests. Powerful scenes of hired thugs and police beating up peaceful picketers with clubs and guns reversed capitalist depictions of the forces of law and order, while documentary footage of poverty-stricken slums and miserable working conditions offered viewers visual insights into the causes of wage protests and strikes.²⁷

²³ *New York Call*, September 25, 1911; and scenario of the film in Philip Foner, “A Martyr to His Cause: The Scenario of the First Labor Film in the United States,” *Labor History*, 24 (Winter 1983): 103–11.

²⁴ *Milwaukee Social Democratic Herald*, October 14, 1911; the costs, making, and reception of the film are discussed in October 21, November 4, 1911; Foner, “Martyr”; “Executive Council Minutes,” October 16, 1911, January 8–13, 1912, reel 4, American Federation of Labor Records: The Samuel Gompers Era (microfilm collection, hereafter, AFL Records); *Cleveland Citizen*, September 9, October 21, November 4, 18, 1911; *New York Call*, September 25, 1911; Washington, D.C., *American Federation of Labor News Letter*, nos. 20, 23, 24, 25 (September), 30 (October) 1911.

²⁵ *Los Angeles Western Comrade*, July 1913; *New York Call*, October 12, 1913.

²⁶ *Los Angeles Western Comrade*, July 1913.

²⁷ Wolfe employed actors from the Kinemacolor Company and other studios; *New York Call*, September 28, 1913. I was unable to find any information about the cost or financing of Wolfe’s feature. For reviews, photographs, and descriptions of the film, see *Los Angeles Western Comrade*, July, August, October 1913; *California Social Democrat*, May 31, October 18, 1913; *Los Angeles Record*, October 13, 20, 25, 31, 1913; *Los Angeles Citizen*, September 19, October 10, 17, 24, 1913; *New York Call*, September 19, 28, October 2, 5, 1913; *Cleveland Citizen*, May 31, 1913; *Moving Picture World*, September 13, 20, 1913; *Motography*, November 15, 1913.



FIGURE 1: *From Dusk to Dawn* (1913) showed viewers that Socialist politics could be orderly and successful. From the newspaper *Moving Picture World* (September 13, 1913).

From Dusk to Dawn was innovative in its cinematic form as well as its politics. One of the first multireel docudramas ever made, it mixed studio-produced scenes with documentary footage (which Wolfe began shooting in 1911) of strikes, Labor Day parades, Socialist party picnics, and speeches by prominent labor leaders. Audiences loved this interplay of melodrama and real people and events. Workers and radicals cheered the appearance of their favorite socialist or union “movie stars”—Clarence Darrow, Job Harriman, Emanuel Julius, and others—or their own faces in one of the various crowd scenes.²⁸

Wolfe’s strategy of mixing entertainment and radical politics succeeded. Audience demand was so great that theater magnate Marcus Loew booked *Dusk* into his entire New York chain, where it was seen by an estimated half-million viewers. Other major exhibitors soon followed suit, and the film was shown in first-run houses throughout the country. *Dusk* was also widely praised by socialist and union newspapers. It “will reach thousands who are hard to reach through speeches or printed words,” predicted one New York labor daily, and “will drive home the argument of Socialism and the rights of laboring men as nothing else ever has.”²⁹

From Dusk to Dawn was quickly followed by a number of films that presented the “true” story of labor-related events. *What Is to Be Done?* (1914), a five-reel melodrama made in New York by socialist actor and unionist Joseph L. Weiss, used the setting of a factory strike to dramatize the history and lessons of the Ludlow (Colorado) Massacre. Like Wolfe, Weiss delivered his political messages in the form of a love story between Henry, a factory owner’s liberal son, and Louise, a stenographer who organizes workers in his father’s factory. The movie opens with Louise leading striking factory workers in a battle for higher wages and union recognition. During the course of an arbitration hearing, she asks the employer’s negotiators: “Do you know what happened in Colorado?” When they say no, the film quickly dissolves to a scene of the tent colony at Ludlow, and the audience is taken, step by step, through the gruesome story of how gunmen in the employ of John D. Rockefeller’s Colorado Fuel and Iron Company set fire to the strikers’ tent colony, killing women and children. Chastened by this horrifying event and fearing public disapproval of his own sullied activities, Henry’s father agrees to the workers’ terms. Yet the movie ends on a bittersweet note: the capitalist grants the wage increase but immediately raises his prices. To succeed, Weiss implied, workers would have to take their battles into the realm of consumption as well as production.³⁰

Labor and socialist movies reflected the prejudices and limitations of their makers. These early films did not represent the struggles of the entire working class but only a segment of it: organized labor, which was predominantly white, male, skilled, and West European. Although white women frequently played prominent roles in cinematic versions of the class struggle, blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and East and Central European immigrants were rarely seen in worker-made feature films.³¹

²⁸ For audience reception, see *California Social Democrat*, October 18, 1913; *Los Angeles Citizen*, September 19, October 24, 1913; *New York Call*, September 28, 1913.

²⁹ *New York Call*, October 5, 1913. The film ran three months in its first eastern tour. For booking information, see *New York Call*, September 28, October 5, 12, 1913; *Los Angeles Record*, October 15, 1913; *Los Angeles Citizen*, October 10, 31, 1913; *California Social Democrat*, October 18, 25, 1913.

³⁰ *New York Call*, November 22, 1914; also see January 5, 1915. The film was apparently shot in a rented studio space in New York City. A copy of the original scenario can be found in the Copyright Records, LC.

³¹ Excluded from white films, blacks also struggled to create an independent cinema; *Variety*, April 10,

Radicals and unionists also made shorter, less costly, one to three-reel theatricals (what we usually think of as “the movies”) and nontheatricals (educational films not necessarily intended for commercial release). The Boot and Shoe Workers’ Union produced a brief film in 1908 “depicting industrial scenes,” which it used in unionization drives. Socialists in New York made a number of newsreels in 1912 and 1913 covering “all phases of Socialist work.” The Los Angeles Central Labor Council produced *General Who-Tis* in 1916, a movie that parodied the career of Harrison Gray Otis, owner of the *Los Angeles Times* and leader of the city’s Open Shop movement.³² That same year, the Western Federation of Miners shot newsreels of the Calumet (Michigan) Copper Strikes and sent them to union halls and theaters across the nation. Worker-made newsreels, declared the *New York Call*, were especially important in “breaking the boycott on news relating to capitalist brutality and oppression” and “making known the facts of the class struggle in this country.”³³ Indeed, few citizens had been able to believe labor and socialist reports of capitalist and governmental repression in mining camps, steel mills, and factories. Now there was visual evidence.

Workers did not have to make movies to find them an effective means of carrying on political work. In the years before World War I, unions and radicals used film in a variety of ways. In Pittsburgh, showing movies at Sunday meetings in 1914 helped the Socialist party increase average attendance from 100 to 3,000. New York trade unionists employed a “moving picture show” to promote the union label in 1913 and, two years later, screened antiwar films to build up opposition to militarism and pending state constabulary bills.³⁴ Unions and socialists in California, Georgia, New Jersey, New York, Oklahoma, and Pennsylvania also used films to raise funds and attract large crowds to rallies and demonstrations.³⁵

American workers and radicals also politicized the movie theater by controlling the environment in which films were shown. In 1909, Chicago radicals opened a movie house aimed at spreading “Socialist propaganda . . . [to] the thousands of people who attend five and ten cent theaters.” Bronx socialists occasionally rented movie theaters and screened worker-made newsreels and progressive features to thousands of local viewers. Yet nowhere was the attempt to offset the antilabor films more pronounced than in Los Angeles, the nation’s Open Shop capital.³⁶ In September 1911, socialists and militant trade unionists opened the Socialist Movie Theater and pledged to exhibit films in which the “toiler will be shown in his true light and not as the menial or the subordinate.” Within a short time, the theater’s

1914; Henry T. Sampson, *Blacks in Black and White: A Source Book on Black Films* (Metuchen, N.J., 1977). A number of women’s organizations also made films dealing with political and social issues ignored by the studios; see Sloan, *Loud Silents*; Brownlow, *Behind the Mask*.

³² *New York Call*, May 27, August 17, 26, 28, 1912, July 26, August 13, 1913; *Los Angeles Citizen*, September 8, 1916. A copy of the scenario of *General Who-Tis* can be found in the special Labor Day souvenir program in *ibid.*

³³ *New York Call*, November 17, 1913; also see February 26, April 5, 6, 8, 10, 1916. Socialist politicians in New York and Chicago also made and used films in various election campaigns; *Chicago Evening World*, August 15, 1912; *New York Call*, June 11, 1912, October 15, 1916.

³⁴ “Executive Council Minutes,” January 21, 1913, reel 4, AFL Records; *New York Call*, July 11, 1915; for films shown by Pittsburgh socialists, see November 28, 1914, January 5, 1915.

³⁵ *The Film Index*, May 27, 1911; *New York Call*, May 27, 1912, July 20, 1913, February 22, July 11, August 25, 29, September 5, 1915; *Variety*, March 7, 1913; Upton Sinclair to W. H. Wayland, February 2, 1916, Upton Sinclair Collection, Lilly Library, Indiana University (copy in Brandon Collection, MOMA).

³⁶ *Chicago Daily Socialist*, December 13, 1909; *California Social Democrat*, September 11, 1911. For Bronx socialists, see *New York Call*, August 17, 26, 28, 1912, February 22, 1915.

daily program consisted of pro-labor features and locally produced newsreels of strikes, labor parades, socialist political campaigns, and women's suffrage rallies. The movie house proved an immediate success and quickly evolved into a multipurpose political space for labor, socialist, and suffragist organizations.³⁷

While a thorough discussion of audience reception is beyond the scope of this essay, it is important to note that moviegoing, especially among the working class, audiences, was not a passive, homogenized activity. Before the rise of chain theaters, local communities, as Lizabeth Cohen has ably shown, were able to shape their moviegoing experience and adapt what was on the screen to their own ethnic and class cultures. Viewing films in working-class neighborhoods was anything but a silent experience. These theaters maintained a communal atmosphere in which men, women, and children regularly shouted, booed, hissed, cheered, or applauded scenes that reflected harshly or kindly on their lives and politics. Screenings of *From Dusk to Dawn* and *The Jungle* were punctuated with frequent shouting and spontaneous singing.³⁸ The working-class movie fan, explained a Los Angeles reporter, "puts into the mouths of the silent actors the exclamations, words and lines that he himself would use under the circumstances." While middle-class audiences in downtown movie palaces might do this in silence, their working-class counterparts preferred to "share" their thoughts with those in neighboring seats. Local theater managers also allowed unions to show slides advertising some particular cause or use the theater to raise funds for needy strikers.³⁹

Images of resistance to capitalist domination on the screen occasionally incited action outside the movie theater. After seeing *The Jungle*, one tailor wrote Upton Sinclair, "It made Socialists of many, and sausage haters of others." In 1916, an angry Connecticut mill owner complained to authorities that viewing *The Supreme Test*, a movie "in which the events of a strike were depicted, one being the burning of the superintendent's house by strikers," inspired his workers to launch a strike at his factory.⁴⁰ Working-class reception of films was also influenced by the circumstances surrounding their production. D. W. Griffith's insistence on using union crews to film *Intolerance* (1916) led Los Angeles carpenters to circulate a letter urging organized labor throughout the country to support the picture.⁴¹

³⁷ *Los Angeles Citizen*, September 8, 1911; further information on the theater and its films can be found in September 8, 15, 22, November 10, 1911; *California Social Democrat*, September 11, 16, December 2, 1911; *Cleveland Citizen*, September 16, 1911; *Appeal to Reason*, October 7, 1911.

³⁸ For audience reactions to these two films, see *New York Call*, July 3, 1914, and citations in note 28.

³⁹ *Los Angeles Citizen*, February 25, 1916. Working-class and ethnic moviegoing experiences are examined in Cohen, *Making a New Deal*, 120–32; Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours*, 198–204; Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*, 139–62; Allen, "Motion Picture Exhibition," 6–9. For more traditional interpretations of media impact on audiences and movie theater experiences, see Sklar, *Movie-Made America*; May, *Screening Out the Past*; Daniel J. Czitrom, *Media and the American Mind: From Morse to McLuhan* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982); Jowett, *Film*; Michael R. Real, "Media Theory: Contributions to an Understanding of American Mass Communications," *American Quarterly*, 32 (1980): 238–58.

⁴⁰ P. H. Reesburg to Sinclair, January 18, 1915, quoted in Brandon, "Populist Film," chap. 1, 30, file C34, MOMA; R. J. Caldwell to National Board of Censorship, December 7, 1916, Box 105 (*Supreme Test*), National Board of Review of Motion Pictures Collection, Special Collections Department, New York Public Library (hereafter, NBRMP). The complaining Caldwell had his films confused. The scenes he described came from *The Blacklist* (1916).

⁴¹ Griffith maintained the only fully unionized studio in Los Angeles at the time of the filming. His actions there, according to the carpenters, helped unionize studios in Chicago and New York; *Los Angeles Citizen*, November 17, 24, 1916, January 19, 1917.

THE POWER, OR FEARED POWER, OF THESE FILMS was evinced by the concerted opposition of local and state censors. Scholars of censorship have generally stressed local fears of screen sex, crime, and violence. But films dealing with class struggle proved even more worrisome and were banned in their entirety, not simply cut in a few morally offending places. A wave of miners' strikes that swept eastern and midwestern states in 1916 led the members of the Ohio Industrial Relations Commission to suppress *The Strike at Coaldale*, a film "in which the miners of Ohio were shown winning a strike."⁴² Similar fears that actions on the screen might translate into workplace radicalism brought comparable responses elsewhere, as local boards, often controlled by the police, banned movies that might encourage "harmful" class protests.⁴³ Film was not a "democratic art," as *The Nation* insisted in 1913, but was, as the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures observed that year, "subject to class dictation" by censors who used their powers "to oppose the legitimate activities of the labor men."⁴⁴

With America's entry into World War I, the forces of the state, long used against labor at the workplace, increasingly extended their powers into the arena of leisure. Federal agencies such as the Committee on Public Information (CPI) produced scores of films designed to fuel patriotism and quell dissent. The CPI also assumed the role of censor, banning for foreign distribution films that featured scenes of strikes, labor protests, poverty, or domestic violence. The impact of government and commercial films was so powerful, insisted one Department of Labor official, that they "undoubtedly shortened the war by at least two months."⁴⁵

As the war drew to a close, the specter of the Bolshevik revolution and the widespread outbreak of strikes and labor militancy prompted members of the Wilson administration to embark on a policy aimed at suppressing radicalism. The vicious campaign initiated against both native and foreign-born radicals by the Department of Justice and local "Red Squads" is well documented. Less well

⁴² W. D. McGuire to Samuel Gompers, February 3, 1917, Subjects Correspondence (AFL), Box 15, NBRMP; also see February 6, 1917. Censorship of early motion pictures is discussed in "An Unamerican Innovation," *The Independent*, 86 (May 22, 1916): 265; "The Motion Picture in Its Economic and Social Aspects," special issue of *The Annals*, 78 (November 1926): 146–86; Robert Fischer, "Film Censorship and Progressive Reform: The National Board of Censorship of Motion Pictures, 1909–1922," *Journal of Popular Film*, 4 (1975): 143–50; Kathleen D. McCarthy, "Nickel Vice and Virtue: Movie Censorship in Chicago, 1907–1915," *Journal of Popular Film*, 5 (1976): 37–55; Morris L. Ernst and Pare Lorentz, *Censored: The Private Life of the Movie* (New York, 1930); Lamar T. Beman, ed., *Censorship of the Theater and Moving Pictures* (New York, 1931); Edward de Grazia and Roger K. Newman, *Banned Films: Movies, Censors, and the First Amendment* (New York, 1982); Sklar, *Movie-Made America*; May, *Screening Out the Past*; Jowett, *Film*.

⁴³ The Ohio Commission rejected *By Man's Laws*, a biting satire on sweatshops and their owners on the grounds they "did not believe that the rich should be satirized, whether such conditions existed or not"; *Moving Picture World*, January 10, 1914. For other examples of class-oriented censorship, see *New York Call*, September 28, 1913, June 15, 1914; *Los Angeles Record*, September 8, 1922; Sinclair to Wayland, February 2, 1916, in Brandon Collection, J216, MOMA.

⁴⁴ *The Nation*, August 28, 1913; McGuire to Gompers, February 5, 1917, Subject Correspondence (AFL), Box 15, NBRMP.

⁴⁵ *Variety*, November 29, 1918. Government agencies began making films as early as 1908. For an analysis of the class nature of government filmmaking before and during the war, see Ross, "Cinema and Class Conflict." The censorship activities of the CPI can be found in "Films Rejected for Export," Records of the CPI, 30–B3, RG 63, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter, NA). For more general descriptions of the film activities of the CPI and other government agencies, see [George Creel], *Complete Report of the Chairman of the Committee on Public Information* (Washington, D.C., 1920); James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words That Won the War: The Story of the Committee on Public Information, 1917–1919* (Princeton, N.J., 1939); Craig Campbell, *Reel America and World War I* (Jefferson, N.C., 1985); Michael T. Isenberg, *War on Film: The American Cinema and World War, 1914–1941* (Rutherford, N.J., 1981); Richard Dyer MacCann, *The People's Films: A Political History of U.S. Government Motion Pictures* (New York, 1973).

known, however, are the more subtle ways in which the state used movies to curb the spread of socialist and union activities. Wartime shortages of coal led the government's Fuel Administration to make a film in December 1918 that attributed American deaths in Europe to the selfishness of union miners. In one scene, a dying doughboy tells a nurse, "The Germans did not defeat us. We were defeated by the miners at home. They are our murderers. If they had produced enough coal the factories would have been working and the ships would have been able to come over with plenty of ammunition."⁴⁶

Government agencies also moved to influence depictions of unions and radicals in theatrical films. Insisting that the "Motion Picture can do more to stabilize labor and help bring about normal conditions than any other agency," David Niles, chairman of the government's recently created Joint Committee on Motion Picture Activities, dispatched a letter to all major studios in November 1918 asking that they confer with him "prior to starting productions based on Socialism, labor problems, etc." Features portraying their hero as a "strong, virile American, a believer of American institutions and ideals," he told them, "will do much good." Failure to cooperate, Niles warned in subtle but clear terms, might lead to federal censorship of films. Several prominent companies responded to Niles's "request" and sent copies of scenarios and unreleased features for his approval.⁴⁷

In December 1919, one month before the infamous Palmer raids, the secretary of the interior, Franklin K. Lane, at the urging of Congress, launched an even more aggressive campaign to influence industry films dealing with labor unrest and the spread of Bolshevism. His Americanism Committee of the Motion Picture Industry of the United States, comprised of the nation's leading producers, distributors, and exhibitors, pledged to "use the Power of the Motion-Picture screen to spread anti-Red teachings all over the country."⁴⁸ Producers were soon flooded with suggested scenarios for films that would promote true Americanism and awaken the nation to the "seriousness of the Bolshevistic" threat. Although the committee produced only one feature, the two-reel, anti-Bolshevik *Land of Opportunity* (1920), the committee enlisted the cooperation of "nearly all of the larger companies."⁴⁹

Government-industry cooperation quickly led to an increasingly hostile portrayal of workers, unions, and radicals in theatrical releases. Pro-labor films virtually disappeared in the postwar years as conservative visions of unions and radicals dominated the screen. Movies coming out of major studios—*Life's Greatest Problem* (1918), *The Red Viper* (1919), *The World Aflame* (1919), *The Face at Your Window* (1920), *The Great Shadow* (1920)—attributed the massive wave of unrest that swept the nation to the work of corrupt unionists or Bolshevik agitators. The radical syndicalism espoused by the IWW, not the accommodationist rhetoric of the AFL,

⁴⁶ David Niles to Roger Babson, December 13, 1918, Records of the Department of Labor, RG 174, Box 137, folder 129/10-A, NA. The antiradical activities of the government are described in David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York, 1980); Paul L. Murphy, *World War I and the Origin of Civil Liberties in the United States* (New York, 1985); Weinstein, *Decline of Socialism*; Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*; Montgomery, *Fall of the House of Labor*.

⁴⁷ Niles's letter is reprinted in *Variety*, November 29, 1918. For examples of anti-Bolshevik scenarios and films sent to Niles's office, see Niles to William Parson, March 5, 1919, Box 137, folder 129C; Niles to Hugh Kerwin, March 12, 1919, Box 25, folder 16/24; McGuire to Frank Morrison, February 14, 1919, Subjects Correspondence (AFL), Box 15, NBRMP.

⁴⁸ *Los Angeles Times*, January 3, 1920; also see *New York Times*, January 12, 1920; *Wid's Yearbook, 1920-1921* (n.p., n.d.), 383. Committee leaders included such powerful industry figures as William A. Brady, Lewis Selznick, and Adolf Zukor.

⁴⁹ "Through Lincoln's Eyes," circular letter from William Ryan (secretary of Americanism Committee), ca. 1920, Subject Papers (Anti-Communism), Box 164, NBRMP; *The Service Paper*, October 1920, quoted in *New York Call*, November 4, 1920. A copy of *Land of Opportunity* can be found in the LC.

was presented as the typical ideology of organized labor. The collective message of these films was that honest *American* workers did not need self-serving radical organizations but could bring their complaints directly to the employer, man to man. And the employer, of course, would respond favorably to the just grievances of individuals.⁵⁰

Three surviving films of the era, *Courage of the Commonplace* (1917), *Bolshevism on Trial* (1919), and *Dangerous Hours* (1920), offer clear illustrations of how conservative capitalist ideology was adapted to the screen. In each, a corrupt union leader or secret Bolshevik agent is responsible for the discontent and violence of the period. Those who follow them are equally worthy of scorn, either for their perfidy or stupidity. In *Courage*, union miners appear on the screen as disheveled foreigners who spend all their free time drinking and gambling in saloons—also the site of their union meetings. In contrast, “good” workers look like Americans, dress in clean clothes, and spend their evenings drinking lemonade and singing songs with mine superintendent Johnny McLean, the son of a wealthy industrialist. Intertitles have union workers speaking in broken English, while those siding with Johnny are grammatically, as well as politically, correct.

Casting and placement of actors are also used to convey political messages. Men and women who play employers are always attractive and well dressed, while those cast as union and Bolshevik leaders are usually swarthy, heavy-set, scowling, and decidedly unattractive. Women who oppose radicals look like genteel Mary Pickfords, while those siding with them are either vamps or homely females. The choreography of crowd scenes also makes strong ideological statements. Union men and Bolsheviks are always tightly crowded around each another, talking in a furtive manner and wildly shaking their fists at one another. Except for the leader, none stand out as individuals; they are the undifferentiated horde that lacks independent will. In contrast, shots of the nonunion workers, such as the men who spend their evenings with Johnny McLean, show them sitting several feet apart, relaxed, and each in a distinct position. They are individuals who can think and act for themselves. State-supported violence and domestic surveillance are portrayed as proper solutions to the machinations of leftist troublemakers. In *Dangerous Hours*, violence occurs only after radicals attack the police, while in *Bolshevism on Trial*, the day is saved by the arrival of the Coast Guard, which had kept Hermann Wolfe, “a professional agitator,” under close surveillance during the previous year.⁵¹

The images of unions, radicals, and capitalists that appeared on the screen after 1917 did not simply represent some general trend in “society” but were closely tied to the changing economic structure of the film industry and labor relations within the studios. Movies are not just cultural artifacts but products made in workplaces by employers and employees. The antilabor, anti-Left films of this era paralleled two critical developments: the emergence of the movie industry as one of the nation’s largest industries and the protracted drives to unionize the industry’s workers. The rise of the “studio system” and its attendant efforts at monopolizing

⁵⁰ Representations of workers, unions, and radicals during this period are examined in Jacobs, *Rise of American Film*, 260, 395–99; Sterling, “Channel for Democratic Thought,” 10, 14–15; Russell Campbell, “Nihilists and Bolsheviks: Revolutionary Russia in American Silent Film,” *The Silent Picture*, 19 (1974): 4–36; Campbell, *Reel America*, 123–36, 266–69; Brandon, “Populist Film,” MOMA; Brownlow, *Behind the Mask*.

⁵¹ All three films are at the LC. Casting instructions for *Dangerous Hours* can be found in the shooting script for “Americanism” (the film’s original title), Don Byrne folder, Box 3, Thomas Ince Collection, LC.



FIGURE 2: In *Courage of the Commonplace* (1917), union miners are portrayed as disheveled foreigners who hold their meetings and spend their free time in saloons (top), while good nonunion workers are clean-cut Americans who spend their time drinking lemonade with mine superintendent John McLean (bottom). Courtesy of Museum of Modern Art, Film Stills Archive, New York.

production, distribution, and exhibition operations required tremendous outlays of capital. Since internally generated revenues proved insufficient, companies turned to outside sources: investment bankers, commercial banks, and industrial corporations. Studios, in turn, provided places on their boards of directors to major backers like DuPont, General Motors, Bank of America, and Liberty National Bank. By 1926, over 1.5 billion dollars was invested in the movie industry. Studios of this era not only reflected the views of big business, they *were* big business.⁵²

The period between 1916 and 1922 also marked the first sustained efforts at unionizing virtually all jobs in the film industry: actors, extras, laboratory technicians, set builders, and many others. Battles to create a closed shop industry reached a bitter peak in July 1921, when the Hollywood studio unions launched a year-long international boycott against eleven leading production companies. With workers' demands intensifying and industry ties to large-scale capital tightening, it seems little wonder that the films coming out of Hollywood during this era had an antiunion bent. More to the point, a correlation of films and producers reveals that the companies making the most vehemently antiunion movies had been the recent targets of strikes, boycotts, and unionization drives.⁵³

THE AGGRESSIVE CAMPAIGN by movie industry personnel and state authorities to reshape the ideology of films sparked the rise of a new stage of labor struggles for the screen. Workers and radicals in cities across the country organized film companies to "bring the aims and hopes of workers before the masses."⁵⁴ These postwar efforts differed from their predecessors in two key respects: sporadic films by individuals and small groups were superseded by formal production companies that made movies and newsreels on a more regular basis, and their films focused even more closely on current workplace and political battles. This emphasis on current struggles came in response to a renewed Open Shop crusade. Antiunion organizations such as U.S. Steel, Ford, General Motors, and the National Association of Manufacturers supplemented their workplace battles by producing films heralding the benefits of welfare capitalism, company unions, and the American Plan (open shops). The 1920s became labor's "lean years," as union membership plummeted from 5 million in 1920 to 3.6 million in 1929. Labor and radical film

⁵² The rise of the studio system and changing economic structure of the film industry are surveyed in Benjamin Hampton, *A History of the Movies* (New York, 1931); Mae Huetting, *Economic Control of the Motion Picture Industry* (Philadelphia, 1944); Jacobs, *Rise of American Film*; Balio, *American Film Industry*; David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, Kristin Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema* (New York, 1985); Douglas Gomery, *The Hollywood Studio System* (New York, 1986); Nick Roddick, *A New Deal in Entertainment: Warner Brothers in the 1950s* (London, 1983); Ethan Mordden, *The Hollywood Studios: House Style in the Golden Age of the Movies* (New York, 1989).

⁵³ The best histories of organizing efforts within the industry are Louis B. Perry and Richard Perry, *A History of the Los Angeles Labor Movement, 1911–1941* (Berkeley, Calif., 1963); *Los Angeles Times*, *The Forty Year War for a Free City: A History of the Open Shop Movement in Los Angeles* (Los Angeles, 1929); Murray Ross, *Stars and Strikes: Unionization of Hollywood* (New York, 1941); Robert Osborne Baker, *The International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada* (Lawrence, Kan., 1933); Alfred Harding, *Revolt of the Actors* (New York, 1929); David F. Prindle, *The Politics of Glamour: Ideology and Democracy in the Screen Actors Guild* (Madison, Wis., 1988); Michael C. Nielsen, "Labor Power and Organization in the Early U.S. Motion Picture Industry," *Film History*, 2 (June–July 1988): 121–31. The relationship between the unionization of the industry and the ideology of its films is explored more fully in my current project, *Working-Class Hollywood: Workers, Radicals, and the Movies*.

⁵⁴ P. H. Peterson, November 12, 1920, Records of the American Federation of Labor Convention for 1920 (henceforth, Convention Records), reel 30, AFL Records.

companies attempted to halt these reversals and sway public opinion by making movies that offered positive portrayals of worker cooperatives, industrial and trade unionism, socialism, and government ownership of industry.⁵⁵

Labor's foray into the world of studio production began in November 1918, when the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen entered into an unprecedented arrangement to buy their own Hollywood studio. They then hired Upton Sinclair to help make films "to mould public opinion for the benefit of Organized Labor and to bring about reforms by the pressure of public opinion." Relying on the services of filmmaker David Horsley, the studio's former owner, the Motive Motion Picture Corporation (MMPC) set out to produce movies and newsreels advocating the nationalization of the railroads and substantial raises for its workers. Although a lack of funds halted Sinclair's projected twenty-reel serial "dealing with the struggle of the railway for recognition . . . [and] nationalization," the MMPC did release newsreels of "Government Control" parades to local theaters and union halls around the country.⁵⁶

During the next several years, more than half a dozen other worker-owned or supported film companies were organized. The most successful were the New York-based Labor Film Services (LFS) and the Seattle-based Federated Film Corporation (FFC). Begun as a joint stock venture by socialists and militant trade unionists in April 1920, the LFS endeavored to counter the "slandorous attacks which Labor and Socialism have been subjected to by motion pictures in the past few months." Under the leadership of Joseph D. Cannon, a longtime organizer for the militant International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union and frequent Socialist party candidate, the LFS financed and distributed labor-made features and newsreels intended to "influence a large public in favor of liberal and advanced movements."⁵⁷ Workers in Seattle, the leading center of worker-owned cooperatives, initiated what they called a "twentieth century movement for the Emancipation of Labor" by founding the FFC. Begun in November 1919, the FFC pledged to use film "to demonstrate the constructive aims of labor and combat the propaganda against the labor unions now being spread by employing interests and capitalists in an effort to reduce the workers to a state of wage-slavery again." Under the leadership of John Arthur Nelson, a former producer at Universal and Warner Features, the FFC financed its operations through stock sales to union members and sympathizers.⁵⁸

The FFC and LFS were soon joined in their efforts by several other organiza-

⁵⁵ For an overview of labor's "lean years," see Irving Bernstein, *The Lean Years: A History of the American Worker 1920-1933* (Boston, 1960); Robert H. Zieger, *American Workers, American Unions, 1920-1985* (Baltimore, Md., 1986); Green, *World of the Worker*. The cinematic efforts of big business during this period are analyzed in Ross, "Cinema and Class Conflict."

⁵⁶ David Horsley, "The Power of Public Opinion," February 18, 1919, Horsley Papers, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences (henceforth, AMPAS); Sinclair to E. Halderman-Julius, April 15, 1919, file J215, Brandon Collection, MOMA. Accounts of company activities and difficulties can be found in the Records of the Motive Motion Picture Corporation, Horsley Papers, AMPAS, and in the correspondence between Sinclair and the MMPC and the Labor Film Service, files J215, J216, Brandon Collection, MOMA; Sloan, *Loud Silents*, 53, 76.

⁵⁷ *New York Call*, May 28, August 10, 1920. The LFS was capitalized at \$50,000 and sold shares at \$10, with the stipulation that labor and radical organizations control at least 51 percent of the stock. The LFS received the strong support of the Socialist party, the United Hebrew Trades, the Italian Chamber of Commerce, the New York City Central Federated Union, and various labor councils throughout the country.

⁵⁸ *Seattle Union Record*, January 6, 1920, December 19, 1919. The FFC was capitalized at \$100,000, with shares sold at \$10, a majority of which was to be controlled by union labor. I would like to thank Dana Frank for generously sharing her sources with me.

tions. Communists in Chicago created the International Workers' Aid (IWA) in the early 1920s, which, in addition to making films and newsreels, served as the main distributor of Russian movies in the United States.⁵⁹ By 1921, screen attacks against organized labor had grown so pronounced that delegates to the AFL convention ordered the executive council to investigate the viability of opening a movie studio and chain of theaters to make and show films portraying the "true principles, objects and activities of organized labor." Although the project was ultimately deemed too costly, the AFL made a five-reel feature film in 1925, *Labor's Reward*, which it used as the centerpiece of a national organizing campaign.⁶⁰

The feature films produced by these organizations offered visions of working-class life and struggles strikingly different from studio releases. There was, however, no one type of labor movie. Mass culture, even within a working-class context, was a highly varied affair. While worker-filmmakers continued delivering political messages in the guise of melodramas or love stories, their films differed from each other in form and ideology. *The New Disciple* (1921) and *The Contrast* (1921), both shot with professional actors and crews, dealt with the "present relentless open-shop drive against labor and labor organizations."⁶¹ But the solutions they proposed reflected the differing political sensibilities of their producers. *The New Disciple*, a six-reel melodrama produced and distributed by the FFC, told the moviegoing public about the power of worker cooperatives. Presenting its message within the framework of a love story between Mary Fanning, a factory owner's daughter, and John McPherson, a factory worker's son, the film shows how capitalist profiteering shattered the peace between employer and employees in the small town of Harmony. Reversing the usual casting choices of antilabor films, John is played by the handsome Pell Trenton, Mary by the beautiful Norris Johnson, and Mary's father by Alfred Allen, an overweight, balding actor who looked like the sinister union business agent of antilabor films. During the course of the romance between our two class-crossed lovers, audiences see how capitalists use lockouts, scabs, company unions, evictions from company-owned homes, Red Squad raids, and the American Plan to undermine the workers' quest for justice. The workers eventually overcome all obstacles, as John persuades his comrades to pool their capital with that of local farmers and buy the factory from Mary's father—who also consents to her marrying our hero. Romance aside, the final message was that worker struggles could succeed in changing the world.⁶²

The Contrast, produced by the socialist-oriented LFS, presented viewers with a different cinematic form and political agenda. Written by Pittsburgh socialist John Slayton and financed by union miners in West Virginia, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, the film favored social realism over romance, "docudrama" over melodrama, and

⁵⁹ The organization was originally known as the Friends of Soviet Russia. IWA activities are described in Kepley, "Workers International Relief"; Labor Research Association, "Workers International Relief," file T400, Interview of William Kruse, January 18, 1975, May 20, 1975, file 1189, Brandon Collection, MOMA.

⁶⁰ *AFL Proceedings 1921*, 219, 334–35; also see *AFL Proceedings 1922*, 138–40. For information on other labor production companies created during this period, see Seymour Hastings to Morrison, June 23, 1919, Carl Stearns Clancy to Morrison, July 29, 1919, AFL Convention 1919, reel 29; P. H. Peterson to Gompers, November 20, 1920, A. J. Harriman to Gompers, November 24, 1920, AFL Convention 1920, reel 30; Ben Lyons to David Horsley, July 9, 17, 1919, folder 25, Horsley Papers, AMPAS.

⁶¹ *New York Call*, March 3, 1921.

⁶² The film was shot in Los Angeles and opened in Seattle in May 1921. For reviews and reception of the film, see *Seattle Union Record*, May 9–12, 1921; *New York Call*, September 25, December 17, 19, 23, 24, 1921, July 1, 2, 1922; *Wid's*, December 25, 1921; *Moving Picture World*, December 31, 1921; *Los Angeles Citizen*, March 10, September 1, December 29, 1922, February 2, 9, 16, 23, 1923; *Chicago New Majority*, January 12, March 15, 1924; *Chicago Daily Worker*, March 18, 1924.



FIGURE 3: A fiery talk by an AFL organizer convinces a group of skeptical female factory workers to form a union of their own. *Labor's Reward* (1925). Stills courtesy of UCLA Film and Television Archives, Los Angeles.

advocated industrial unionism and militant workplace action as the best weapons against capitalist oppression. Set in the strife-torn coal regions of West Virginia, *The Contrast* conveys its message through a mixture of dramatic plotting and documentary scenes of miners' strikes and tent colonies. Relying on techniques perfected by D. W. Griffith, director Guy Hedlund uses juxtaposition to portray the causes of worker discontent, cutting back and forth between scenes of the lavish lives of mineowners and of the poverty and dangers faced by their employees. Depictions of the murder of union organizers by company guards and destruction of the miners' tent camps expose the lawless actions employed by coal barons. The film ends on a hopeful note with newly unionized workers winning their strike through their own efforts, not, as was the case in most theatrical films, through the sudden benevolence of employers. Praising the film's production values as well as its politics, one film reviewer gushed that it "had sustained dramatic force and the complete pictorial beauty of Rembrandt."⁶³

Labor's Reward, produced by the more conservative AFL, was less concerned with depicting militant labor struggles than with publicizing the benefits of unionization and organized consumption. Yet these sober messages are delivered within the context of a highly entertaining, extremely well-made love story revolving around Tom, "a fine specimen of manhood," who worked in a union shop, and Mary, "a beautiful girl," who sweated in an oppressive nonunion bookbindery. During the course of the romance, the movie contrasts the working and living conditions of union and nonunion men and women. Scenes of unorganized factories show laborers oppressed by heavy work loads and autocratic bosses, while shots of workers in union shops show happy employees whose shop committees amicably resolve all grievances with employers. The film's sexual politics are strikingly progressive. Mary's co-workers display remarkable solidarity and fierce determination to win their demands for union recognition. Men in this film learn as much from women as women do from men.⁶⁴

The Passaic Textile Strike (1926), the only labor movie that has survived virtually intact, was an important cinematic bridge between the melodramas of earlier worker-made films and the social realism that was to dominate radical films of the 1930s. Produced by Communist leader Alfred Wagenknecht and distributed by the IWA, the seven-reel movie chronicled the struggles of 16,000 striking New Jersey workers. *The Passaic Textile Strike* reversed the prejudices of previous worker-made films by depicting the strike activities of East and Central Europeans, Hispanics, blacks, and women. A drama in the style of *From Dusk to Dawn* and *The Contrast*, the movie opens with studio-shot scenes that explain the causes leading to the strike. Stefan and Kata Breznac leave Poland and, as the intertitle tells us, come to the "Land of Opportunity only to find industrial oppression and bitter struggle."

⁶³ *New York Call*, September 25, 1921. For reviews and background information, see *New York Evening Call*, March 19, July 11, 1918, January 20, 1919; *New York Call*, March 3, May 27, June 2, 4, September 25, 1921; *Chicago New Majority*, February 25, April 4, 22, 1922; "Report of Agent H. J. Lennon," March 17, 1921, Investigative Case Files, reel 926 (BS 202600-197), Records of the Bureau of Investigation, NA; R. M. Whitney, *Reds in America* (New York, 1924), 146-48.

⁶⁴ *Chicago Federation News*, December 26, 1925. The film was produced by the AFL's Union Label Trades Department and shot at the Rothacker studios in Chicago. I recently discovered parts of reels 1 and 3 at the UCLA Film and Television Archives. We are in the process of restoring the film (presently on nitrate). For reviews and reactions, see *Chicago Federation News*, October 17, December 12, 19, 26, 1925, January 9, 1926; *Los Angeles Citizen*, August 14, November 20, 27, 1925; *Seattle Union Record*, January 9, 11, 1926; John J. Manning, "Labor's Reward," *American Federationist*, 32 (November 1925): 1056-58; John J. Manning, "Organization—Education," *American Federationist*, 32 (December 1925): 1167-68.

Subsequent scenes portray the hard-working Breznacs as people who want to be good Americans. Yet we see that their efforts to earn a living wage are futile in the face of repeated wage cuts at the textile mills. Family scenes shot inside an actual Passaic worker's home are a stark contrast to the sanitized screen images of D. W. Griffith's films. Instead of Griffith's poor-but-clean tenement, we see a single room that crumbles before our very eyes; the paint is peeling and the walls buckling. Poverty in Passaic was ugly, not neat.

After playing out a melodrama in which Stefan dies of overwork, his daughter is raped by the callous mill manager, and his widow Kata is forced into the role of family breadwinner, the film switches to actual footage of the mill workers' quest for unionization and a decent standard of living. These documentary scenes offer powerful visual rebuttals to the antilabor images of mainstream films. Caricatures of slovenly dressed men holding chaotic meetings are replaced by scenes of actual union gatherings that are peaceful, orderly affairs attended by men and women in suits and dresses. We never see one person leading all the rest. Leadership is shown as a collective experience, with women, ethnics, blacks, and native-born workers all addressing the crowd. Similarly, forces of the state, not workers, appear as the instigators of violence and lawlessness. Remarkable footage shot from rooftops shows police charging into lines of peaceful picketers and clubbing them until blood pours down their faces. State brutality is not an abstraction but is vividly captured by the camera. The film ends in September 1926, as the strike leadership affiliates with the AFL's United Textile Workers Union. The actual strike ended in November 1926, with the Botany mills agreeing to restore wage cuts and grant union recognition.⁶⁵

The Passaic Textile Strike set the tone for a number of subsequent communist-made films. *The Miners' Strike* (1928), also produced by Alfred Wagenknecht, on behalf of the National Miners' Relief Committee, was a seven-reel documentary that chronicled the bitter, sixteen-month strike of 150,000 coal miners in Pennsylvania and Ohio.⁶⁶ *The Gastonia Textile Strike* (1929), a one-reel film made by the Workers' International Relief, a successor of the IWA, portrayed the lives and struggles of striking textile workers in Gastonia, North Carolina.⁶⁷ The documentary mode was also employed several years earlier in the decidedly less militant *His Brother's Keeper* (1925). Produced by the International Typographical Workers' Union (ITU), the three-reel film contrasted the "lot of the down-and-out [non-union] worker of a few decades ago" with the many social and economic benefits currently enjoyed by ITU members. All three films played in theaters and auditoriums throughout the country.⁶⁸

Newsreels were another important weapon in labor's cinematic arsenal. To remedy the distortion of current events by newspapers and newsreel companies, various labor organizations, socialists, and communists made newsreels that offered audiences "living images" of labor events as they occurred. The LFS's *Animated*

⁶⁵ Quotes are from the film's intertitles. A copy of the film can be found at MOMA. For reviews and descriptions, see *Chicago Daily Worker*, September 18, 23, 25, October 18, 1926; *Los Angeles Citizen*, July 16, November 26, December 17, 31, 1926; *Chicago Federation News*, October 2, 23, 1926; *New York Daily Worker*, May 10, 1927; Leslie Fishbein, "The Patterson Pageant (1913): The Birth of Docudrama as a Weapon in the Class Struggle," *Journal of Regional Cultures*, 4–5 (Fall 1984–Summer 1985): 116–21; Campbell, *Cinema Strikes Back*, 34–35; Brownlow, *Behind the Mask*; Brandon, "Populist Film," file D43, 31–56.

⁶⁶ The film was not sanctioned by the United Mine Workers. *New York Daily Worker*, August 13, October 11, 13, 1928.

⁶⁷ *New York Daily Worker*, June 25, August 19, 1929; *Chicago Federation News*, September 2, 1929.

⁶⁸ *Seattle Union Record*, September 28, 1925; also see November 14, 1925.



FIGURE 4: *The Passaic Textile Strike* (1926) used documentary scenes to show the orderly nature of worker demonstrations and the important role women played in the strike. Courtesy of the Museum of Modern Art, Film Stills Archive, New York.

Labor Review and the FFC's *Labor News Weekly* and *Economic Digest* presented "news of workers and well-conducted labor enterprises from all parts of the United States and the world." These newspapers of the screen featured stories about strikes, boycotts, Socialist party campaigns and rallies, and incidents of resistance by foreign workers.⁶⁹ In addition to these regular services, striking Kansas miners made newsreels documenting their struggles with mineowners in 1921, and the Chicago-based IWA and *Daily Worker* produced and distributed newsreels of strikes and demonstrations between 1924 and 1929. Taken collectively, these newsreels, insisted socialist movie critic Louis Gardy, presented the viewer with "a fuller knowledge of the day's events" and exerted "more influence than a shipload of features."⁷⁰

PRODUCING FILMS, worker-filmmakers soon discovered, was only half the battle. Finding theaters to exhibit them was equally difficult, for capitalist hegemony was established not just by controlling what was made but also by what was shown. Large studios and theater chains increasingly monopolized distribution and exhibition facilities, making it hard for an independent producer to place a film in first-run houses. This proved especially true for labor film companies. The reluctance of theaters "controlled by the movie trusts" to show films like *The New Disciple*, explained one Los Angeles union paper, forced labor film companies to bypass normal distribution and exhibition networks.⁷¹ Unable to secure national distributors, the LFS, FFC, and IWA marketed their own films, either by selling them to state distributors or arranging their own exhibitions. The LFS and FFC, for example, set up branch offices in several cities and enlisted the aid of unions and labor councils in arranging local screenings.⁷²

Shunned by most first-run houses, labor film companies concentrated on placing their features in large downtown houses and neighborhood theaters, especially in immigrant and working-class areas. When that proved impossible, they rented their own theaters or arranged for screenings in auditoriums, union halls, schools, and voluntary associations. To attract large audiences, the LFS, IWA, and FFC created elaborate entertainment packages that included a worker-made feature (usually *The Contrast*, *The New Disciple*, or the LFS's recut version of *The Jungle*), several comedies, labor newsreels, and a commercial feature. "Three hours of education and entertainment," remarked one New York reporter, could be had for a mere twenty-five cents.⁷³ When local theater owners persistently refused to screen worker-made features, a number of labor organizations around the country

⁶⁹ *New York Call*, June 13, 1920; for descriptions of LFS and FFC newsreels, see August 10, 12, 21, 23, 29, 30, September 3, October 8, 14, 19, 1920; *Seattle Union Record*, April 30, November 12, 13, 22, 1920, September 21, 1922; *Chicago New Majority*, August 19, 1922; "Minutes of the Seattle Central Labor Council," September 20, October 25, 1922, Box 8, Special Collections, University of Washington, Seattle.

⁷⁰ *New York Call*, June 15, 19, 1920; for Kansas miners, see July 29, September 5, 17, 1921. For Chicago newsreels, see *Chicago Daily Worker*, November 17, 1924; *New York Daily Worker*, April 26, 1927, August 7, 1928, March 14, 1929.

⁷¹ *Los Angeles Citizen*, January 12, 1923.

⁷² The FFC eventually enlisted the support of over 200 central labor councils; *Los Angeles Citizen*, February 23, 1923. Similarly, the LFS launched a direct mail campaign to 40,000 independent theater owners, unions, and community organizations; *New York Call*, May 27, 1921.

⁷³ *New York Call*, June 18, 1922. In 1925, the nation housed 1,720 first-run theaters, 3,140 downtown theaters, 12,700 neighborhood theaters, and 471 combined vaudeville and movie theaters; William Marston Seabury, *The Public and the Motion Picture Industry* (New York, 1926), 285.

responded by opening their own permanent movie houses. The Class "A" Theater in Seattle, a worker cooperative opened in July 1920, made special efforts to run labor-made and progressive feature films.⁷⁴

Attendance figures are hard to obtain, for industry periodicals paid little attention to worker-made films. *The New Disciple*, the most widely distributed labor film, was seen by "at least 1 million" people during its first year. After premiering in Seattle, the film scored a coup by opening at Shubert's Lyric Theater on Broadway. It then played to capacity houses at major theaters in Montreal, Boston, Buffalo, and Detroit. The most accurate box-office records were kept by the AFL, which arranged its own local showings. During an initial forty-week run in 1925–1926, *Labor's Reward* was screened 591 times and seen by 479,000 people in thirty states.⁷⁵ Though modest in comparison to successful studio releases, these figures are remarkable when we consider the difficulties independent producers faced in exhibiting their movies. Despite industry opposition, LFS, FFC, and IWA films were shown in cities and small towns throughout the nation. Sometimes they played a few days, sometimes a few weeks, and sometimes they were brought back year after year. Daily audiences ranged from several hundred in small towns to several thousand in large cities. "In about 250 cities of all sizes and compositions," IWA secretary-treasurer William Kruse recounted in 1925, "we have shown anywhere from one to seven film programs, to an average [total] audience of 100,000 for each film."⁷⁶

The significance of the worker film movement is best measured not by attendance figures or the number of films it actually produced but by the determined efforts of industry leaders, federal agencies, and state censors to keep these movies off the screen. Although worker films represented less than 1 percent of the 600 to 700 features produced annually during the 1920s, opposition from so many quarters is an indication of the fear these films could inspire. Industry and government opponents understood that these films could incite workers to action, heighten class conflict, and encourage the growth of more worker film companies. Their concerns were well grounded.

The movie industry believed that audiences only wanted to see classless escapist fantasies. But the success of these films in the face of considerable opposition by distributors and exhibitors revealed how mistaken that belief was. When given a choice, audiences would also go to see films with serious political messages. While worker-made films certainly contained strong doses of fantasy, the fantasies were those of the working class. Many people enjoyed seeing films that showed men and women winning strikes, defeating employers, and taking control of industry and their own lives.

Union and radical leaders insisted that these films helped inspire and empower workers—especially those embroiled in bitter labor disputes. One Illinois labor leader explained that striking workers in his town who saw *The New Disciple* "found hope in the story of a like situation." In Seattle, the film aroused several unions "to

⁷⁴ The Class "A" Theater was owned by the Seattle Union Theater Company, a worker cooperative founded in the summer of 1919; *Seattle Union Record*, August 2, 19, 1919, July 9, November 3, 1920, January 22, 1921. For descriptions of worker-owned movie theaters in other cities, see *ibid.*, July 22, August 11, September 17, 1920, January 24, 1921; *New York Call*, July 29, 1921; *Chicago New Majority*, December 10, 1921; *Los Angeles Citizen*, April 7, July 21, 1922.

⁷⁵ *Seattle Union Record*, December 16, 1922; *AFL Proceedings 1926*, 159. *The New Disciple* set box office records at the St. Denis Theater in Montreal, the Academy Theater in Buffalo, and was held over three weeks at the National Winter Garden in lower east side Manhattan.

⁷⁶ William F. Kruse, "Workers' Conquest of Films," *Workers Monthly*, 3 (September 1925): 503.

combat local open shop campaigns.”⁷⁷ Repeated screenings of *Labor’s Reward*, the AFL reported, increased local union membership and “awakened workers to what the trade union movement has accomplished and also to the power of our organized dollar when we insist on the Union label.”⁷⁸ Working-class struggles against employers and police shown in *The Passaic Textile Strike*, insisted the *Daily Worker*, helped the wage earner “strengthen his mind and heart for militant labor.”⁷⁹

These films also demonstrated that mass culture did not necessarily undermine autonomous class or ethnic identities. Workers and radicals frequently used films to link and reinforce class and ethnicity. The LFS and IWA organized special “Labor Film Festivals” in foreign-born working-class sections of New York, Detroit, and Chicago.⁸⁰ Screenings were also sponsored by working-class ethnic associations—Ukrainians in New York, Finns in Minnesota and Michigan, Slovaks and Croats in Pennsylvania, and Jews in Detroit and New York—to raise money for strike funds or new buildings. Female trade unionists occasionally ran films such as *Labor’s Reward* to illustrate the close connections between women’s and class interests.⁸¹

The worker film movement evoked aggressive responses from government authorities. When *The Contrast* was shown in Pittsburgh in March 1921, slumped down in the back rows of the theater busily taking notes was one of J. Edgar Hoover’s agents. Hoover considered the worker film movement significant enough to assign agents of the Bureau of Investigation (the predecessor of the FBI) to monitor the activities of key figures in the LFS, FFC, and IWA and send him reviews of their films. Fear of labor films was so pronounced that Hoover and the U.S. Postmaster’s office conspired with the New York City police Red Squad in 1920 to deny the LFS a permit to publish their proposed *Labor Film Magazine*.⁸² Seattle employers, equally concerned about the possible influence of labor films, planted spies in local unions to report on the activities of the FFC and its leaders.⁸³

The fierce determination of state and local censors to keep worker films off the screen further testified to official fears about the power of visual radicalism. Censorship was most severe in areas where class conflict was most pronounced. Ohio, Kansas, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, New York, Washington, and

⁷⁷ *Chicago New Majority*, March 1, 1924; *New York Call*, June 29, 1922.

⁷⁸ *AFL News*, December 12, 1925.

⁷⁹ *Chicago Daily Worker*, September 25, 1926.

⁸⁰ The LFS sponsored a “Labor Film Cycle” in lower east side New York; the IWA held “Worker Film Festivals” in Detroit and Chicago; *New York Call*, June 4, 14, 1922; *Chicago Daily Worker*, October 25, December 2, 1924.

⁸¹ For examples of screenings by working-class ethnic associations, see *Chicago Daily Worker*, October 9, December 2, 1924, December 26, 1925, January 28, 1927; *New York Daily Worker*, October 11, 1928; *Chicago Federation News*, December 26, 1925; the use of film by female unionists is described in January 9, 1926, September 15, 1928.

⁸² For the Bureau agent’s review of *The Contrast*, see “Report of Agent H. J. Lennon,” March 17, 1921, Reel 926, BS 202600–197; the *Labor Film Magazine* is discussed in Robert A. Bowen to J. Edgar Hoover, January 7, 1921, Reel 926, 212657, Bureau of Investigation, NA; and Whitney, *Reds*, 148. Hoover, who passed on information about the labor film movement to Military Intelligence, kept files on John Arthur Nelson (FFC), Joseph Cannon (LFS), William Kruse (IWA), John Slayton (author of *The Contrast*), and Upton Sinclair. For examples, see “Report of F. L. Turner,” June 11, 1918, Reel 512, OG 125,871; Robert C. Deming to W. P. Hazen, November 3, 1920, Reel 926, 202600–197; Hoover to Brigadier General A. E. Nolan, December 8, 1920, January 10, 1921, Reel 926, 202600–197–4; “Special Report of J. F. Loren, June 16, 1921, Reel 941, 202600–209, Investigative Case Files, Bureau of Investigation, NA.

⁸³ “Report of Agent 106,” November 21, 1919, folder 18, January 14, folder 20, April 30, 1920, folder 24, Box 1; “Report of Agent 17,” March 25, folder 4, June 6, 1920, folder 7, Box 2. Broussais C. Beck Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington, Seattle; “Report of Agent #172,” April 20, 1920, folder 6, Box 1, Roy John Kinnear Papers, University of Washington.

South Carolina passed laws empowering local boards to ban or cut any films and intertitles “calculated to stir up . . . antagonistic relations between labor and capital” or “revolutionize our form of government through insidious propaganda.”⁸⁴ In Kansas, where coal miners’ strikes raged, censors banned *The Contrast*, ruling that scenes “of a coal strike and an appeal of the strikers for railroad men to join in” incited class antagonisms by laying “too much stress upon the power of the strike.”⁸⁵ In North Carolina, where textile troubles simmered, Durham officials refused to let *Labor’s Reward* be shown in the municipal auditorium.⁸⁶ Censors in Ohio, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and New York prevented the IWA from showing *The Jungle*, *The Miners’ Strike*, and several Russian films on the grounds that they “tend to incite to riot and disorder.” Commenting on the class bias of censors, William Kruse complained that regulations “never prevented hundreds of films from showing labor organizations as murderous, grafting brutes, while their capitalist opponents embodied all the virtues.”⁸⁷

FOR OVER TWO DECADES, workers, trade unionists, and socialists struggled to politicize and use mass culture on their own behalf. Yet their efforts to create a permanent oppositional cinema ultimately failed. The demise of this quest can be attributed to four key factors: first, the high costs of making feature films and the reluctance of relatively wealthy organizations like the AFL to help finance or endorse them; second, the combined opposition of industry leaders who refused to distribute or exhibit these films and state officials who censored them; third, the changing film tastes and reluctance of union movie audiences to engage in “cultural” struggles; and last, the coming of “talkies” and the emergence of radio.

To create films that people would want to see, filmmakers had to make them appealing—and that meant using good production values: good costumes, sets, and action scenes. Good productions, however, required money, and money was the one thing worker-filmmakers had a hard time obtaining. Studio features of the 1920s cost anywhere from \$40,000 to \$500,000, with the average five or six-reeler ranging from \$60,000 to \$200,000.⁸⁸ Consequently, even low-budget labor films proved difficult to finance. It took John Slayton three years to raise the \$36,000 needed to make *The Contrast* and another year for the LFS to raise the funds to promote and release it. Yet Slayton and the LFS were luckier than the leaders of the Motive Motion Picture Corporation. After nearly two years of visiting railroad locals and advertising in labor papers, the company raised only enough money to make a few newsreels. The MMPC, in turn, was more fortunate than the nearly half-dozen production companies that lacked the funds to produce anything.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Ernst and Lorentz, *Censored*, 42; *Annual Report for the Moving Picture Commission for the Year 1922* (Albany, N.Y., 1922), 10.

⁸⁵ McGuire to Gompers, March 1, 1922; McGuire to AFL, September 24, 1921, Subjects Correspondence (AFL), Box 15, NBRMP.

⁸⁶ *AFL News*, March 13, 1926.

⁸⁷ *Chicago Daily Worker*, December 31, 1924; for censorship of IWA films, see March 18, 1925; also see Deputy Commissioner, Motion Picture Commission to International Workers’ Aid, October 8, 1926, Memo on *The Jungle*, by M.D.F., ca. September 1927, folder M247; and State of Ohio, Department of Education, Division of Film Censorship Board reports on *The Miners’ Strike* and *Breaking Chains* (1927), folder M248, Brandon Collection, MOMA; *Chicago Daily Worker*, March 18, 1925; *New York Daily Worker*, February 26, May 17, 1929.

⁸⁸ Hampton, *History of the Movies*, 248, 313; Jacobs, *Rise of American Film*, 293; *AFL Proceedings 1922*, 139.

⁸⁹ The fund-raising travails of Slayton and the LFS are described in *New York Call*, March 19, July 11,

Recognizing that local unions could not provide enough capital to finance a regular, or even sporadic, series of features and newsreels, several worker film companies turned to the AFL for financial assistance. But Samuel Gompers and the AFL's executive council were unwilling to associate the AFL with "radical" elements at a time the labor body was struggling to portray itself as a legitimate "American" organization. Because he was unable to control the message of the films, Gompers refused to provide any of these fledgling companies—many of whom maintained close ties with socialists—with money or endorsements.⁹⁰ The enthusiastic assistance of the AFL could have turned failure into success. Well-marketed labor films had the potential to make a good deal of money. The "12½ million members of labor unions in English speaking countries," explained one hopeful labor film company executive, formed "a tremendous guaranteed-in-advance audience for just such a union-labeled picture." Yet, in order to persuade reluctant distributors and exhibitors that union members would patronize these films, production companies needed an official endorsement from the AFL and its 3 million potential customers—9 to 10 million if their families were included. "Without this endorsement," California labor leader P. H. Peterson warned Gompers in November 1920, "the big producers would kill this picture and it would be an impossibility, almost, to get a showing." Companies could hardly expect to get the support of wary industry personnel if they could not even get the support of their own kind.⁹¹ Peterson's dire predictions of industry opposition in the face of AFL apathy proved correct. Without such an endorsement, labor filmmakers had difficulty lining up financiers, distributors, or exhibitors.

Factors outside the labor movement played an equally important role in thwarting worker-filmmakers. The rise of the "studio system" and national theater chains in the 1920s shifted enormous control of production, distribution, and exhibition operations into the hands of a few powerful, vertically integrated companies. "The whole industry is so completely controlled by big business," Upton Sinclair complained in 1923, "that there is practically no chance of breaking in." The studio system tried to squeeze out all independent competitors. "Unless an independent producer sells his product to one of the Big Three," independent producer Murray Garsson explained in 1925, "he is shut out of the opportunity of having his picture gross a revenue sufficient to cover the cost of production." Moreover, the politics of labor films made it virtually impossible to obtain industry backing. "All capitalists whom I have tried to interest in financing the play," lamented labor producer Carl Clancy, "refuse to invest in it because they say it so

1918, January 20, 1919, January 7, 1921; Joseph Cannon, Circular Letter, March 28, 1921, Cannon to Sinclair, April 5, 1921, folder J217, Brandon Collection, MOMA; *AFL Proceedings 1922*, 139. For the MMPC, see David Horsley to May Horsley, September 1918, folder 17, and the letters in folder 25, Horsley Papers, AMPAS.

⁹⁰ The fact that Joseph Cannon and James Duncan, key figures in the LFS and FFC, led a movement to unseat Gompers undoubtedly contributed to his reluctance to help their companies. For worker film companies' appeals, see Clancy to Morrison, July 29, 1919, Morrison to Clancy, July 29, 1919, AFL Convention 1919, reel 29; W. G. Lee to Gompers, June 7, 1919, Harriman to Gompers, November 24, 1920, Gompers to Peterson, March 5, 1921, J. Arthur Nelson to Gompers, February 25, 1921, Gompers to Nelson, March 13, 1921, Gompers to William Diamond, March 3, 1921, reel 30, AFL Convention 1920, AFL Records.

⁹¹ Clancy to Morrison, July 29, 1919, reel 29, AFL Convention 1919; Peterson to Gompers, November 12, 1920, reel 30, AFL Convention 1920. On the important role the AFL could have played in facilitating distribution and exhibition, see Hastings to Horsley, May 2, 1919, folder 28, Horsley to Lyon, June 30, 1919, folder 25, Horsley Papers, AMPAS; *Los Angeles Citizen*, March 16, 1923.

strongly boosts the closed shop, and the cause of organized labor.”⁹² It seems more than mere coincidence that shortly after the opening of *The Contrast* and *The New Disciple*, the National Association of the Motion Picture Industry, which represented 90 percent of the nation’s distributors, organized a special “vigilance committee” to “protect the public against wildcat film company investments.”⁹³

By 1927, exhibition was virtually monopolized by large chains or studios with little interest in exhibiting films that expressed “the labor point of view.”⁹⁴ To attract more prosperous audiences, explains Lizabeth Cohen, chains like Balaban and Katz moved “to expunge the working-class, neighborhood character from the movie-going experience” and institute a “standardized, ‘American’ atmosphere in all its theaters.”⁹⁵ Films with strong working-class or socialist messages simply did not fit this new agenda. Frequent strikes by movie operators did little to incline exhibitors toward showing pro-labor movies. Even sympathetic local theater managers outside the chains found it problematic to screen independent films, labor or otherwise, for “block booking” practices forced them to fill their programs with studio releases.⁹⁶

State opposition posed yet another problem for working-class filmmakers. The growing tendency of local and state censors to ban or cut their products compounded the difficulties of financing, distributing, and exhibiting labor films. Mineowners, manufacturers, and financiers often succeeded in pressuring local and state boards to censor films or newsreels depicting labor and radical activity. In Pennsylvania, “scenes sympathetic toward labor,” minister Charles Stelze reported in March 1921, “were eliminated [from newsreels] on the order of the Governor, which clearly indicates how state censorship brings motion pictures under the control of the dominant political machine.” The creation of a censorship board in West Virginia was “traced directly to the capitalistic interests and originated from the fact that several pictures were shown indicating the success of trade unionism as opposed to capitalism.”⁹⁷ Bearing in mind that the MMPC, LFS, and FFC were all financed through stock sales, how many investors—who expected some return on their capital—would back a film that might never reach the screen or would take many years to do so? The prospect of spending several years raising money and the logistical nightmares involved in battling government censors and getting their films into theaters undoubtedly discouraged prospective labor filmmakers from pursuing their goals.

Cultural as well as material considerations also hastened the demise of the worker

⁹² *Soviet Russia Pictorial*, 8 (June 1923): 124; Garsson quoted in *Chicago Daily Worker*, November 14, 1925; Clancy to Morrison, July 29, 1919, reel 29, AFL Convention Records 1919.

⁹³ *New York Call*, May 16, June 23, 1921.

⁹⁴ Sinclair to Maxine Alton, November 17, 1922, file J215, Brandon Collection, MOMA.

⁹⁵ Cohen, *Making a New Deal*, 125. The rise of chains and their efforts to standardize moviegoing experiences are discussed in James I. Deutsch, “The Rise and Fall of the House of Ushers: Teenage Ticket-Takers in the Twenties Theaters,” *Journal of Popular Culture*, 13 (Spring 1980): 604–06; Douglas Gomery, “The Growth of Movie Monopolies: The Case of Balaban and Katz,” *Wide Angle*, 3 (1979): 54–63; Douglas Gomery, “The Movies Become Big Business: Publix Theaters and the American Chain-Store Strategy,” *Cinema Journal*, 18 (Spring 1979): 26–40; Gorham Kindem, ed., *The American Movie Industry: The Business of Motion Pictures* (Carbondale, Ill., 1982); Hampton, *History of the Movies*.

⁹⁶ Block booking practices, chaining, and the rise of the studio system are discussed in Jacobs, *Rise of American Film*, 289–92; Harry Alan Potamkin, “Who Owns the Movies?” *Workers Theatre*, 1 (February 1932): 27–29, and 2 (April 1932): 18–22; J. Douglas Gomery, “Hollywood, the National Recovery Administration, and the Question of Monopoly Power,” *Journal of the University Film Association*, 31 (Spring 1979): 47–52; Jowett, *Film*, 199–203; Cohen, *Making a New Deal*, 125–28; and sources in previous note.

⁹⁷ Charles Stelze to Dr. Herbert Gates, March 17, 1921, McGuire to R. Murray, April 21, 1921, Subjects Correspondence (Stelze), Box 43, NBRMP.

film movement. The melodramatic conventions employed by labor and studio filmmakers (such as D. W. Griffith and Thomas Ince) in the 1910s and early 1920s grew increasingly less popular by the late 1920s. Movies about sex, jazz, consumption, and the fast life were more appealing to audiences than “old style” moralistic melodramas. Studio films increasingly focused on the lives and problems of the new middle class, and, since the studios controlled a great deal of what was made and shown (through their ownership of movie theaters), these were the films to which audiences grew accustomed. Moreover, movie palaces that screened these films also provided viewers with jazz concerts, fashion parades, and elaborate stage shows that most neighborhood theaters simply could not afford. Even among union audiences, observed one Milwaukee labor daily, “good productions alone are not enough for theatre patrons these days.”⁹⁸

Union audiences were also responsible for the failure of the labor film movement. Despite the superior resources of their opponents and apathy of the AFL, worker film companies could have found a niche in the industry had they received the support of local labor and radical organizations. An innovative proposal by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) in November 1927 detailed how the labor film movement could be revitalized by turning the nation’s 1,500 labor temple auditoriums into movie theaters. Since few exhibitors controlled more than several hundred theaters, the labor temples would have constituted the largest exhibition network in the country. By also handling distribution, the labor theaters could have provided a guaranteed market for worker films and attracted new investors for future labor productions. “When you show capital that you have the means to dispose your pictures,” explained one IBEW official, “you can get all the financial backing you want.”⁹⁹ The plan, however, received little support. Trade unionists militant in their workplace activities were somehow less committed to waging cultural struggles over movies. Even more modest battle cries were ignored. Despite the pleas of worker film companies, unionists (unlike their predecessors in 1910) now rarely exercised their consumer power by demanding pro-labor films and boycotting theaters that ran antilabor features. Similarly, movie operators around the country also complained of numerous union families who, despite pleas and fines from local labor councils, patronized antiunion movie houses.¹⁰⁰

Two developments brought this first era of oppositional cinema to a close: the arrival of “talkies” and radio. With the success and rapid spread of sound in the late 1920s and early 1930s, it simply became too expensive for labor and radical organizations to make movies that would attract large audiences. Silent films, one Chicagoan explained in 1931, quickly became an anachronism to be found only in small towns and rural areas.¹⁰¹ Even if they could raise the money to make a

⁹⁸ *Milwaukee Leader*, April 28, 1928. On changing plots and melodramatic conventions, see May, *Screening Out the Past*; Sklar, *Movie-Made America*; Jacobs, *Rise of American Film*. Lengthy reviews of movie palace stage shows in labor and socialist newspapers, and oral histories I am presently conducting, indicate that movie palaces were indeed quite popular among working-class men and women, especially as a Saturday night event.

⁹⁹ *Journal of the Electrical Workers*, 27 (February 1928): 109; the proposals are described in 26 (November 1927): 587; 27 (February 1928): 59–61, 109; for responses, see 27 (March 1928): 129; (May 1928): 252; (September 1928): 475.

¹⁰⁰ The Seattle Union Theatre Company estimated that local union members and their families spent a total of \$50,000 each week on movies; *Seattle Union Record*, August 2, 1919. Minutes of central labor council meetings printed in various labor newspapers are filled with admonitions to union families who patronized blacklisted movie houses.

¹⁰¹ Cohen, *Making a New Deal*, 127. *The Jazz Singer* cost \$500,000 to make.

"talkie," there was still the problem of where to show it. In most major urban centers, the neighborhood theater owner was the one most likely to show worker-made films and newsreels. Yet the high costs of wiring theaters for sound—\$10,000 to \$30,000, depending on the theater's size—and the onset of the Great Depression forced many local houses to close down or sell out to chains like Publix or Balaban and Katz. Since the few commercial allies of the radical filmmakers were unable to afford this costly conversion, they could scarcely expect unions or radical organizations to convert their halls to sound.¹⁰²

But worker struggles to produce mass culture went on. The same impulse that led unionists and radicals into film led others to embrace a new medium—radio—that was cheaper, more accessible, and reached a vast audience with less fuss and bother. Instead of spending several years raising funds and securing distributors and exhibitors, workers could simply write a script, go on the air, and enter the homes of millions of listeners. A new age of cultural politics was inaugurated in the mid-1920s as unions, central labor councils, and socialists in numerous cities began broadcasting regular programs on local stations. The perceived power of the new medium was so great that the Chicago Federation of Labor opened its own radio station, WCFL, in July 1926. A year later, socialists in New York City followed suit by launching WEVD (named after Eugene V. Debs). Yet the conflicts with industry and the state that characterized worker struggles over film were also replicated in their struggles over the airwaves. Oligarchic national networks gradually absorbed community stations and forced workers off the air, while capitalists and their allies pressured federal officials to revoke the licenses of WCFL and WEVD.¹⁰³

Oppositional filmmaking did not die out but was taken over by a new generation of radicals in the 1930s and 1940s, who launched modest organizations such as the New York Workers Film and Photo League, Nykino, and Frontier Films. These groups differed from their predecessors in two respects: they were filmmakers who happened to be radicals rather than people based in the labor or socialist movement who used film, and they generally produced documentaries that interested relatively small audiences rather than features aimed at a broad public. During the past five decades, labor unions, though abandoning the theatrical realm, have continued making nontheatrical films. More recent organizations, such as *Newsreel* and the AFL's Labor Institute of Public Affairs, produce television shows for local stations and lobby network and studio executives to provide more progressive media depictions of workers, their lives, and their struggles.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Figures are from Hampton, *History of Movies*, 383. By 1930, all Chicago theaters with seating capacities greater than 1,500 were wired for sound; less than a quarter of those seating less than 350 had done so; Cohen, *Making a New Deal*, 128. On the problems and money needed for sound wiring, see J. Douglas Gomery, "The Coming of the Talkies: Invention, Innovation, and Diffusion," in Balio, *American Film Industry*, 193–211; Jowett, *Film*, 190–97, 260; *New York Call*, May 31, 1920.

¹⁰³ In 1925, AFL convention delegates called on the executive council to open a national radio station to bring the AFL's message to a large audience; *AFL Proceedings 1925*, 316; *AFL Proceedings 1926*, 59–61, 247–48; *AFL Proceedings 1927*, 74–75, 169–70, 319, 379. The efforts of unionists and socialists to use radio are discussed in Nathan Godfried, "The Origins of Labor Radio: WCFL, the 'Voice of Labor,' 1925–1928," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 7 (1987): 143–59; Cohen, *Making a New Deal*, 136–42; "Radio Broadcasting," AFL Convention 1925, reel 33; *Los Angeles Citizen*, August 21, 1925, July 23, 1926, April 15, 1927; *Seattle Union Record*, August 29, December 14, 1925, March 5, October 27, 1927; *Chicago Federation News*, January 9, 1926.

¹⁰⁴ For radical filmmaking in the 1930s and 1940s, see sources in note 2; Harry Alan Potamkin, "Film and Photo Call to Action," *Workers Theatre*, 1 (July 1931): 5–7; on radical newsreel activity, see Michael Renov, "Newsreel: Old and New Toward an Historical Profile," *Film Quarterly*, 41 (Fall 1987): 20–33; for union forays into film and television, see Jack Howard, "Labor Day: San Francisco," *The Quarterly of Film, Radio and Television*, 10 (Fall 1955): 42–43; AFL-CIO, *Films for Labor*, publication 22 (Washington, D.C., 1979); *Wall Street Journal*, July 23, 1984; Larry Kirkman (Executive Director, Labor Institute of

THESE EARLY STRUGGLES FOR THE SCREEN reveal that hegemonic control over mass culture is a process and not an event. From 1900 to the present, those seeking cultural hegemony over the movie industry have faced the dual task of establishing control and eliminating opposition. During the first decades of the century, movies seemed as much a potential weapon of working-class resistance as they did a form of capitalist domination. The oppositional efforts of the workers did not collapse because of any innate deradicalizing tendencies in commercialized culture. They collapsed because of the superior resources and collective opposition of the industry and the state. Hegemonic forms of mass culture did not insinuate themselves into a dominant position. Control of the screen, like control of the workplace, was only achieved through a process of struggle and the exercise of power by one class or group over another.

The emergence of the studios and their financial backers as the industry's controlling force in the 1930s did not signal an end to battles for cultural hegemony. Frankfurt School theorists correctly portrayed American cinema of that era as dominated by capitalists. But this control was neither as secure nor as ideologically homogeneous as they implied. Industry leaders continued to face challenges from a wide range of other groups: employees who waged bitter battles over unionization and workplace control; rival capitalists who called for antitrust legislation to end the studios' control over production, distribution, and exhibition; politicians and government agencies that acted on these demands; churches and reform organizations that pressed for greater film censorship; and ethnic, racial, labor, and women's media-monitoring groups that sought to alter the ways in which they were depicted on the screen.¹⁰⁵

This brief look at movies and class struggle also suggests further areas of research. The politics of mass culture are clearly more complex than earlier generations of theorists and cultural critics assumed. Scholars need to see mass culture not as a monolithic entity but as a heterogeneous series of mediums, each with a distinct history, form, and ideology. Further studies of battles for control of the radio, record, and television industries would greatly enhance our understanding of the content and politics of mass media. Questions regarding audience reception mark another important area for future research. Audiences were not a *tabula rasa* on whom producers—be they capitalists or radicals—could easily impose their ideas. People drew on their class, gender, racial, ethnic, and religious experiences to give meaning to what they saw on the screen or heard on their radios or phonographs. Works that explore the interrelations among cultural producers, their products, their audiences, and the world they shared would provide us with

Public Affairs), "Organized Labor's Growing Presence in Commercial Television Programming," speech given to National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, February 8, 1984, New York City. Many of the films produced by labor organizations since the 1940s can be found in the AFL-CIO Film Collection, NA.

¹⁰⁵ Descriptions of these battles can be found in Hugh Lovell and Tasile Carter, *Collective Bargaining in the Motion Picture Industry* (Berkeley, Calif., 1955); Michael Conant, *Antitrust Legislation in the Motion Picture Industry: Economic and Legal Analysis* (Berkeley, 1960); Gomery, "Hollywood, the National Recovery Administration, and the Question of Monopoly Power"; Lea Jacobs, "Industry Self-Regulation and the Problem of Textual Determination," *The Velvet Light Trap Review of Cinema*, 23 (Spring 1989): 4–16; Ira Carmen, *Movies, Censorship and the Law* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1967); Ruth Inglis, *Freedom of the Movies* (Chicago, 1947); Paul W. Facey, *The Legion of Decency* (New York, 1974); Stephen Vaughn, "Morality and Entertainment: The Origins of the Motion Picture Production Code," *Journal of American History*, 77 (June 1990): 39–65; and sources mentioned in notes 42, 52, and 53.

more sophisticated understandings of the multiple meanings and impact of mass culture.

Social historians, who have skillfully reconstructed the history of workers, women, and minorities, should apply the same abilities to reconstructing the history of mass culture. But this must be a history that recognizes ordinary people as producers and not simply as consumers of culture. Just as classes are made and remade over time, so, too, are their cultures. The domination of culture is never firmly established but is, as workers and radicals past and present have shown, constantly being asserted, resisted, and reasserted.

“We Can Not Get a Living as We Used To”: Dispossession and the White Earth Anishinaabeg, 1889–1920

MELISSA L. MEYER

IN 1867, U.S. POLICY MAKERS AND ANISHINAABE LEADERS conceived of the White Earth Reservation as a place where the Indians might “conquer poverty by [their] own exertions.”¹ Eight hundred thousand acres that included prime farmland in the Red River Valley, valuable stands of pine timber, and lakes and streams supporting seasonal resources on which the Anishinaabeg had relied for generations seemed well suited to meet both subsistence needs and an evolving market orientation. Assimilationists had always thought of Indian reservations as temporary phases in a process whereby American Indians would meld completely into American culture.² In this bountiful, isolated area, federal officials hoped that the Anishinaabeg would be able to learn the ways of market farming and successfully “assimilate.”

The major focus of U.S. Indian policy in the late nineteenth century was on privatizing reservation resources. Eastern “humanitarians” directed the trend in a belief that inculcating the value of private property and market behavior would hasten Indians’ assimilation. Since simply setting a good example for them had failed to achieve desired results, more forceful measures were apparently necessary. They buttressed their faith in the almost magical ability of private property to transform Indians’ collective values with a restriction protecting allotted land from sale or alienation for twenty-five years. Western politicians anticipated an economic windfall from “surplus” acres that would be opened after lands had been allotted and lent their support. These sentiments dovetailed to produce the General Allotment Act of 1887. Reservations nationwide were to be divided into privately

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¹ Anishinaabeg (or Anishinaabe in the adjectival form) is the native language term meaning “the people.” It is used here in preference to the terms “Chippewa” or “Ojibwe,” which refer to the style of moccasins historically made by these people. As such, they represent outsiders’ labels. “Chippewa Indians in Minnesota,” 51 Congress, 1 session, 1890, House Executive Documents 2747, 247: 109; Treaty of 1867, *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 16: 1–4.

² Loring Benson Priest, *Uncle Sam’s Stepchildren: The Reformation of U.S. Indian Policy, 1865–1887* (New Brunswick, Canada, 1942); Robert A. Trennert, Jr., *Alternative to Extinction: Federal Indian Policy and the Beginnings of the Reservation System, 1846–1851* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1975).

held parcels of up to 160 acres each, with any remaining acreage opened to "settlement."³

Before the act could be fully implemented, however, the direction of national policy shifted in two ways. First, because some Indians at White Earth and elsewhere clearly understood market values, it seemed patently "un-American" to regulate how they managed their allotted property. Policy makers thus sought some mechanism to free "competent" Indians from restrictions. Second, guarded optimism that most Indians could learn to function in a capitalistic economy gave way to pessimistic certainty that their inherent "backwardness" would prevent them from doing so. Social engineers reasoned that Indians had failed to assimilate because they were incapable of it. Policies promoting this end were therefore pointless.⁴ With these attitudes in place, the stage was set for local Euro-American businesses and speculators to gain access to recently privatized resources. After the turn of the twentieth century, the vision of reservations populated by Indian landowners swiftly fell victim to the drive for the increasingly efficient incorporation of reservation resources into the rapidly maturing U.S. industrial capitalist economy.⁵ Allotment policy has been blamed for the rapid loss of reservation land in the early twentieth century, but, in truth, it never had a chance to succeed.

Before Euro-Americans rushed to acquire White Earth's resources, the Indians had successfully adapted to the reservation. It served as a haven of sorts and allowed immigrants to escape economic limitations of the forest and lake country of north-central Minnesota and to perpetuate their lifeways. Had they retained the land base, the White Earth Anishinaabeg might have continued to adapt. But "assimilation" went awry for the Anishinaabeg, and corporate gain won out. Dispossession undercut a generations-old pattern of Anishinaabe self-support and flexible adaptation that had persisted into the twentieth century. Under the guise of "assimilation," U.S. government policies brought them increased poverty, disease, and diaspora.

The scenario is familiar—one that is not unique to White Earth. The expansion of Europe in the fifteenth century and the quest to obtain resources that fueled the Industrial Revolution set in motion similar processes around the world.⁶ From the

³ Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880–1920* (Lincoln, Neb., 1984); D. S. Otis, *The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands*, Francis Paul Prucha, ed. (Norman, Okla., 1973); Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865–1900* (Norman, Okla., 1976); Henry E. Fritz, *The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860–1890* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1963); Robert Mardock, *The Reformers and the American Indian* (Columbia, Mo., 1971).

⁴ See Hoxie, *Final Promise*, esp. chaps. 3 and 5. Hoxie discerned this subtle, yet fundamental, policy shift by reaching beyond standard sources used in policy analysis to embrace "popular literature, anthropological theory, and the history of education"; xiv.

⁵ Janet A. McDonnell, "Competency Commissions and Indian Land Policy, 1913–1920," *South Dakota History*, 11 (1980): 21–34; Janet A. McDonnell, "The Disintegration of the Indian Estate: Indian Land Policy, 1913–1929" (Ph.D. dissertation, Marquette University, 1980); Leonard Carlson, *Indians, Bureaucrats, and Land: The Dawes Act and the Decline of Indian Farming* (Westport, Conn., 1981); H. Craig Miner, *The Corporation and the Indian: Tribal Sovereignty and Industrial Civilization in Indian Territory, 1865–1907* (Columbia, Mo., 1971); Martin J. Sklar, *The Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism 1890–1916* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988); Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877–1920* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

⁶ World systems theory is a major area of sociological and economic research. The classic treatments are: Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1974); Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Capitalist World Economy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979); Andre Gunder Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment," *Monthly Review*, 18 (1966): 17–31; Andre Gunder Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil*, rev. edn. (New York, 1969). For an overview that focuses more on the experiences of colonized people worldwide, see Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982).

first decades of colonization, native North Americans struggled to maintain their autonomy, sometimes succeeding, often failing, and always adapting. As Euro-Americans created societies of their own, they increasingly sought to incorporate or absorb the land and resources of Indian groups.⁷ However, the concomitant of incorporation for native people, one that world-systems theorists usually mention only in passing, was marginalization.

Although incorporation and marginalization affected all native groups in North America, the processes varied across time and space—probably in patterned ways. In general, utilizing or living near resources that were highly valued in the world economy and being located near a locus of strong state power meant that native groups soon felt the full impact of incorporation. State expansion and changes in technology, often transportation, enabled the resources of distant groups to be incorporated. Yet many factors could intervene to produce local variations in this general pattern.⁸

Recently, Thomas D. Hall presented a comparative model of incorporation that emphasized a number of factors establishing parameters within which natives and Euro-Americans interacted: the resources being exploited, the structure of the state government involved and its position in the world economy, the timing of incorporation relative to the evolution of the world economy, and the internal social organization of incorporated societies.⁹ Ideally, facets of native cultures beyond social organization need to be included in the model, since native value systems and political structures also influenced the outcome of their interaction with Euro-Americans.

For native groups that survived initial epidemics and depopulation, ideological consensus facilitated political cohesion. The ability to present a unified front when dealing with Euro-Americans enhanced a group's power, adaptability, and autonomy. Attempts to forge alliances and confederations illustrate that some natives recognized this. Small groups and those unable to mediate internal differences were at greater risk of Euro-American domination. The point is presented most clearly by reference to the extremes. Pueblo groups, veritable theocracies in which fused religious and political institutions ensured conformity to group ideals, fared much better in their dealings with Euro-Americans than did the White Earth Anishinaabeg. At White Earth, profound factional divisions prevented concerted

⁷ Thomas D. Hall is exemplary among the few scholars who have attempted to explicate processes by which American Indians' resources were incorporated into the world system. See the following works by Hall, *Social Change in the Southwest, 1350–1880* (Lawrence, Kan., 1988); "Patterns of Native American Incorporation into State Societies," in *Public Policy Impacts on American Indian Economic Development*, C. Matthew Snipp, ed. (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1988): 23–38; "Incorporation in the World System: Toward a Critique," *American Sociological Review*, 51 (1986): 390–402; "Lessons of Long-Term Change for Comparative and Historical Study of Ethnicity," *Current Perspectives in Social Theory*, 5 (1984): 121–44; "Is Historical Sociology of Peripheral Regions Peripheral?" *California Sociologist*, 8 (1985): 281–304; "Peripheries, Regions of Refuge, and Nonstate Societies: Toward a Theory of Reactive Social Change," *Social Science Quarterly*, 64 (1983): 582–97. Other insightful studies are C. Matthew Snipp, "The Changing Political and Economic Status of American Indians: From Captive Nations to Internal Colonies," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 45 (1986): 145–57; C. Matthew Snipp, "Old and New Views of Economic Development in Indian Country," *Overcoming Economic Dependency: Papers and Comments from the First Newberry Library Conference on Themes in American Indian History* (Chicago, 1988); Gary C. Anders, "The Internal Colonization of Cherokee Native Americans," *Development and Change*, 10 (1977): 41–55; Gary C. Anders, "Theories of Underdevelopment and the American Indian," *Journal of Economic Issues*, 14 (1980): 681–702; Gary C. Anders, "The Reduction of a Self-Sufficient People to Poverty and Welfare Dependence: An Analysis of the Causes of Cherokee Indian Underdevelopment," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 40 (1981): 225–38.

⁸ See the introduction to Hall, *Social Change*.

⁹ Hall, "Patterns of Native American Incorporation," 26.

action at the very time it was most necessary. Individualistic, capitalistic values proved to be divisive for native societies and promoted accumulation of wealth by a few, greater distinctions among social groups, and less homogeneity in values than had previously existed. At times, political structures were manipulated by those with capitalistic values and contested by those with concern for a group's collective welfare. Either case paved the way for incorporation of resources.¹⁰ Some groups, however, most notably the Pueblo and the Red Lake Anishinaabeg, managed to maintain both their political cohesion and their land bases.¹¹

The foregoing examples are merely suggestive, but they surely demonstrate that value systems and political structures merit inclusion in a model of incorporation and marginalization. A more holistic approach to native cultures will counterbalance the heavy emphasis Hall's model places on the nature of states and the world economy. This approach promises to provide a long-term comparative context that can reveal both patterns and aberrations in the interaction between Euro-Americans and American Indians.

THE WHITE EARTH CASE illustrates the general processes of incorporation and marginalization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the effects of dispossession. This essay will focus on the economic strategies evolved by members of two ethnic groups among the White Earth Anishinaabeg as they adapted to opportunities offered by the environment and the expanding market economy. It will examine how legislation formulated by Euro-American political and economic interests eliminated the Indian-owned land base. Finally, it will explore the impact of dispossession on reservation residents.

The White Earth Reservation lies in a transition area where prairie meets forest. Several glacially created features influenced subsequent environmental developments. The western part of the reservation is on the flat plain of Glacial Lake Agassiz. Streams flow west to the Red River, draining the area rather than producing extensive bogs. The Red River then flows northward to Hudson Bay. The Alexandria Moraine and Wadena drumlin area account for many small lakes and hills in the central and southeastern parts of White Earth.¹²

When White Earth was set aside, short grasses that interspersed with pockets of oak savanna covered the Red River Valley. At the prairie's edge, a narrow band of deciduous forest formed an almost complete barrier between the coniferous forest and the prairie. Oak predominated among diverse tree species in the hardwood forest, while only occasional stands of white birch interrupted the uniformity of coniferous forests.

Hardwood forest and edge communities supported more diverse animal life than

¹⁰ See Melissa L. Meyer, "Signatures and Thumbprints: Ethnicity among the White Earth Anishinaabeg, 1889–1920," *Social Science History*, 14 (1990): 305–45.

¹¹ See Melissa L. Meyer, "The Ojibwe of the Red Lake Peatland Area," in *The Peatlands of Northern Minnesota*, H. E. Wright, Jr., Barbara A. Coffin, and Norman E. Aaseng, eds. (Minneapolis, Minn., forthcoming); Fred Eggan, *Social Organization of the Western Pueblos* (Chicago, 1950); Elsie Clews Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion* (Chicago, 1939); Peter Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts: Changing Hopi Culture through the Oraibi Split* (Tucson, Ariz., 1988).

¹² For the glacial history of Minnesota, see Herb E. Wright, Jr., "Late Quaternary Vegetational History of North America," in *The Late Cenozoic Glacial Ages*, K. K. Turekian, ed. (New Haven, Conn., 1971), 425–64; Herb E. Wright, Jr., and William A. Watts, *Glacial and Vegetational History of Northeastern Minnesota*, SP11 Special Publication Series, Minnesota Geological Survey (St. Paul, Minn., 1969); P. K. Simms and G. B. Morey, eds., *Geology of Minnesota: A Centennial Volume* (St. Paul, Minn., 1972), 515–47, 561–80.

either the prairie or coniferous forest, which hosted small populations of game animals. The deciduous forest transition zone provided excellent habitat for deer and other hoofed animals that required browsing conditions coniferous forests could not sustain. In addition, streams, lakes, and swamps supported moderate populations of beaver and muskrat, valued for their pelts.¹³ For several generations, Anishinaabe and Dakota bands had clashed at edge communities along the transition zone throughout Minnesota, while contesting for unrestricted access to its abundant resources and trade opportunities. This "War between the Chippewa and Sioux" clearly had an ecological basis. The generations-old conflict had created a buffer zone between the two groups where humans dared not settle but game flourished.¹⁴ Immigrants to White Earth profited from diverse and abundant resources in this previously uninhabited area.

U.S. policy makers and Anishinaabe leaders had the foresight to make White Earth Reservation straddle the prairie-forest transition area. Forest and lake country to the east supplied marketable timber and subsistence resources, while fertile prairie land to the west in the Red River Valley offered opportunities to engage in agriculture. Clearly, White Earth did not resemble arid western reservations where harsh environments consigned assimilationists' plans to failure from the start. In this sense, White Earth's ecosystem sustained diversity, allowing residents the freedom to choose among a number of options for making a living. In terms of incorporation or world-systems theory, it lay in a "region of refuge" or "marginal-peripheral area."¹⁵ Geographic isolation had retarded extensive market development and Euro-American settlement. More favorable marketing arrangements awaited better transportation links. If the government's assimilation programs had a chance to succeed anywhere, White Earth should have become a showcase.

Anishinaabe immigrants from across northern Minnesota came to the White Earth Reservation. Formerly, bands of between 500 and 1,000 bilaterally related kin had congregated on the shores of Red Lake, Leech Lake, Gull Lake, Mille Lacs, Cass Lake, Lake Winnibagoshish, Nett Lake, White Oak Point, Otter Tail Lake, and at Grand Portage and Fond du Lac on Lake Superior. They still recognized patrilineal totemic clan affiliations, but clans had increased in number since European contact. Political authority was egalitarian and consensual despite the emergence of "hereditary" leaders like Wahbahnahquod (White Cloud) and Bugonaygeshig (Hole-in-the-Day). Although many were satisfied to remain where they were, others turned their eyes to the White Earth Reservation with thoughts of beginning anew.¹⁶

¹³ For further information on Minnesota's prairie-forest transition zone and its resources, see Anthony M. Davis, "The Prairie-Deciduous Forest Ecotone in the Upper Middle West," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 67 (1977): 204–13; John R. Borchert, *Minnesota's Changing Geography* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1959); Carl Otto Rosendahl and Frederic K. Butters, *Trees and Shrubs of Minnesota* (Minneapolis, 1928); Warren Upham, *Catalogue of the Flora of Minnesota* (Minneapolis, 1884); Alfred Rogosin, "Wild Rice (*Zizania aquatica* L.) in Northern Minnesota, with Special Reference to the Effects of Various Water Levels and Water Level Changes, Seeding Densities, and Fertilizer" (Master's thesis, University of Minnesota, 1958).

¹⁴ Harold Hickerson, "The Virginia Deer and Intertribal Buffer Zones in the Upper Mississippi Valley," in *Man, Culture, and Animals: The Role of Animals in Human Ecological Adjustments*, Anthony Leeds and Andrew Vayda, eds. (Washington, D.C., 1965); Charles Watrall, "Virginia Deer and the Buffer Zone in the Late Prehistoric-Early Protohistoric Periods in Minnesota," *Plains Anthropologist*, 13 (1968): 81–86.

¹⁵ See the discussion in Hall, *Social Change*, 17–23; and Hall, "Patterns of Native American Incorporation."

¹⁶ Harold Hickerson, *The Southwestern Chippewa: An Ethnohistorical Study* (Menasha, Wis., 1962);

Members of another social group also found White Earth to be an attractive prospect. When French and English fur traders had married Indian women, they drew on the strength of kin ties to secure trading alliances. Now they and their métis offspring came to form a society of their own, relying on their bilingual, bicultural skills to mediate between conservative Indians and the larger American society. Men of mixed descent such as Clement Beaulieu and John Fairbanks adapted easily to reservation life. They operated the Beaulieu-Fairbanks trading posts as a monopoly and supplied all Anishinaabe reservations from their base of operations in Crow Wing at the confluence of the Crow Wing and Mississippi rivers. Franco and Anglo-Anishinaabe men were attuned to national legislation and understood the workings of the market. When the Treaty of 1867 provided for removal to White Earth of the Gull Lake Band, situated adjacent to Crow Wing, they knew that they would also have to move in order to perpetuate the symbiotic relationship.¹⁷

Thousands of people of mixed descent were displaced by the decline of the fur trade in northern Minnesota and Wisconsin. Many who could claim an affiliation with one of the Anishinaabe bands joined the exodus to White Earth. The Pembina band, composed of métis from the Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota, was relocated to White Earth in 1876. These enterprising individuals brought their market orientation with them in search of a renewed economic niche.¹⁸

Immigrant Anishinaabe bands tended to maintain band ties, social roles, leadership roles, and economic and cultural patterns after removal to White Earth.

Harold Hickerson, *The Chippewa and Their Neighbors: A Study in Ethnohistory* (New York, 1970); William Whipple Warren, *History of the Ojibways Based upon Traditions and Oral Statements* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1957, 1970); James G. E. Smith, "Leadership among the Southwestern Ojibwa," *Publications in Ethnology*, 8 (Ottawa, 1973); Roger Buffalohead and Priscilla Buffalohead, *Against the Tide of American History: The Story of the Mille Lacs Anishinabe* (Cass Lake, Minn., 1985); Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, *A History of Kitchi Onigaming: Grand Portage and Its People* (Cass Lake, 1983); Rebecca Kugel, "'To Go About on the Earth': An Ethnohistory of the Minnesota Ojibway" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1986).

Prior to the early twentieth century, those who recorded Anishinaabe personal names tended to try to write them down as they heard them, resulting in various phonetic forms in the historical documentation. Trying to standardize them according to current orthographies is problematic at best. Slight nuances in how a name was recorded can result in completely different translations. Trying to recover accurate spellings and translations of names recorded in this fashion is an intricate and time-consuming task best left to linguistic experts. On the advice of John Nichols, co-creator of the Nichols-Nyholm Orthography of the Anishinaabe language and faculty member in the Native Studies Department at the University of Manitoba, I selected a representative spelling of each Anishinaabe name that appears in the text for the sake of consistency. Names included in the citations are spelled as they appeared in each document to enable them to be traced and perhaps accurately translated and spelled in accordance with modern orthographies in the future.

¹⁷ Bernard Coleman, Verona La Bud, and John Humphrey, *Old Crow Wing: History of a Village* (Duluth, Minn., 1967); Rhoda R. Gilman, Carolyn Gilman, and Deborah M. Stultz, *The Red River Trails: Oxcart Routes between St. Paul and the Selkirk Settlement, 1820-1870* (St. Paul, Minn., 1979); Jacqueline Peterson, "Prelude to Red River: A Social Portrait of the Great Lakes Metis," *Ethnohistory*, 25 (1978): 41-67; Jacqueline Peterson, "Ethnogenesis: The Settlement and Growth of a 'New People' in the Great Lakes Region, 1702-1815," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 6 (1982): 23-64; Jacqueline Peterson, "The People in Between: Indian-White Marriage and the Genesis of a Metis Society and Culture in the Great Lakes Region, 1680-1830" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, 1981); "Chippewa Half-Breeds of Lake Superior," 42 Congress, 2 session, House Executive Documents 1513, 193.

¹⁸ U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, *Testimony taken by a subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs of the U.S. Senate . . . in relation to affairs at the White Earth Indian Reservation, Minnesota, March 3, 1887* (Washington, D.C., 1887); Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Congressional Serial Set (hereafter, RCIA), 1871: 592; 1874: 195; 1875: 53, 298; 1876: 84; 1877: 129; 1878: 81; *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 17: 189, 534; 18, pt. 3: 173-74; Harold Hickerson, "The Genesis of a Trading Post Band: The Pembina Chippewa," *Ethnohistory*, 3 (1956): 289-343.

Bands with a more conservative orientation to adaptation settled to the east, where they could perpetuate the seasonal harvesting round. Those who cared to try their hand at market agriculture settled to the west, where fertile prairie land beckoned. White Earth Village, in the midsection of the reservation, was a focal point for entrepreneurs and cultural brokers of mixed descent. Chain migrations characterized the removals as groups of immigrants joined friends and family at various sites. In this fashion, settlement patterns perpetuated band affiliations. Not all band members settled together, however; a degree of dispersal fostered commingling of those who shared a similar economic and cultural orientation.¹⁹

In the past, the Anishinaabeg had engaged in a regular round of harvesting activities that amply supplied their needs. Game (especially white-tailed deer), fish, wild rice, maple sugar, berries, and garden produce such as pumpkins, corn, and potatoes formed the basis of the Anishinaabe subsistence economy. Each resource matured at a certain time of year, prompting frequent movement and a division of labor by gender and age. Men and women, young and old, all performed important functions in the seasonal round. At each stage of the annual cycle of provisioning activities, families followed one another to group camps "twenty or perhaps fifty miles and back," no one wishing to be left behind. Participation in the Euro-American trade in furs altered the contours of the cycle but did not destroy it.²⁰

Throughout a typical year, division of labor meant that women spent more time cultivating and gathering floral resources, and their provisioning activities kept them near lake environments. More of their gender-specific activities, especially child care and meal preparation, occurred on a daily basis. Women generally preferred working in large groups, although they frequently cooperated in households as well. Except for ricing and sugaring, for which they had primary responsibility, women remained near villages more often than men. Men's gender-specific activities related more to faunal resources and carried them farther away from central camps for longer periods of time. Although men of a household had occasion to work together, they did so less frequently than women and usually in smaller groups. Primary responsibility for trade and diplomacy had rested with men before the establishment of reservations, and this pattern continued at White Earth. Men also provided for community defense, although military dangers posed less of a threat during the reservation era.

Even if most tasks were associated with one specific gender, divisions were not hard and fast. Participation in the fur trade had altered gender roles, intensifying

¹⁹ Information about immigrants and their settlement patterns can be drawn from Records of the Chippewa Commission, "Register of Arrivals, 1890–1899," Bureau of Indian Affairs (hereafter, BIA), Record Group (hereafter, RG) 75, Entry 1305, National Archives and Records Service (hereafter, NARS). This document records immigrants to White Earth Reservation by band, family group, day, month, year, chief of the band of origin, and destination at White Earth of each family unit.

²⁰ Joseph A. Gilfillan, "The Ojibways in Minnesota," *Minnesota Historical Society Collections*, 9 (1898): 70–72. Several studies explicate relationships between native people and floral and faunal resources. See Charles E. Cleland, "The Prehistoric Animal Ecology and Ethnozoology of the Upper Great Lakes Region," *Anthropological Papers*, no. 29, Museum of Anthropology (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1966); Richard Asa Yarnell, "Aboriginal Relationships between Culture and Plant Life in the Upper Great Lakes Region," *Anthropological Papers*, no. 23, Museum of Anthropology (Ann Arbor, 1964); Frances Densmore, *How Indians Used Wild Plants for Food, Medicine, and Crafts* (New York, 1928, 1974); Thomas Vennum, Jr., *Wild Rice and the Ojibway People* (St. Paul, Minn., 1988); Stuart Berde, "Wild Ricing: The Transformation of an Aboriginal Subsistence Pattern," in *Anishinabe: Six Studies of Modern Chippewa*, Anthony M. Paredes, ed. (Tallahassee, Fla., 1980), 101–25; Frances Densmore, *Chippewa Customs*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 86 (Washington, D.C., 1929), 22–28, 39–43, 119–30, 137, 163–64; John Rogers, *Red World and White: Memoirs of a Chippewa Boyhood* (Norman, Okla., 1957, 1974), 15–61, 80–82, 94–99, 105–27, 146; Ignatia Broker, *Night Flying Woman: An Ojibway Narrative* (St. Paul, 1983).

women's responsibility for hide processing and men's involvement in trapping and trade. Reservation life stimulated a further reordering that undermined hunting and diplomacy as central activities. Nonetheless, egalitarian relationships characterized Anishinaabe society, and individuals might deviate from the general pattern without fear of recrimination.²¹

Although movement from one place to another characterized the seasonal pattern, predictable timing and locations gave the annual cycle great stability. The diverse resource base provided a hedge against failure of any single resource. Taken as a whole, this subsistence strategy particularly suited Minnesota's north country. It had endured through generations, and the Anishinaabeg had adapted it to the Euro-American fur trade. Conservative White Earth residents continued in this pattern, integrating new elements they found beneficial. The richness of White Earth's previously uninhabited prairie-forest transition area allowed the seasonal round to persist into the twentieth century. This circuit of provisioning activities gave the Anishinaabeg a degree of control over their situation. As long as they had recourse to the seasonal round, they could sustain themselves when farming failed. It served as the cornerstone of autonomy for the White Earth Anishinaabeg in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

FUR TRADERS WHO ESTABLISHED POSTS in the western Great Lakes region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries faced long, unreliable supply lines, which prompted them to turn to their native trading partners for subsistence resources. Wild rice, maple sugar, and other seasonal produce became marketable commodities in addition to furs and hides. This relationship continued at White Earth in modified form. Merchants, themselves descendants of fur-trading families, purchased meat, fish, produce, and cordwood from Indians and then sold them to the region's gradually growing Euro-American population. They added ginseng and snakeroot, plants that had come to be recognized for their medicinal properties, and native items such as beadwork, birchbark baskets, and lace, valued for their aesthetic qualities, to the list of products they advertised to buy. The expanding market economy allowed Indians to replace the fur-trade connection through which they had acquired manufactured goods, and the old barter economy gave way to one based increasingly on cash.

Although many observers commented that game had grown scarce, products of hunting and trapping still formed a significant part of Anishinaabe subsistence into the twentieth century. Prime furred animals—beaver, mink, and otter—had grown scarce in the immediate area, forcing Indian men to travel fifty to a hundred miles to trap muskrats and other small animals, often earning \$100 or more a month.

²¹ This discussion rests on an analysis of activities described in ethnographic sources. I adapted the activity analysis from the archaeological technique of "task differentiation" and categorized activities mentioned according to location, timing, and division of labor by age, gender, and rank or class. For a more complete explication of task differentiation and its benefits, see Janet D. Spector, "Male/Female Task Differentiation among the Hidatsa: Toward the Development of an Archaeological Approach to the Study of Gender," in *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women*, Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine, eds. (New York, 1983), 77–99. For a discussion of women's roles in Anishinaabe society, see Priscilla Buffalohead, "Farmers, Warriors, Traders: A Fresh Look at Ojibway Women," *Minnesota History*, 40 (1983): 236–44. For a discussion of sexual diversity, see Walter L. Williams, *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture* (Boston, 1986).

Individuals sold these less valuable pelts to merchants who dealt in furs as a sideline.²²

Deer and moose populations may have actually increased as a result of nearby logging activities, which created the open, browsing conditions they favored. The Reverend Joseph Gilfillan, an Episcopal missionary at White Earth, marveled that moose and venison were available all winter long for as little as 5 cents a pound. As late as 1905, the Board of Game and Fish Commissioners reported a regular "ring" that hunted deer and moose illegally. Indian "poachers" either sold meat directly to schools or to local merchants who distributed it to schools and eastern markets.²³ Such an operation required a substantial amount of game in excess of subsistence needs. Hunting continued as a valuable economic activity and afforded a surplus to sell.

Most conservative Anishinaabeg of the eastern forests kept sizable subsistence gardens. Some saw White Earth as a refuge where they might escape the consequences of declining game populations in central Minnesota and preserve their subsistence living by intensifying farming efforts. Concentrating their energies on producing a cash crop, however, did not appeal to them. Indians in the east grew sweet corn rather than respond to escalating prices by growing wheat. They took care of their own needs and were satisfied with what they had accomplished.²⁴ This approach to farming made sense, given Anishinaabe values, and persisted into the twentieth century.

In fact, subsistence farming was the most economically rational choice that Indians who lacked sufficient capital could have made. Conditions at White Earth worked to the detriment of ambitious and enterprising farmers. The north country climate, with its long, cold winters and violent hail and wind storms, could destroy several successive crops. Sizable, diversified operations were necessary to absorb these costs. Livestock production required laying up tons of hay and building large barns to feed and shelter stock through the winter. In addition, the White Earth Agency was understaffed and undercapitalized for the ambitious agricultural programs with which it was entrusted. Considering the large distances involved and the lack of paved roads, it was "impossible for two farmers [government demonstration farmers] to give the necessary instructions" in farming techniques.²⁵ Agents lent the more expensive farm implements to Indians on a cooperative basis, which made it difficult to meet intensive demands at harvest. Before 1905, no gristmill existed on the reservation, forcing farmers to travel thirty to forty miles for both mills and markets. These factors contributed to the lack of enthusiasm evinced by conservative Indians for farming. Only those who operated farms on a scale large enough to compensate for periodic crop losses and higher transportation costs could sustain successful farming endeavors. A few individuals were successful, but they tended to be wealthy innovators of mixed descent. Successful cash-crop farmers were the exception rather than the rule in the east. The

²² The days of large fur companies that monopolized an extensive trade had passed, but merchants still dealt profitably in furs as a subsidiary activity. See James L. Clayton, "The Growth and Economic Significance of the American Fur Trade, 1790–1890," *Minnesota History*, 40 (1966): 219; Rhoda R. Gilman, "Last Days of the Upper Mississippi Fur Trade," in *People and Pelts: Selected Papers of the Second North American Fur Trade Conference*, Malvina Bolus, ed. (Winnipeg, 1972).

²³ Gilfillan, "Ojibways," 100; Sam Fullerton, Board of Game and Fish Commissioners, to Senator Knute Nelson, January 24, 1905 and March 6, 1905. Letters Received (hereafter, LR) 1905, B1A RG 75, NARS.

²⁴ Kugel, "'To Go About on the Earth.'"

²⁵ RCIA 1895: 176.

continued viability of the adaptable seasonal round provided Indians with a familiar economic alternative born of generations of experience.²⁶

Agents frequently regulated access to annuities and proceeds of the sale of allotted land and timber as a means of social control. Believing that Indians would either “squander” their money or be cheated, policy makers restricted Indians’ access to their “Individual Indian Money Accounts” to \$10 a month after 1902. “Competence” to manage one’s funds became secondary to compliance with U.S. policy directives in determining which requests for funds gained approval. Agents regularly denied funds to applicants who did not reside on their allotments, had not been vaccinated, or had not “legally” married. Any previous infraction might be summoned up to deny an Indian’s request.²⁷ Even so, individuals manipulated governmental institutions to suit their own purposes, at times resorting to subterfuge. They worked “all kinds of games on the government doctor to get sick rations,” or on school personnel “to get clothing for the children,” thereby securing a greater share of what they regarded as their own resources.²⁸ Before 1906, most White Earth residents agreed that the Office of Indian Affairs held too tight a rein on Indian economic activities, and they complained about the close federal guardianship.²⁹

Wage labor provided a source of income beyond control of the agent. Younger Anishinaabe men primarily took advantage of this option. Some traveled west to hire themselves out in Red River Valley wheat fields;³⁰ others earned wages in northern Minnesota lumber camps. Although largely unenforced, regulations gave preference to Indian labor on “Chippewa ceded lands” and recommended that sawmills be established at logging sites to provide them with wages. Some women found employment as cooks and laundresses at the camps.³¹ Wage labor provided young Indian men with an alternative to hunting and trapping that eased the transition they faced. Finding new roles working for wages on a seasonal basis, they minimized the social dislocation they might otherwise have felt and continued to contribute to the annual subsistence cycle.

The White Earth Anishinaabeg integrated money and services due to them from the U.S. government into the established context of their lives. The amounts individuals received were never great—an occasional per capita payment of around \$6 per person and \$4,000 in annuities for the Mississippi Band. The promise of a regular annuity payment complemented the old relationship between traders and Indians; merchants simply extended credit to Indians on the strength of their

²⁶ RCIA 1885: 342; 1890: 112, 470–71; 1891: 22, 780–81; 1892: 276, 804–05; 1893: 165; 1894: 150–51; 1895: 175–76, 233; 1896: 170; 1899: 586–87; 1900: 662–63; 1901: 253, 712–13; 1902: 654–55; 1903: 532–33; 1904: 620–21.

²⁷ Proceeds from sales of allotted land and timber were deposited in “Individual Indian Money Accounts” in local banks and drawn on to help finance assimilation goals. Special Agent Charles S. McNichols to Commissioner of Indian Affairs (hereafter, CIA), January 15, 1902, LR 1902, BIA RG 75, NARS; Jacob Folstrum to Department of Interior, February 18, 1902, LR 1902, BIA RG 75, NARS; Simon Michelet, Agent, to CIA, March 11, 1902, LR 1902, BIA RG 75, NARS; Louis Charette to Jones, Assistant CIA, October 30, 1901, LR, “Accounts,” Office of Indian Affairs (hereafter, OIA), Kansas City Federal Regional Archives (hereafter, KCFRA); A. C. Tonner, Acting CIA, to Michelet, November 7, 1901, LR, “Land,” OIA, KCFRA; Tonner to Michelet, January 29, 1902, LR, “Accounts,” OIA, KCFRA; Michelet to CIA, February 13, 1902, LR 1902, BIA RG 75, NARS; Michelet to CIA, April 18, 1902, LR 1902, BIA RG 75, NARS; Chief Wah-we-yay-cumig to CIA Jones, July 14, 1902, LR 1902, BIA RG 75, NARS.

²⁸ Gilfillan, “Ojibways,” 125.

²⁹ *Tomahawk* (April 30, 1903): 1; (May 7, 1903): 1.

³⁰ *Tomahawk* (July 2, 1903): 1.

³¹ *Tomahawk* (April 23, 1903): 3; RCIA 1898: 181.

annuity payment instead of their trapping returns. This arrangement reduced uncertainty for merchants and reinforced existing patron-client relationships. Indians felt comfortable as participants in a system with which they had long been familiar. The system was still subject to past abuses, as some merchants took advantage of monopolistic conditions to inflate their prices while refusing to post them. As long as Indians could procure goods they needed, however, the symbiotic relationship continued to be mutually profitable. Indians complained more about policies of the U.S. government than merchants' behavior.³²

Conservative Anishinaabeg in the eastern section of the reservation availed themselves of all these options in varying combinations. Taken in its entirety, the system enabled the Anishinaabeg at White Earth amply to supply their subsistence needs. Reverend Gilfillan was not surprised that "the Indians . . . got hold of a great deal more money in the course of a year than the average white farmer."³³ Before 1907, resources existed in sufficient abundance to provide for the population without generating much competition or conflict. Nevertheless, U.S. policy makers intended to undermine and eradicate the seasonal round, offering up a romantic version of the Jeffersonian agrarian ideal in its stead. Many of these same options existed for those who resided further west at White Earth; however, most people in the west made choices different from those of the conservatives in the eastern reservation.

U.S. POLICY MAKERS had always viewed agriculture as the key to Indians' assimilation. Social engineers envisioned Indians becoming self-sufficient tillers of the soil who would produce a specialized cash crop to sell on the market. Most of those who took advantage of the land-allotment benefits of the 1889 Nelson Act and created prosperous farming enterprises lived in the western part of the reservation. As early as 1885, the agent at White Earth observed that fully 75 percent of the produce was "raised by mixed blood Indians." By 1901, Agent Simon Michelet found that "the Indians . . . [had] not taken advantage of this fine farming land"; instead, those of mixed descent predominated among Indian farmers.³⁴

The amount of land cultivated by Indians steadily increased from 1887 to 1894 (see Table), with principal cash crops being wheat, oats, potatoes, and later, flax, all of which rose in value. Between 1894 and 1904, the number of acres under cultivation declined and leveled off, even though the number of Indians reported to be living on and cultivating their allotments increased from a mere 52 in 1889 to 730 by 1904. Despite the downward trend, federal authorities pointed to these figures as evidence of the U.S. government's successful assimilation programs.³⁵

³² Gilfillan, "Ojibways," 122; RCIA 1906: 450; 1907: 138; 1908: 147; 1909: 93, 113; 1911: 117, 284; 1912: 317, 319; 1913: 105, 287; 1914: 100; 1915: 111; 1917: 117; 1918: 131.

³³ Gilfillan, "Ojibways," 72.

³⁴ RCIA 1885: 342; Michelet, RCIA 1901: 253.

³⁵ RCIA 1887: 1888; 1889: 1890: 470–71; 1891: 260, 780–81; 1892: 276, 804–05; 1893: 165; 1894: 151; 1899: 586–87; 1900: 662–63; 1901: 712–13; 1902: 654–55; 1903: 532–33; 1904: 620–21. Between 1895 and 1898, statistics for the Anishinaabe reservations were over-aggregated, making it impossible to deduce totals for White Earth only. Statistics recorded in the Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs are problematic at best. Categories change frequently, making comparability more complicated. Sometimes, figures remain exactly the same over several years. At other times, annual increases are exactly the same from one year to the next. Very little correspondence that might explain their derivation relates to these statistics. After 1904, reports from local agents were no longer included in the Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, making interpretation of these statistics that much more difficult. Given these limitations, interpretations should not be overdrawn. Broad

Land under Cultivation by Indians, White Earth, 1887–1904

<i>Year</i>	<i>Acres</i>
1887	5,703
1888	5,778
1889	5,846
1890	7,542
1891	6,715
1892	8,269
1893	8,448
1894	9,125
1899*	1,990
1900	6,000
1901	6,025
1902	6,075
1903	6,075
1904	6,075

*Between 1895 and 1898, figures for the "Chippewa in Minnesota" were aggregated, which makes it impossible to derive statistics for White Earth Reservation alone.

SOURCES: The Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1887: 209; 1888: 147; 1889: 520; 1890: 470; 1891: 260, 780; 1892: 276, 804; 1893: 165; 1894: 151; 1899: 586; 1900: 662; 1901: 712; 1902: 654; 1903: 532; 1904: 620.

While land was abundant and under Indian control, those who could supply sufficient operating capital might succeed in market agriculture at White Earth. Only a limited sector of the White Earth population made this type of commitment. Aggregate statistics provided by the commissioner of Indian Affairs do not reflect the intra-reservation heterogeneity frequently noted by observers (see Table sources).

Besides agriculture, agency administration also provided opportunities for wage labor and generated a significant cash flow.³⁶ Ambitious programs undertaken by the government created a limited number of positions for manual laborers. Teamsters hauled agency and school supplies from neighboring towns. Upkeep and maintenance of agency buildings, building and repair of roads and bridges, and sawing lumber and constructing homes for immigrant Indians all involved periodic wage labor. Schools employed women as cooks, seamstresses, and laundresses. When less skilled Indians were hired to work at the agency, they filled these sorts of manual labor positions. The Indian Office usually recruited physicians and most schoolteachers from outside the reservation. However, educated Indians sometimes held skilled positions as interpreters, schoolteachers, police, government farmers, as well as temporary posts generated by the removal and allotment processes. The agent appointed individuals to agency positions, and favoritism played an important role in hiring. Often, Indians of mixed descent who spoke English, understood the agency bureaucracy and institutions of U.S. society, and lived near the agency filled these positions.³⁷

statistical trends parallel my interpretation of the impact of resource loss at White Earth. My evaluation of these statistics was reinforced by a conversation in February 1988 with Leonard Carlson, author of *Indians, Bureaucrats, and Land* (1981).

³⁶ "Petition from Citizens of Thief River Falls," April 17, 1893, LR 1893, BIA RG 75, NARS.

³⁷ RCIA "Lists of Employees," 1891: 701, 705; 1892: 834, 847–48; 1894: 513, 546–47, 566; 1895: 541–42, 560–61; 1896: 571, 611; 1897: 532, 571–72; 1898: 672–73, 693–94; 1899: 616, 636, 656; 1900:

Some descendants of the fur trading society earned their livelihoods as entrepreneurs. Ben Fairbanks operated a general store, in keeping with his family's trading heritage, as did Robert Fairbanks, Louisa Lynch, and Ed Leecy, who also ran a hotel. Gus Beaulieu published first the *Progress* and then the *Tomahawk*, newspapers focusing on the White Earth Reservation. Theodore Beaulieu opened a real estate office advertising "choice lake-shore lots."³⁸ Their economic success, measured by U.S. standards, set them apart from most other White Earth Anishinaabeg.

Familiarity with U.S. institutions enabled Indian Office employees and entrepreneurs of mixed descent simultaneously to perform useful mediating services for conservative Indian communities while making substantial financial gains for themselves. Delegates and representatives from White Earth who closely monitored congressional activities to safeguard Anishinaabe resources were most likely to be drawn from this group, along with band leaders. In one sense, they served as a protective buffer that insulated more conservative Anishinaabeg from direct interaction with representatives of U.S. society.³⁹ As long as their involvement produced beneficial results, their accumulation of wealth was tolerated as simply "different," and some even held them in esteem.

Life for Indian women of mixed descent in the west resembled that of other rural women. They tended subsistence gardens near their homes as their husbands and sons engaged in market agriculture, worked for wages, or managed their business concerns. They focused their energies on the domestic scene, preserving and canning produce, sewing clothing, caring for children, and otherwise running their households. Their activities created a stable base from which their husbands might move in larger economic and political circles if they chose. Catholic church functions were often the focus of their extra-familial social lives.⁴⁰

Life patterns of conservative Anishinaabeg of the eastern forest and lake country carried them in different directions than the cultural mediators of Franco and Anglo-Anishinaabe descent. Members of the two groups had only fleeting associations. Cultural mediators had developed the greater linguistic skills, speaking English, Anishinaabe, and sometimes French. Fewer of the conservative Indians were well versed in English, as characteristic lists of thumbprints attached to petitions and council proceedings attest. Residence patterns separated the two groups, and they tended to socialize within distinct ethnic networks. Conservative folks came together for ricing and sugaring, social as much as economic occasions, and visited relatives throughout northern Minnesota and the Dakotas. Cultural brokers hosted "bowery" dances and card games, affiliated with white agency employees, and traveled frequently to the larger Minnesota towns. Franco-

698, 740; 1901: 763, 779; 1902: 707, 725; 1903: 590, 608; 1904: 643–44, 651; 1905: 536, 572–73; *Tomahawk* (May 28, 1903): 4.

³⁸ Ads for some of these establishments ran weekly in the *Tomahawk*, April 9, 1903 to September 1, 1904. See also photographs in the Audio-Visual Collection of the Minnesota Historical Society.

³⁹ Peterson, "People in Between."

⁴⁰ Information on the daily lives of women of mixed descent is limited. See the *Tomahawk*; A. H. Wilcox, *A Pioneer History of Becker County* (St. Paul, Minn., 1907); Benno Watrin, *The Ponsfordian, 1880–1930: A Collection of Historical Data dealing especially with Pioneer Days of Ponsford, Becker County, Minnesota* (Park Rapids, Minn., 1930); "Voices from the Past: Louis Edward Brunette and Caroline Bisson Norton Family History" (n.d., spiral bound, a copy can be found at the Becker County Historical Society); Winnifred Jourdain, b. 1898, interviewer unknown, ca. 1982, handwritten transcript, Minnesota Chippewa Tribe Reservation History Project (hereafter, MCTRHP); Bessy Bertha Martinson, b. 1897, interviewer unknown, ca. 1982, handwritten transcript, MCTRHP; Irene CeCelia Vizenor, b. 1903, interviewer unknown, ca. 1982, handwritten transcript, MCTRHP.

Anishinaabeg comprised the far-more-numerous Catholic congregations. Those from conservative Anishinaabe bands generally adhered to the *Midewiwin* religion, a hierarchical healing society in which priests and priestesses ministered to the ill and wounded, or attended syncretic Episcopal mission services in which native preachers and parishioners sang standard Christian hymns in the native language. Nothing prevented people from participating in both. The children of mixed descent more often received training at regional and national boarding schools and at local day schools. Investigators frequently complained that students with minimal Indian blood filled the schools, excluding many "full blood" children. Finally, marital preferences separated the two ethnic groups, reflecting boundary-maintaining mechanisms.⁴¹ White Earth residents used the symbolic terms "mixed blood" and "full blood" to encapsulate these cultural differences, ignoring their genetic implications.⁴²

White Earth's resource base adequately supported the diverse population only as long as it remained under Indian control. The Treaty of 1867 stipulated that the White Earth "Chippewa" should retain all lands within reservation boundaries. The Nelson Act of 1889 altered this arrangement by mandating allotment of the land base in severalty. It also established a twenty-five-year trust period to protect allotted lands from alienation until Indian owners learned to manage their property. Neither the language of the Treaty of 1867 nor the Nelson Act anticipated the wholesale loss of resources that was to follow in the early twentieth century.⁴³

As early as 1900, crucial subsistence resources in the eastern forest and lake country were threatened. Policy makers did not recognize how integral the seasonal round was to Anishinaabe well-being and failed to protect it. In actuality, the integrity of the subsistence base served as a barometer for the overall health and viability of the White Earth population.

During negotiations that led to passage of the Nelson Act, the U.S. Chippewa Commission coerced a "cession" of four heavily forested townships from resident Indians.⁴⁴ Lumber companies were quick to exploit valuable stands of red and

⁴¹ Reservation residents and outside observers alike noted these ethnic divisions among the White Earth Anishinaabeg; see Densmore, *Chippewa Customs*; Rogers, *Red World and White*; Gilfillan, "Ojibways"; *Tomahawk*; Wilcox, *Pioneer History*; Watrin, *Ponsfordian*; "Report of Special Investigator Thomas Shearman," 1912, Central Classified Files (hereafter, CCF) 150, White Earth Agency (hereafter, WEA), BIA RG 75, NARS; Carol J. Berg, "Agents of Cultural Change: The Benedictines at White Earth," *Minnesota History*, 48 (1982): 158–70; Carol J. Berg, "Climbing Learners' Hill: Benedictines at White Earth, 1878–1945" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1983); John C. Scott, "To Do Some Good among the Indians: Nineteenth-Century Benedictine Missions," *Journal of the West*, 23 (1984): 26–36; Walter J. Hoffman, "The Midewiwin or Grand Medicine Society of the Ojibway," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Seventh Annual Report* (Washington, D.C., 1891); Martin N. Zanger, "Straight Tongue's Heathen Wards: Bishop Whipple and the Episcopal Mission to the Chippewas," in *Churchmen and the Western Indians, 1820–1920*, Clyde A. Milner II and Floyd A. O'Neil, eds. (Norman, Okla., 1985), 177–214; Christopher Vecsey, *Traditional Ojibwa Religion and Its Historical Changes* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1983); RCIA 1890; 1892: 151; 1893: 171; 1895: 175; 1896: 170, 172; 1897: 158, 160; 1899: 215; 1900: 262; 1901: 255; 1905: 235–36; numerous oral interviews contained in the White Earth Oral History Project (hereafter, WEOHP) and MCTRHP.

⁴² Use of the terms "mixed blood" and "full blood" was widespread despite a dramatic decline in the number of full bloods. U.S. and BIA censuses for the White Earth Reservation reveal 44 percent full bloods in 1900, 15 percent in 1910, and less than 1 percent in 1930. These figures were compiled from: U.S. Census Office, 1900 Census Schedules, Microfilm Collection T623: 756, 798; U.S. Census Office, 1910 Census Schedules, Microfilm Collection T624: 689, 710; White Earth Reservation, Bureau of Indian Affairs Census, 1930, Indian Census Rolls, 1885–1940, Microfilm Collection M595, no. 65, BIA RG 75, NARS microfilm publication.

⁴³ Treaty of 1867, *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 16: 719–23; *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 25: 642–43.

⁴⁴ "Chippewa Indians in Minnesota," 85–115.

white pine. Because rivers were too shallow, lumbermen constructed a series of dams to float logs downstream. They chose Rice Lake, a major center for harvesting wild rice, as their main reservoir. The technique worked well enough for lumber companies; it allowed them to transport timber to towns where their milling operations were based. The effect for the Anishinaabeg, however, was anything but benign. Damming the eastern waterways flooded swamps and marshes that supplied crucial subsistence resources. At times, dams completely washed out the wild rice crop. Floodwaters also engulfed low-lying Indian gardens on river bottom land. Clear-cutting timber caused erosion and muddied streams, choking aquatic life. Piles of brush and "stumpage" created prime conditions for fires, which destroyed vegetation, further contributing to erosion. This manipulation of White Earth's waterways sometimes scoured lakes of silt and sediment, which posed an additional threat to the rice crop. What lumber companies regarded as nothing more than a necessary right-of-way took a decided toll on the subsistence economy.

Those Indians who suffered most directly protested immediately. In 1901, forty Gull Lakers armed themselves, destroyed one dam and threatened to break up another, engaging in a stand-off with lumber company employees "for the best part of a day." Gull Lake leader Pindegaygeshig hoped to drive home the point that "the streams . . . are not public highways . . . and that the consent of the Indians must be obtained."⁴⁵ Although the Wild Rice Lumber Company contracted to provide what it considered to be adequate restitution, "flour, pork, tea, and sugar for 85 to 90 families," as late as 1916, Indians still threatened guerrilla resistance against the "obstruction of fish ways" that had rendered some of the rice fields "entirely barren."⁴⁶ Ultimately, repeated rice failures prompted agency employees to recommend reseeding rice beds to increase yields.⁴⁷ Suggestions of this sort amounted to tacit recognition that the subsistence round had suffered immeasurably.

State game laws further circumscribed Indian activities in the early twentieth century and established seasons for hunting that ran expressly counter to their treaty rights. A number of men had been "arrested for hunting 'out of season,'" causing Mayzhucegeshig, a prominent Mississippi Band leader, to lament that "the law seems against us . . . so we can not get a living as we used to do."⁴⁸ Law enforcement officials had a difficult time monitoring this inconspicuous activity. Indians withstood accusations of poaching and proceeded to harvest game on which they had depended for generations. They found more than enough moose meat and venison to meet their subsistence needs, enough to sell a surplus. Under these circumstances, they must have considered state demands that they reduce their take to be irrational and unreasonable. Yet the threat of enforcement

⁴⁵ F. L. Hampson, President, Wild Rice Lumber Co., to CIA, December 24, 1901, LR 1901, BIA RG 75, NARS; *Tomahawk*, April 16, 1903.

⁴⁶ Hampson to CIA, December 24, 1901, LR 1901, BIA RG 75, NARS; "General Council of Chippewa Indians of various bands, at Pine Point," March 16 and 17, 1916, CCF 054, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS.

⁴⁷ "Report of Oscar Lipps," October 21, 1912, CCF 916, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; John R. Howard to CIA, March 29, 1916, CCF 341, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Leslie C. Garnett, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, to Howard, March 21, 1916, CCF 341, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; J. H. Hinton, Superintendent, to CIA, May 8, 1916, CCF 341, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Charles W. Smith, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, to Hinton, May 8, 1916, CCF 341, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Hinton to CIA, May 9, 1916, CCF 341, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; E. B. Meritt, Assistant CIA, to Senator Moses E. Clapp, June 6, 1916, CCF 341, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Wilcox, *Pioneer History*.

⁴⁸ Both quotations in this paragraph come from May zhucke ge shig to CIA, May 10, 1909, CCF 050, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS.

necessitated that they proceed surreptitiously and move some of their processing activities indoors.⁴⁹

ALLOTMENT OF THE WHITE EARTH LAND BASE under the Nelson Act did not transform the Anishinaabeg into market farmers as policy makers had hoped. In fact, in the short run, it made very little difference at all. Most Indians continued to pursue familiar strategies for making a living. National policies often fell far short of the rhetorical ideal when implemented at the local level. For instance, federal officials did not achieve an equitable division of White Earth's land base. Forested land was of greater immediate value than prairie or swampland, but all types were ultimately allotted, leaving no surplus land to be sold. The allotting process deviated from Nelson Act specifications in two ways: Congress unilaterally reduced the size of agricultural allotments to 80 instead of 160 acres,⁵⁰ and the deadline for removal was postponed several times to allow the U.S. Chippewa Commission more time to persuade reluctant Indians to move to White Earth.⁵¹ Since pine lands located to the east were ineligible for allotment at first, many Indians could not locate their allotments close to their places of residence. Some reported never even having seen their allotments. Under the Steenerson Act (1904), each allottee was to receive an additional 80 acres. If the remaining unallotted land base proved inadequate, it was to be divided *pro rata*. Only if the pine lands were allotted could these provisions be met.

At the same time, a rider attached to the Indian Appropriations Act (1904) authorized the Anishinaabeg to sell timber on their allotments. Together, Minnesota congressmen Moses E. Clapp and Halvor Steenerson succeeded in securing the passage of legislation that would allow lumber companies access to White Earth's timber. Local agent Michelet conspired with lumber companies and assigned the most valuable pine land to individuals who had already agreed to sell the timber; tract books show that many names had been penciled in early and then traced over on allotment day. To complicate matters further, Michelet failed to divide the pine lands *pro rata*, and several hundred Indians received no additional land at all. Those Indians who appreciated land as real estate had surveyed available parcels in advance and camped in line overnight to secure the best of them. Some, like Duane Porter, who arrived at the scheduled allotment time, "got disgusted . . . and . . . went away," realizing that "the Indian was not going to get fair play; the mixed bloods were going to get all the pine."⁵² The inequity that occurred that day was never remedied and contributed to smoldering resentment between White Earth residents that subsequent developments were soon to fan into factional flames.

⁴⁹ Fullerton, Board of Game and Fish Commissioners, to Frank Leupp, CIA, January 24, 1905, LR 1905, BIA RG 75, NARS; Fullerton to Nelson, March 6, 1905, LR 1905, BIA RG 75, NARS; May zhuck ke geshig to CIA, May 10, 1909, CCF 050, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS.

⁵⁰ Acting CIA to D. S. Hall, Chairman of Chippewa Commission, August 31, 1892, CCF 150, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Wah bah nah quod, Song way way, Mah kah keence, Shaday, Robert Morrison (interpreter), and witnesses Fred Smith, Charles Wright, Theodore H. Beaulieu, Gus H. Beaulieu to CIA, March 21, 1892, LR 1892, BIA RG 75, NARS.

⁵¹ Correspondence of Charles H. Beaulieu, allotting agent between 1893 and 1895, is contained in CCF 150, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS. See also "Chippewas in Minnesota," 129; Entry 1297, "Correspondence, 1889-1900," E 1298, "Letters sent by the Chairman, 1893-1900," E 1302, "Enrollment Records, 1891-99," E 1307, "Allotment Schedules, 1892-99," Records of the Chippewa Commission, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS.

⁵² "Report in the Matter of the Investigation of the White Earth Reservation," 62 Congress, 3 session, 1913, House Reports 6336, 1336: 587-88.

That Indian people should learn capitalistic acquisitiveness was deemed more important than equity and accurate implementation of established laws.⁵³

Whereas a heady optimism regarding Indian capabilities had fueled national allotment legislation, policy makers pared down their expectations after the turn of the century. Rhetoric about unlimited Indian potential metamorphosed into a pragmatic approach born of a pessimistic appraisal of what Indians had actually achieved—or failed to achieve. In keeping with this shift in attitude, policy makers reasoned that Indians who had embraced capitalistic values should be free to manage their affairs as they saw fit. As a corollary, resources of “non-competents” were to be utilized by American economic interests and assimilation programs were to be scaled back.⁵⁴ The incorporation of allotted resources into the U.S. economy had begun.

To achieve these goals, the Burke Act (1906) proposed to terminate the trust period and issue fee patents whenever the secretary of the interior was convinced of an allottee’s “competence.” In less than a year, however, rampant abuses forced the commissioner of Indian Affairs to acknowledge that liberal interpretation of the term “competence” increasingly meant that allotted lands were fair game for those interested in gaining access to reservation land.⁵⁵

On June 21, 1906, less than two months after passage of the Burke Act, Minnesota congressmen Clapp and Steenerson again succeeded in passing legislation through Congress that removed restrictions on allotted lands at White Earth even more effectively than the Burke Act, with none of the accompanying humanitarian rationale. The “Clapp Rider” removed all restrictions governing “sale, incumbrance, or taxation” of allotted land within the White Earth Reservation held by “*adult mixed bloods*.”⁵⁶ State politicians foresaw no delays in implementing the law. Recently privatized resources of the White Earth Anishinaabeg were to be incorporated into the market economy with smooth efficiency, enriching local businesses and speculators and avoiding time-consuming “competency commissions” associated with the Burke Act.⁵⁷ The true intent of the push to remove restrictions on allotments was stripped bare in Minnesota.

Owners of land and lumber companies had anticipated passage of the Clapp Rider and hired influential brokers of mixed descent, Gus Beaulieu, Ben Fair-

⁵³ *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 33: 539; “Allotments to Indians on White Earth Reservation in Minnesota,” 56 Congress, 1 session, House Reports 4023, 493; *Congressional Record*, 56 Congress, 1 session: 56, 2566; 58 Congress, 2 session: 3660, 4413, 5546, 5825; T. H. Beaulieu to Frank M. Eddy, January 29, 1900, “The Land Allotment Question of the Chippewas of the Mississippi on the White Earth Reservation, Minnesota” (Detroit, Minn., 1900, Minnesota Historical Society); Wah bah nah quod, Song way way, Mah kah keence, Shaday, Robert Morrison (interpreter) and witnesses F. Smith, C. Wright, T. H. Beaulieu, G. H. Beaulieu to CIA, March 21, 1892, LR 1892, BIA RG 75, NARS; “Minutes of a Council of the White Earth Bands of Mississippi Chippewa,” January 12, 1904, LR 1904, BIA RG 75, NARS; Michelet to CIA, March 2, 1904, LR 1904, BIA RG 75, NARS; *Tomahawk* (April 14, 1904): 4; (April 24, 1904): 1; (April 28, 1904): 1; (June 23, 1904): 1; Hitchcock, Secretary of the Interior, to CIA, April 15, 1904, LR 1904, BIA RG 75, NARS; Oh-bow-we-ge-shik, Pen-de-ga-ge-shik, Pe-do-se-key, John W. Stephens to CIA, May 23, 1906, LR 1906, BIA RG 75, NARS; “Report in the Matter of the Investigation,” 34, 242, 525–44, 547–51, 555–79, 586–91, 618–23, 646–62, 800–02, 805–06, 815–18; Maggie Hanks, b. 1888, interviewer unknown, ca. 1982, cassette tape, WEOHP.

⁵⁴ Hoxie, *Final Promise*, 147–87; RCIA 1906: 30; 1907: 64. Allowing the sale of inherited allotments was the first step in the dispersal of allotted property. By 1905, 5,000 acres had been sold at White Earth for \$57,760 total; RCIA 1905: 61.

⁵⁵ *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 34: 182–83; RCIA 1907: 64.

⁵⁶ *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 34: 353, 1034, my emphasis.

⁵⁷ *Congressional Record*, 59 Congress, 1 session: 5784, 6463, 7424, 8264, 8348, 9157; “Report in the Matter of the Investigation,” 665–70; William Watts Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, Vol. 4 (St. Paul, Minn., 1930), 276–77.

banks, and John Carl most prominently, to arrange mortgages with individual allottees. To skirt the lack of an established mechanism to determine blood status, they had allottees sign affidavits attesting to their blood status well before Congress passed the rider. These affidavits carried no force of law, but they illustrate how business interests stood ready to pounce on allotted lands at White Earth. Typically, \$25 sufficed to “reserve” an allotment until the law took effect, when the allottee was to receive the remainder of the mortgage due. Mortgages were to accrue 10 percent interest, to be collected in advance, and run for ten years. Lenders then foreclosed on property in short order. During the first three weeks the Clapp Rider was in effect, Becker County alone recorded over 250 mortgages.⁵⁸

Charges of fraud and corruption followed closely on the heels of the Clapp Rider of 1906. Complaints from mixed bloods and full bloods alike were rife: intermediaries misrepresented contents of documents, understated the value of land parcels, and distributed liquor to cloud allottees’ judgment; promises of large amounts of money never materialized; and land offices recorded sales from ineligible minors and deceased allottees. Not only had unsuspecting Indians bound themselves to unfair agreements but land dealers and lumber companies also took advantage of their naïveté by giving them worthless substitutes for cash. Tin tokens and due bills marked “non-negotiable” could be redeemed for goods only at specific stores at substantial discounts. Those with an interest in Indian lands at White Earth conceived of every imaginable scheme to take unfair advantage of the recently “freed” allottees.⁵⁹

Prior to land fraud, political ties at White Earth were based on band affiliations. Inequity in the allotment process, however, combined with key leaders of mixed descent positioned to serve the needs of land and lumber companies, prompted a fundamental political realignment among conservative band leaders. Calling themselves full bloods, conservative band leaders like Mille Lacs leader Wahweyeacumig, Leech Lake leader Ahbowegeshig, and Mississippi leader Mayzhucegeshig united to oppose the ethics of those they called mixed bloods, who favored policies that rescinded the U.S. government’s trust responsibility and opened allotted resources to exploitation by business interests.⁶⁰ The political “bosses” were not above using

⁵⁸ RCIA 1906: 148; “Report in the Matter of the Investigation,” 246–48, 730–72, 767–68.

⁵⁹ “Report in the Matter of the Investigation,” 40, 74, 99, 113, 730–32; Warren K. Moorehead to CIA, received by Indian Office, April 8, 1909, CCF 150, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Moorehead to CIA, April 8, 1909, CCF 150, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; R. S. Connell, Special Agent, to CIA, October 1906, LR 1906, BIA RG 75, NARS; C. F. Larrabee, Acting CIA, to Agent, WEA, August 15, 1906, LR 1906, BIA RG 75, NARS; Michelet to CIA, August 28, 1906, LR 1906, BIA RG 75, NARS.

⁶⁰ Jacob Folstrum to Department of Interior, February 18, 1902, LR 1902, BIA RG 75, NARS; Charles T. Wright to CIA, February 28, 1905, LR 1904, BIA RG 75, NARS; C. T. Wright and George Walters to James S. Sherman, Chairman, Committee on Indian Affairs, February 7, 1908, CCF 056, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; May zhuc ke ge shig to CIA, May 10, 1909, CCF 050, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; “Chiefs of the White Earth Indian Reservation”: May zhah-ke ge shig, Mah eng aunee, Peter Morrison, James Rice, and J. E. Perrault to CIA, April 5, 1909, CCF 050, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Isabel Schneider to Major J. R. Howard, March 17, 1909, CCF 050, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Wah-we-yea-cumig or Round Earth, Head Chief of Mille Lacs Chippewa to Leupp, CIA, January 24, 1909, CCF 050, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; T. H. Beaulieu to Moorehead, February 17, 1910, CCF 056, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Petition from “Full Blood” Council at Pine Point to Superintendent and Special Disbursing Agent, March 10, 1910, CCF 056, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Schneider to the Attorney General, December 13, 1910, CCF 050, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Ga je-ge zhick and Peter Skippingday to Judge Long, February 1, 1911, CCF 056, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Report of a “Full Blood” Delegation to Washington, D.C., Received by Indian Office, February 8, 1911, CCF 056, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Statements made by Indians regarding “the occurrence at their dance ring on June 16, 1911,” June 17, 1911, CCF 056, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Star Bad Boy to CIA, December 22, 1911, CCF 056, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; T. H. Beaulieu to Moorehead, April 15, 1911, CCF 424, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Chief May-zhuc-ke-ge-shig to CIA, October 3, 1912, CCF 056, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS;

wagons to round up eligible voters or manipulating parliamentary rules of procedure to their advantage. Isabel Schneider, an interpreter, complained, "Resolutions . . . were railroaded through . . . and the Indians were bewildered in the council."⁶¹ Gus Beaulieu and Ben Fairbanks were paid by major lumber company owners "to keep prominent Indians who might stir up trouble quiet." And Ben Fairbanks used his influence as a merchant "to coerce Indians . . . to . . . support [the bosses'] designs" by withholding credit if they failed to lend political support.⁶² It is no wonder that Ahbowegeshig and other leaders of the "Full Blood Faction" charged, "The half-breeds have been . . . taking pine lands and . . . have prevented the full blood Indians from taking them . . . They have become wealthy on account of these allotments."⁶³

Regional towns and economic interests were big winners in the scramble to acquire White Earth's resources. Reservation railway stations—Callaway, Ogema, Waubun, Mahnomen, and Bejou—as well as nearby off-reservation towns—Detroit Lakes, Park Rapids, Frazee, Bagley, Ada, Fosston, and Crookston—all supported activities of local banks and land companies that speculated in White Earth's resources. Local businessmen had lobbied for the new legislation and welcomed the economic benefit promised by removal of restrictions on allotted resources. A number of powerful local businessmen formed interlocking directorates, serving on the boards of directors of several companies in which all shared an interest. Several, such as Fred Sanders, H. A. Krostue, and M. J. Kolb, were repeatedly implicated in fraudulent land transfers.⁶⁴ In the three years following the Clapp Rider of 1906, purchases by three local lumber companies, Nichols-Chisolm, Park Rapids, and Wild Rice, neatly divided the eastern wooded townships according to watersheds. Each company gained easy access to its mills, and their cooperation stifled competition, reducing prices paid for timber to below market value. Some had argued that Indians would profit from selling their land, but the real beneficiaries proved to be local American business interests.⁶⁵

Reports of fraud and exploitation, however, instantly threw land titles into confusion. And judicial solutions did not come easily. How much white blood made

Oge-mah-woub, Chief of Mississippi Band, to CIA, October 28, 1912, CCF 056, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS. By linking names attached to council proceedings and petitions with BIA censuses for White Earth, the band affiliations of Indian leaders can be determined. Names of "chiefs" and "headmen" are most diagnostic since they tended to represent band constituencies. Enough linkages can be made to reveal changing political affiliations. "Council Called by the 'Full Blood Faction,'" May 21, 1913, CCF 056, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS.

⁶¹ Larrabee, Acting CIA, to Agent, April 10, 1906, LR 1906, "Land," OIA, KCFRA.

⁶² Affidavit of Mrs. Ella H. Beaulieu, January 18, 1919, CCF 155, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; "Report of Inspector C. M. Knight on the Annual Meeting of the General Council of the Chippewa," at Bemidji, Minnesota, July 11–15, 1916, CCF 054, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS.

⁶³ Ah-bow-egeshig's remarks, "Report of a 'Full Blood' Delegation to Washington, D.C.," Received by Indian Office, February 8, 1911, CCF 050, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS.

⁶⁴ Ransom J. Powell simultaneously served as chief defense attorney for lumber and land companies and as a commissioner to prepare the tribal roll. His correspondence regarding land claims at White Earth reveals his business ties; see Ransom J. Powell Papers, Boxes 1 and 2, Minnesota Historical Society Archives. Letterheads from businesses interested in contested land parcels at White Earth reveal their locations and often the composition of their boards of directors; see letterheads scattered through Boxes 1 and 2 of the Powell Papers; John Vig to Secretary of the Interior, July 31, 1906, LR 1906, BIA RG 75, NARS; Kolback Lumber Co., Oskaloosa, Iowa, to Secretary of the Interior, August 21, 1907, CCF 310, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Benjamin E. Reynolds, Winnebago, Minnesota, to Secretary of the Interior, September 27, 1909, CCF 310, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; C. F. Hanke to C. A. Baker, State Bank of Ogema, March 10, 1910, CCF 310, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; A. F. Richardson, Gilman, Montana, to U.S. Land Officer, February 11, 1914, CCF 300, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS.

⁶⁵ "Report in the Matter of the Investigation," 246–47, map opposing page 1112, 2224–76.

an individual a “mixed blood”? Who among the White Earth Anishinaabeg were of mixed descent and thereby eligible to sell their allotments? Resolving these thorny issues occupied those involved for the next fourteen years. After lower courts considered a number of different fractional delineations, the Supreme Court decided in 1914 on the broadest possible construction of the law. A “mixed blood” was an Indian with any admixture of white blood, no matter how small. Lifeways, cultural affiliation, or “competence” to manage one’s affairs would have no bearing whatsoever. When genealogical inquiry failed to produce evidence that would stand up in court, policy makers turned to two anthropologists who claimed to have devised physiological tests that would settle the matter once and for all. Dr. Ales Hrdlicka of the Smithsonian Institution and Dr. Albert E. Jenks of the University of Minnesota journeyed to the White Earth Reservation to pull hair samples and examine teeth structure and skin tone. They did not confine their comments to general physical characteristics but ultimately testified in court on the blood status of specific individuals. Information derived in this fashion directly contributed to formulation of the “1920 Blood Roll,” which legally codified individual Indians’ blood status and finally allowed clouded land titles to clear.⁶⁶ Outright racism received the imprimatur of academia in the course of legalizing the largest number of land transfers.⁶⁷

Although national policy makers emphasized “competence” to justify termination of the trust relationship, this criterion did not prevail at the White Earth Reservation. Federal officials tried to interpret blood status literally at White Earth, with absurd consequences. The vast majority of White Earth Anishinaabeg (92 percent) were declared “mixed bloods” and were free to sell or be victimized.⁶⁸

For those mixed bloods who managed to retain their allotments despite all odds, tax forfeiture proceedings loomed as a threat. Policy makers had interpreted the Clapp Rider of 1906 to mean that White Earth mixed bloods had been declared citizens and were liable to support public services. Newly organized Mahnomen County, with a high proportion of tax-exempt trust land, had to provide many services on a limited tax base. Mahnomen and Becker County officials levied high taxes and increasingly seized remaining allotted lands in tax forfeiture proceedings, which came to be the primary method of obtaining allotted lands as the

⁶⁶ A roll created in 1917 was not officially accepted as the determinative tribal roll until 1920, hence the label “1920 Blood Roll.” See “Roll of Chippewa Allotted Land in White Earth Reservation, 1917,” Consolidated Chippewa, BIA RG 75, Oversize documents, KCFRA; Ales Hrdlicka, “Physical Anthropology in America: An Historical Sketch,” *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 16 (1914): 508–54; Ales Hrdlicka, “Trip to Chippewa Indians of Minnesota,” *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, 66: 3 (1915); Ales Hrdlicka, “Anthropology of the Chippewa,” in *Holmes Anniversary Volume: Anthropological Essays*, F. W. Hodge, ed. (Washington, D.C., 1916); Ales Hrdlicka, “Anthropological Work among the Sioux and Chippewa,” *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, 66: 17 (1915); Albert E. Jenks, *Indian-White Amalgamation: An Anthropometric Study* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1916); David L. Beaulieu, “Curly Hair and Big Feet: Physical Anthropology and Land Allotment on the White Earth Chippewa Reservation,” *American Indian Quarterly*, 8 (1984): 281–314; Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, 4: 292–94; *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 38: 88; 39: 136, 379; RCIA 1918: 61; *Minneapolis Tribune*, November 1, 1920; November 13, 1920; *Detroit Record* (May 10, 1918): 1; (May 31, 1918): 2; (May 2, 1919): 1; *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* (November 12, 1920): 1; (November 13, 1920): 1.

⁶⁷ For the development of anthropology, see Marvin Harris, *The Rise of Anthropological Theory: A History of Theories of Culture* (New York, 1968); Curtis M. Hinsley, Jr., *Savages and Scientists: The Smithsonian Institution and the Development of American Anthropology, 1846–1910* (Washington, D.C., 1981). U.S. Indian policy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries grew from the same intellectual milieu: see Hoxie, *Final Promise*, 115–45. For an insightful analysis and evaluation of anthropometric techniques and their interpretation, see Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York, 1981).

⁶⁸ “Roll of Chippewa Allotted Land in White Earth Reservation, 1917,” Consolidated Chippewa, BIA RG 75, Oversize documents, KCFRA; Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, 4: 294.

twentieth century wore on. Some suspected that land speculators were behind this latest means for acquiring allotted lands.⁶⁹ By 1920, almost all allotted reservation land lay effectively beyond Indian control.

Long-term consequences of the assault on allotments were not readily apparent as long as titles remained clouded. New owners were unable to use land as collateral to borrow money and feared to "develop" land lest they lose their improvements when titles cleared. Ironically, the land fraud that occurred between 1906 and 1915 helped perpetuate the subsistence-oriented way of life by delaying actual legal conveyance of land parcels. Such uncertainty allowed Indians to continue to reside where they pleased and piece together their livelihoods in their accustomed manner.⁷⁰ But the veil of confusion was only temporary; circumstances of life were soon to change for all White Earth Anishinaabeg.

HISTORIANS HAVE HELD ALLOTMENT POLICY RESPONSIBLE for the loss of millions of acres of reservation land nationwide. Certainly, the privatization of reservation lands that had previously been held collectively set the stage for their eventual loss. But, at White Earth, allotment policy was never implemented as intended. Barely five years after all allotments had been made, new legislation sidestepped the twenty-five-year protective restrictions and allowed most land to be sold. In the short run, the culprit was not the Nelson Act (the Minnesota equivalent of the Dawes Act), but the Clapp Riders (the Minnesota equivalent of the Burke Act). Events at White Earth occurred within the basic contours of national policy, but special legislation accomplished the same end even faster and more effectively. The failure of politicians and business interests to foresee the difficulties they would encounter because of their use of the term "mixed blood" gave the White Earth Anishinaabeg a bit of breathing space, but not for long.

Just as privatized land at White Earth came under attack, federal administrators denied the Anishinaabeg benefits that revenue might have brought them. The Chippewa in Minnesota Fund, held in trust by the government, served as depository for proceeds from the sale of ceded land and timber, which were slated to underwrite assimilation programs for all reservations in northern Minnesota. Anishinaabe tribal funds financed schools, hospitals, social welfare programs, agricultural instruction, and rudimentary economic foundations on the reservations. Facile generalizations about Anishinaabe dependence on welfare gratuities mask the fact that they essentially financed their own "assimilation." Despite this,

⁶⁹ RCIA 1917: 3–5, 41–42; 1918: 18, 58; J. R. Howard to CIA, April 3, 1911, CCF 806, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Frazee to Robert G. Valentine, Secretary of the Interior, February 16, 1910, CCF 150, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Dick Chesley, b. 1895, interviewer unknown, ca. 1982, cassette tape, WEOHP.

⁷⁰ RCIA 1910: 53–54; 1911: 40–41; "Report in the Matter of the Investigation," Majority Report; "Inspection Report of E. B. Linnen," October 9, 1909, CCF 806, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; "Inspection Report of Elsie E. Newton on the Work of the Field Matron at Pine Point," September 22, 1911, CCF 917.1, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Samuel Adams, Acting Secretary of the Interior, to Robert J. Gamble, Chairman, Committee on Indian Affairs, March 1, 1912, CCF 150, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; "Report of Inspector Oscar Lipps on the Industrial, Economic, and Home Conditions of the Chippewa Indians in Minnesota," October 21, 1912, CCF 916, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; "Inspection Report of Charles F. Peirce on the White Earth Agency," December 21, 1912, CCF 150, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; "Inspection Report of L. F. Michaels on White Earth Schools and Agency," December 10, 1913, CCF 150, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; "Inspection Report of H. S. Taylor on the White Earth Reservation," October 27, 1915, CCF 150, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; "Inspection Report of W. H. Gibbs on Industries at White Earth Reservation," October 24, 1916, CCF 910, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; T. H. Beaulieu to Halvor Steenerson, April 25, 1917, CCF 916, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS.

U.S. policy effectively barred them from exercising any control over these funds.⁷¹

In its role as guardian, the U.S. administration mismanaged the Chippewa in Minnesota Fund almost from its inception. U.S. Chippewa Commissioners illegally spent thousands of dollars traveling through northern Minnesota to persuade Anishinaabe people to move to White Earth.⁷² Mismanagement in the care and sale of timber cost the Anishinaabeg millions.⁷³ Legislation repeatedly commuted homestead fees for settlers on ceded lands, denying revenue to tribal funds.⁷⁴ Policy makers ignored objections of tribal leaders and slated money from the Chippewa in Minnesota Fund to cover some costs associated with ditching and draining wetlands on ceded lands north of Red Lake.⁷⁵ Compensation for confiscated land—swampland claimed by the State of Minnesota and timberland taken for the Chippewa National Forest—was not forthcoming for twenty to forty years.⁷⁶ Under these circumstances, the Chippewa in Minnesota Fund often showed a deficit, and the government was forced to forward money to carry out its assimilation programs. The Anishinaabeg were often in debt to the government because of actions taken by federal officials in their role as guardian of Indians' resources.

Policies governing timber cutting at White Earth denied the Anishinaabeg a chance to capitalize on their timber resources. Most policies mandated that timber simply be sold off in bulk. The Indians were fortunate if they received wages for their labor. Even the Morris Act (1902), which instituted the "bank scale" to correct abuses in the appraisal and auction of timber, made no provision for manufacturing wood products as at La Pointe and Menominee, Wisconsin. Had U.S. administrators managed Anishinaabe timber according to principles of conservation and

⁷¹ All of the various Anishinaabe bands in northern Minnesota shared rights to the Chippewa in Minnesota Fund. Money from the sale of any of the "Chippewa ceded lands," including the four eastern pine townships at White Earth, was deposited in this fund. For details about the expenditure of money from this fund, see U.S. General Accounting Office, "Report re. Petitions of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe et al., and Red Lake Band, et al.," August 21, 1950, Indian Claims Commission 188, 189, 189—Amended, 189—A, 189—B, and 189—C; "Report of W. H. Gibbs," October 24, 1916; Hinton, Superintendent, to CIA, October 28, 1916, CCF 220, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; T. H. Beaulieu to Steenerson, April 25, 1917, CCF 916, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Memorandum [from ? to ?], Inter-Office Memo, June [post-30], 1918, CCF 220, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 25: 982–84, 994–95; 26: 990–92, 1003–04, 1007; 27: 122–23, 134, 138, 613, 615, 626–27, 632; 28: 288–90, 302, 878, 880, 891; 29: 323, 325, 336; 30: 64, 66–67, 77, 573, 575, 584, 592, 925–29, 937; 31: 222–23, 225–26, 241, 1059–60, 1062–63; 32: 246–49, 268, 982, 984–86; 33: 190, 193, 221, 1048, 1050–51; 34: 349, 351, 1032–33; 35: 82, 792, 794; 36: 276, 1065; 37: 525; 38: 88–90, 590–91; 39: 134–37, 977–79; 40: 572; 41: 13, 15, 31, 419, 433–34; RCIA 1909: 36–38, 116; 1911: 254, 259; 1912: 286, 291; 1913: 258, 262; 1914: 185; 1915: 199; 1916: 189; 1917: 195; 1918: 209; 1919: 199.

⁷² 51 Congress, 1 session, House Executive Documents 2747, 247; 56 Congress, 1 session, Senate Reports 3890, 1078; 56 Congress, 1 session, House Reports 4027, 1858; 55 Congress, 3 session, Senate Documents 3728, 49.

⁷³ 53 Congress, 2 session, House Reports 3269, 459; 54 Congress, 1 session, House Reports 3457, 119; 55 Congress, 1 session, Senate Documents 3562, 85; 55 Congress, 3 session, Senate Documents 3731, 70; 62 Congress, 3 session, House Reports 6336, 1336.

⁷⁴ 56 Congress, 1 session, House Reports 4025, 1103; 58 Congress, 3 session, House Reports 4762, 4618; 59 Congress, 2 session, House Reports 5065, 7612; 68 Congress, 1 session, House Reports 8227, 272.

⁷⁵ 61 Congress, 1 session, House Document 5579, 27.

⁷⁶ *State of Minnesota vs. Craig* 23 LD 305; F. H. Abbot, Acting CIA, to Commissioner of the General Land Office, March 24, 1913: 5, CCF 309, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; RCIA 1904: 218; 1908: 89; 1922: 18; *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 9: 519; 12: 3; 49: 321, 1765; "Compensate Chippewa Indians of Minneapolis [sic] under Swamp Land Act," 74 Congress, 1 session, 1935, Senate Reports 9878, 428. "Islands and Swamplands," CCF 309, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS, contains much correspondence concerning state swampland claims at White Earth. Ransom J. Powell Papers, Box 17, Minnesota State Historical Society Archives, contains maps identifying swamplands claimed by the State of Minnesota in red; boxes 14–16 contain relevant correspondence.

sustained yield, principles not unheard of at the time, the Indians might have derived greater benefit from this revenue-generating resource. Assimilationists mistakenly intended that the Anishinaabeg should become yeoman farmers, not successful lumbermen.⁷⁷

Long-term observers knew that the assault on White Earth's resources on all fronts portended dire consequences for the Anishinaabeg. With keen foresight, agents predicted that dispossession would "condemn [them] to destitution and beggary."⁷⁸

In the western part of the reservation, Euro-American immigrants, many of them Scandinavians, bought prairie land from speculators and established small farms. Reservation towns along the Soo Line came to resemble any other rural, agricultural town, with the important difference being their proximity to millions of dollars' worth of Anishinaabe resources. These railroad station towns, each with its own grain elevator, sustained more involved economic activities than eastern reservation towns and so displaced them. White Earth Village retained its preeminence among interior towns because of the agency and school complexes located there. Beaulieu and Ponsford declined in importance after the removal restrictions on mixed bloods' allotments fueled a brief burst of economic activity. White Earth's western prairies drew attention from "bona fide" Euro-American settlers first.⁷⁹

By 1910, forests once blanketing the eastern townships at White Earth had suffered lumbermen's axes. Instead of establishing homesteads on their allotments, most conservative Indians in the east congregated in small villages of 200 to 300 people. They lived on cut-over lands along lake shores in homes ranging from cloth tepees and bark wigwams to tarpaper shacks and log cabins. Many were "squatters" in the eyes of the law, living in areas convenient to meet their economic and social needs without regard to "legal" ownership. Boarding schools located at Pine Point, Wild Rice River, and White Earth Village served as focal points for settlements of families that relocated to be closer to their children. Others established themselves on uncontested areas such as school, government, and church reserves. Occasionally, absentee white landowners allowed Indian families to encamp on their land. Indian Office inspectors feared encouraging landless families to do more than establish garden plots because most developments would likely be lost when land titles cleared.

Escalating land alienation prompted creative living strategies. So many landless individuals shared quarters with friends and relatives that "during the winter

⁷⁷ RCIA 1905: 80, 233; 1906: 250; 1911: 192, 196; 1912: 218, 220; 1913: 188, 191; 1914: 42, 155, 158; 1915: 37, 168, 170; 1916: 161; 1917: 43, 166; 1918: 62, 181; 1919: 169; 1920: 52. The "bank scale" refers to scaling actual logs while stacked on river banks rather than estimating their value by cruising forests. Measurements so taken should have been more accurate. *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 32: 400-04; R. A. Ballinger, First Assistant Secretary of the Interior, to Attorney General, January 17, 1910, CCF 150, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Ransom J. Powell to Ballinger, January 4, 1910, CCF 150, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Ballinger to the Attorney General, March 14, 1910, CCF 150, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Frazee to Valentine, CIA, February 16, 1910, CCF 150, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; First Assistant Secretary of the Interior to Attorney General, November 6, 1909, CCF 150, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Frank Pierce, First Assistant Secretary of the Interior, to Attorney General, October 16, 1909, CCF 150, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; "Report of H. S. Taylor"; "Inspection Report of L. F. Michaels on White Earth Schools and Agency," December 10, 1913, CCF 150, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Webster Ballinger to Meritt, Assistant CIA, April 22, 1918, CCF 150, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; "Minutes of a Council of the Otter Tail Band of Pillager Chippewa Indians of Minnesota held at Pine Point," January 30, 1900, LR 1900, BIA RG 75, NARS; see also Rich Nafziger, "A Violation of Trust? Federal Management of Indian Timber Lands," *Indian Historian*, 9 (1976): 15-23.

⁷⁸ RCIA 1899: 210.

⁷⁹ "Report in the Matter of the Investigation," 54, map opposing page 1112; Railroad and Warehouse Commission Reports (1905): 15; Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, 4: 264-65.

several additional persons . . . crowded into nearly every house.”⁸⁰ It was common for several families to cluster together on a minor child’s allotment, since they remained in trust until minors came of age. Mille Lacs Chief Wahweyeacumig at Elbow Lake welcomed many families onto his own allotment. These flexible arrangements were in keeping with the Anishinaabe values that stressed hospitality and concern for relatives. Indians in the east continued to adapt to changing conditions they encountered, secure in custom if not in land tenure.⁸¹

Increasingly, Euro-American landownership restricted Indians’ access to seasonal resources. They soon began to encounter fences and “No Trespassing” signs along lake fronts and in areas where they had once moved freely. Always the backbone of the subsistence economy, the seasonal round lost its capacity to sustain the growing population. Disruption of the seasonal round fostered poverty and disease at White Earth as available resources decreased, causing a related decline in nutrition and the overall health of the population. Under such conditions, diseases took a deadly toll.⁸²

White Earth gained national notoriety for its peoples’ abysmal diseased condition. Pulmonary infections were a plague, with tuberculosis, the “coughing sickness,” being the primary killer. Thousands suffered from trachoma, or “sore eyes,” which produced blindness in its advanced stages. Responding to the emergency, federal officials converted boarding schools to hospitals and sanatoriums to house the diseased. Doctors ordered a special diet to bolster the strength of children in eastern schools who had grown weak from hunger and infection.⁸³ Inspectors conducted house-to-house examinations of Indians to gauge the extent of sickness more accurately and determine what effect home life had on Indians’ health. Especially in the eastern forests and cut-over areas, they found deplorable conditions. The loss of land had uprooted people and forced congested living arrangements, which fostered the spread of communicable diseases. In one home, diseased inhabitants just sat and stared.⁸⁴ Inspector Warren Moorehead pointed out, “We cannot expect the Indians to be healthy if they continue to live as they do.”⁸⁵ Land alienation and environmental degradation had worked to sap the life-blood of the people.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ Moorehead to CIA, “The White Earth Investigation: Additional Report,” October 26, 1909, CCF 150, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS.

⁸¹ Inspection reports scattered throughout the CCF for WEA, BIA RG 75, contain information from which the foregoing description was drawn. The documentation is too voluminous to cite individually; see categories 056, 150, 160, 700, 721, 723, 806, 910, 916, and 917.1.

⁸² Agent J. R. Howard to CIA, Received by Indian Office, May 4, 1910, CCF 723, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; “Inspection Report of H. B. Peairs on Industries and Agriculture at White Earth,” June 9–26, 1915, CCF 910, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; N. B. Hurr to Moorehead, January 1, 1915, CCF 723, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Moorehead to Cato Sells, CIA, January 5, 1914, CCF 723, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; O. H. Lipps to CIA, March 9, 1915, CCF 056, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; “Report of Wilma G. Rhodes on the Field Matron at White Earth Reservation,” September 23, 1918, CCF 150, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS.

⁸³ “Inspection Report of F. D. Cooke, M.D., on Health Conditions at Pine Point,” October 4, 1910, CCF 700, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS.

⁸⁴ “Inspection Report of Charles F. Peirce on the White Earth Agency,” December 21, 1912, CCF 150, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS.

⁸⁵ Moorehead to CIA, “The White Earth Investigation: Additional Report,” October 26, 1909, CCF 150, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS.

⁸⁶ Inspection reports by physicians, nurses, and field matrons can be found throughout the CCF for WEA, BIA RG 75, categories 700, 710, 720, and 721. See also RCIA 1912: 173; 1913: 145; 1915: 12, 138; 1916: 3–4, 135; 1917: 16, 139; 1918: 34, 154; 1919: 142; 1920: 137; Diane Putney, “Fighting the Scourge: American Indian Morbidity and Federal Policy, 1897–1928” (Ph.D. dissertation, Marquette University, 1980); Russell Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History since 1492* (Norman, Okla., 1987).

Health inspectors were convinced that poor sanitation and ignorance of proper nutrition and methods to combat disease could only be remedied through educational measures. Physicians began a series of evening lectures to acquaint Indians with the nature of diseases that afflicted them, how to treat them, and how to stop their spread. Field matrons began regular rounds in which they instructed Indian women on hygiene, nutrition, child care, and housekeeping. Health officials embarked on a "Save the Babies" campaign in response to the alarmingly high infant mortality rate. By 1920, their efforts had met with some success, but conditions that spawned diseases worsened, and poor health continued to plague Indians at White Earth.⁸⁷

Alienation of land and resources eliminated the Indian-owned land base necessary to their autonomy and future development. By 1915, only 300 Indians were farming, and the acreage cultivated had decreased from a high of 9,125 in 1894 to a mere 2,400. Agriculture no longer seemed to be a worthwhile option for most. Indian Office inspector H. S. Taylor recommended abandoning the White Earth experiment because it was "impossible to have a constructive policy upon this reservation . . . [T]he land is gone."⁸⁸ As available resources and economic opportunities constricted, White Earth residents increasingly opted to leave the reservation in order to make their ways in nearby towns and cities. In 1915, Taylor bemoaned the failure of the White Earth experiment, noting, "Its people . . . are now scattered to the four winds with no interest in it." White Earth enrollees received their annuity checks "in hundreds of post offices—from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Pacific to the Atlantic."⁸⁹ Rather than a gradual process in which population outstripped resources, this change was an abrupt one in which loss of resources made it increasingly difficult for people to adapt and remain on the reservation.⁹⁰

THE RHETORIC OF ASSIMILATION and allotment policies emphasized independent, small-scale market agriculture as the salvation of Indian people nationwide. The policies failed to achieve this goal. Government policy also encouraged Indians to adopt American cultural patterns. Some inclined in that direction on their own; others used the means supplied in ways that policy makers had not intended. The Anishinaabeg adapted to changing circumstances more through their own efforts

⁸⁷ See CCF for WEA, BIA RG 75, categories 150 and 700. See also: RCIA 1915: 12; 1917: 16; 1918: 34.

⁸⁸ RCIA 1894: 151; 1915: 117; "Inspection Report of H. S. Taylor on the White Earth Reservation," October 27, 1915, CCF 150, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS.

⁸⁹ "Inspection Report of H. S. Taylor on the White Earth Reservation," October 27, 1915.

⁹⁰ P. R. Wadsworth, Superintendent, to CIA, August 2, 1922, CCF 056, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Andrew Bellecourt, Albert Giard, Louis Dakota, W. J. Heisler, returned soldiers, to CIA, July 26, 1922, CCF 056, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; Wadsworth to CIA, July 8, 1922, CCF 056, WEA, BIA RG 75, NARS; RCIA 1917: 6–7, 41; 1918: 3, 62; 1919: 338; Lizzie Brunette, b. 1888, interviewer unknown, ca. 1982, cassette tape, WEOHP; Dick Chesley, b. 1895, interviewer unknown, ca. 1982, cassette tape, WEOHP; Christine Roy, b. [?], interviewer unknown, ca. 1982, handwritten transcript, MCTRHP; Winnifred Jourdain, b. 1898, interviewer unknown, ca. 1982, handwritten transcript, MCTRHP; Fred Burnett Weaver, b. 1900, interviewer unknown, ca. 1982, handwritten transcript, MCTRHP; Irene Harris, b. 1898, interviewer unknown, ca. 1982, handwritten transcript, MCTRHP; Irene CeCelia Vizenor, b. 1903, interviewer unknown, ca. 1982, handwritten transcript, MCTRHP; Emma May Johnson, b. 1905, interviewer unknown, ca. 1982, handwritten transcript, MCTRHP. See also Nancy Shoemaker, "Urban Indians and Ethnic Choices: American Indian Organizations in Minneapolis, 1920–1950," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 19 (1988): 431–47.

than through congressional largess or coercion. The expansion of market capitalism was a more powerful agent of change than U.S. assimilation policy.

Minnesota congressmen and business interests did succeed in incorporating White Earth's material resources into the U.S. economy, despite their mistakes in phrasing legislation. In the process, they also made it impossible for the majority of White Earth Indians to remain a land-based people. The policies put in place brought about dispossession of both ethnic groups, whether individuals understood the workings of the market or not. Policy makers' chief accomplishment was the "assimilation" or marginalization of the Anishinaabe people (and many other native groups) at the bottom of the American social and economic hierarchy, where thousands of transoceanic immigrants and southern freed slaves had begun. Only elite entrepreneurs of mixed descent fared better. A few profited directly from the dispossession process. Others had the knowledge and wherewithal to migrate, adapt, and eventually prosper. But most Indians entered the mainstream of American society from a landless and impoverished position.

Before dispossession, the Anishinaabeg had been able to adapt and do well at White Earth. Its geographic isolation and ecological diversity sustained multiple strategies for making a living. The expanding market economy, which offered opportunities for selling seasonal produce, wage labor, and commercial farming, also eased the adjustment immigrants faced. Cultural brokers mediated between conservative Anishinaabeg and agents of American society, activities characteristic of "regions of refuge."⁹¹ In 1907, the White Earth Anishinaabeg were well on their way toward establishing an economic and social structure that would allow residents with different ways of life to remain on the reservation and prosper.

Dispossession destroyed the White Earth experiment, and a larger view of economic conditions may help explain why dispossession occurred when it did. The rising price of wheat in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries served as the initial incentive to develop rich agricultural lands in the Red River Valley. Completion of the Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Sault Ste. Marie Railroad through the western tier of townships at White Earth linked the area to Twin Cities markets, reduced transportation costs, and provided a focus for Euro-American settlement. Lumbermen stood waiting at White Earth's eastern borders, having worked their way through forests from the east. White Earth's "undeveloped" resources looked attractive to these local business interests. Nonetheless, the protective restrictions of the Nelson Act were designed to combat precisely this type of threat.

These conditions arose just as support for the agrarian ideal on reservations was waning. Blaming the failure of programmatic directives to assimilate Indians on the Indians themselves and their inherent "backwardness," policy makers lost interest in social engineering, lifted restrictions from "competent" Indians, and tolerated an accelerated alienation of allotted reservation lands.⁹² At White Earth, a powerful clique of state politicians and local business interests accomplished dispossession even more effectively by enabling "mixed bloods" to sell their land and dispensing with any philanthropic justification. Allotment had occurred first on the reservations where resources were most valuable.⁹³ Removal of protective restrictions probably followed a similar pattern. In the case of White Earth, events did not follow the national pattern, they helped to set it.

⁹¹ See Hall, *Social Change*, 17–23; Hall, "Patterns of Native American Incorporation."

⁹² Hoxie, *Final Promise*, 147–87.

⁹³ Carlson, *Indians, Bureaucrats, and Land*.

If left alone to live out their lives under the Nelson Act, the White Earth Anishinaabeg might have continued to adapt. Instead, Euro-American farmers replaced Indian landowners and White Earth timber went to fuel a burst of settlement further west. Through resource extraction, White Earth passed from being a “region of refuge” to a “dependent” or “full-blown periphery.”⁹⁴ Its people were marginalized. Most scattered, hoping to find niches elsewhere as day laborers.

The particular constellation of circumstances reviewed above explains the timing of dispossession for the White Earth Anishinaabeg. Their experiences, however, parallel those of other dispossessed Indian groups. In most cases, population growth elsewhere generated demands for resources that had little to do with the needs or desires of indigenous people. The related processes of incorporation of resources and marginalization of people account for similarities in the White Earth experience, dispossession of eastern coastal tribes in the late seventeenth century, removal of southeastern tribes in the 1830s, and the exploitation of Indian coal, oil, natural gas, and uranium after World War II. Potential illustrations are legion.⁹⁵ Echoing those who came before her, Lucy Thompson, born at White Earth in 1906, reflected on changes that had occurred during her lifetime. “Now the white people claim everything that the Indians used to use in the olden days . . . If they could do it, they’d take everything . . . The only thing they’d leave us is our appetites.”⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Hall, *Social Change*; Hall, “Patterns of Native American Incorporation.”

⁹⁵ How these general processes affected American Indians is best illustrated in Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaw, Pawnee, and Navajo* (Lincoln, Neb., 1984); William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York, 1983); Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven, Conn., 1988); and Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533–1960* (Tucson, Ariz., 1962).

⁹⁶ Lucy Thompson, b. 1906, interviewer unknown, ca. 1982, cassette tape, WEOHP.

AHR Forum
“Intellectuals” versus “Workers”:
Academic Requirements and the Creation of
Labor History

LEON FINK

The educated man should not become linked to an aristocracy of intellect, but should be a guide the army of discontented may trust and follow.

John R. Commons, 1888

So long as the intellectual is investigating specific subjects, which have definite and calculable bearings upon the workers' welfare,—for instance, industrial accidents, unemployment, wage trends, and the like, his tendency to reduce labor in the concrete to an abstraction is restrained. But let the intellectual's thought turn from relatively prosaic matters like the above mentioned to the infinitely more soul-stirring one of “labor and the social order,” and it is the rare intellectual who is able to withstand an onrush of overpowering social mysticism.

Selig Perlman, 1928

Despite its limitations, “The Workers' Search for Power” suggested how labor history could be transformed into a history of the working class . . . It shifted attention from trade unions, secret societies, and emigre intellectuals. Instead, it stressed what Gutman had come to believe was the real business of labor history, “the workers themselves, their communities, and the day-to-day occurrences that shaped their outlook.”

Ira Berlin, 1987¹

BOTH INTELLECTUAL AND POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES have put American historians in a peculiarly self-reflective mood of late. While Peter Novick's excavation of the historiographical rock of “objectivity” is the most celebrated application of a radical skepticism toward the working categories and assumptions of an inherited literature, it fits a larger temper of the times.² The “linguistic turn” within postmodernist

¹ John R. Commons, “Abstract Studies and the Real World,” *Oberlin Review*, February 7, 1888, quoted in Roger D. Horne, “John R. Commons and the Climate of Progressivism” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1989), 57; Selig Perlman, *A Theory of the Labor Movement* (New York, 1928), 280–81; Ira Berlin, “Herbert G. Gutman and the American Working Class,” in Gutman, *Power and Culture: Essays on the American Working Class* (New York, 1987), 17.

² Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988); Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (New York, 1988).

thought, pushed to historical center stage by the gender analysis of feminist historians, in itself offers a challenge to an empirically minded profession more used to weighing other peoples' thoughts and deeds than their own.

Yet, even while contending with these intellectual flood waters, historians have been besieged from another quarter. Both on the left and right, they are included as targets in searching, if conflicting, critiques of the American academic's contemporary social function. While the Right hammers variously at a cult of relativism, ideological conformism, and sacrifice of teaching to professional prestige, the Left mourns the monopoly of professional academic culture on scholarly work and the resulting impoverishment of broader intellectual discussion. For both groups, a basic question arises as to the existence and quality of academics' contact with a meaningful public.³

The bevy of criticism is enough to excite a reexamination of origins and purpose in every scholarly pursuit but perhaps nowhere more so than in the subfields of history most closely linked to the political climate of the 1960s. Indeed, at one level, both postmodernism and the debate over the academy bespeak a disillusioned (if not vengeful) response to the heady expectations of committed or "engaged" scholars emerging from the student New Left.⁴ American labor history was one such field, although its "politicization" has much deeper roots. More than in most academic units, the practitioners of labor history have long enjoyed a special sense of social purpose as well as intellectual direction. Interpreting experience far removed from the pathways of the university campus, scholars of the labor movement have exhibited a sympathy bordering on missionary zeal for their subjects. But how, exactly, have academics conceived of their own relation to working people as objects of study? How has such self-consciousness (or lack of it) affected past labor history scholarship? What effect has the academy itself had in shaping the "public" or "political" role of the labor historian? And with what legacy for the present day?

The early writing of labor history offers a revealing chapter in paradigm formation as well as political activism within American intellectual life. In significant ways, those academics who first documented the struggles of American trade unionism were themselves part of the action. Writing during a time of tremendous ferment within the labor movement, the intellectuals inhabited an academic world in complex and problematic historical motion, one that placed substantial pressure on both political and intellectual self-definitions. Offering a kind of sociology of knowledge for the most important of these pioneering labor historians, I want to argue that the intellectuals' personal experience materially shaped a conception of worker and labor-union interests with long-term repercussions for public policy as well as scholarship. While the assumptions of these "founders" differ significantly from the repertoire of today's practitioners, exposure of their dilemmas, I suggest in conclusion, may help us to recognize our own. Or, to put it more provocatively, when "intellectuals" propose to speak for "workers" (as most labor historians do),

³ See, for example, Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind* (New York, 1987); Roger Kimball, *Tenured Radicals: How Politics Has Corrupted Higher Education* (New York, 1990); Charles J. Sykes, *ProfScam: Professors and the Demise of Higher Education* (New York, 1988); compare Russell Jacoby, *The Last Intellectuals: American Culture in the Age of Academe* (New York, 1987); Tim Luke, Paul Piccone, Fred Siegel, and Michael Taves, "Roundtable on Intellectuals and the Academy," *Telos*, 71 (Spring 1987): 5-35; Bryan D. Palmer, *Descent into Discourse: The Reification of Language and the Writing of Social History* (Philadelphia, 1990).

⁴ See Paul Berman, "Intellectuals after the Revolution: What's Happened since the Sixties?"; and Todd Gitlin, "Postmodernism: Roots and Politics," *Dissent* (Winter 1989): 86-93, 100-08.

their own self-image plays a large (and usually unexplored) role in the histories the intellectuals "discover."

THE FIRST TREATISES ON WORKERS' ORGANIZED ACTIVITY appeared in the 1880s, an era that economic historian Mark Perlman has aptly titled "The Awakening."⁵ On the one hand, the term evokes the clamor of the decade's Great Upheaval, the tide of strikes, protest, and national organizing activity by workers in the exploding ranks of the Knights of Labor and emerging federation of skilled trades, each challenging the power of capital to dictate the terms of an industrial future. But the term applies equally well to those who were doing the writing: reform-minded intellectuals, especially political economists, who experienced the social crisis of industrialism and the advance of specialized knowledge as not merely coincident but connected events. Indeed, the first commentators on the labor movement included some of the most brilliant lights of a new generation of educated Americans, individuals who went on to make their mark within, and in several cases to dominate, their chosen academic or professional fields.

Products of an unprecedented expansion of university enrollments and, particularly, the development of postgraduate programs at several elite schools, the pioneer scholars were men (and a few exceptional women) who generally had inherited a religiously derived moral sensibility for which the poverty as well as unrest of the industrial city was a new and troubling experience.⁶ If American social problems pricked their Christian social conscience, their diagnosis was in turn filtered through a strong European, especially German, intellectual lens. Experience for many in research universities abroad offered not only a model for future American higher education, it also exposed these young Americans to a more historical, contingent, and pluralistic view of the world than that suggested by an unbending faith in individualism and the iron laws of classical political economy.⁷

⁵ Mark Perlman, *Labor Union Theories in America: Background and Development* (Evanston, Ill., 1958), 1.

⁶ From 1870 to 1910, the number of university and college students rose four times as fast as the country's population. The change was especially dramatic at the postgraduate level. By 1900, the number of graduate students had increased from fewer than 50 to 6,000, with 90 percent of Ph.D.s awarded by fourteen institutions, and a full 55 percent from "a big five" of California, Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, and Johns Hopkins. The social sciences formed a part of this wave, with history, economics, anthropology, and political science creating graduate departments and journals in the 1880s and sociology following in the 1890s. Within economics, or political economy as it was then called, 3 Ph.D.s were awarded in the 1870s, 11 in the 1880s, and a further 95 in the 1890s. A total of 228 American women received doctoral degrees prior to 1900: of these, 66 were in the social sciences and only 5 in economics. A. W. Coats, "The Educational Revolution and the Professionalization of American Economics," in William J. Barber, ed., *Breaking the Academic Mould: Economists and American Higher Learning in the Nineteenth Century* (Middletown, Conn., 1988), 344–45; Alexandra Oleson and John Voss, "Introduction," xii, and Dorothy Ross, "The Development of the Social Sciences," 108, in Oleson and Voss, eds., *The Organization of Knowledge in Modern America, 1860–1920* (Baltimore, Md., 1979); Walter Crosby Eells, "Earned Doctorates for Women in the Nineteenth Century," *AAUP Bulletin*, 42 (1956): 646, 648. For the best elaboration on women's distinct experience in the emerging world of social science research, see Ellen Fitzpatrick, *Endless Crusade: Women Social Scientists and Progressive Reform* (New York, 1990).

⁷ Four of the most prominent young scholars to engage the labor question in the late 1880s—Richard T. Ely, Edmund J. James, Simon Nelson Patten, and Henry Carter Adams—had each been influenced by evangelical religious backgrounds as well as graduate work in Germany. The German graduate education model was already being adapted to American circumstances, beginning with Johns Hopkins University, by the late 1870s. Mary O. Furner, *Advocacy and Objectivity: A Crisis in the Professionalization of American Social Science, 1865–1905* (Lexington, Ky., 1975), 35–58; Paul J. McNulty, *The Origins and Development of Labor Economics: A Chapter in the History of Social Thought* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), 127–40.

To be sure, prior to the “awakening” of academic intellectuals, there had been no dearth of intellectual interest in radical social reform and improvement in the lives of working people. Political-intellectual “advocates” such as Ira Steward, John Swinton, Henry George, Edward Bellamy, and later, Henry Demarest Lloyd and Clarence Darrow had each articulated a pro-labor and indigenous American radicalism.⁸ But a gulf separated them from the new academic generation. These men lived outside the university setting; their findings were less self-consciously connected to an “objective,” scientific, or scholarly quest for truth. They were, generally speaking, citizen-activists appealing to a broad “republican” audience as writers, editors, and attorneys—and, as such, throwbacks to a preindustrial world with a less searing division of professional labor. A few among them, including Steward, William Sylvius, and later Terence Powderly, Edward King, and George McNeill were in fact worker-intellectuals who slid comfortably into prominent roles within the unions and labor reform organizations.

The labor agitators listed above had also been aided by a few “professionals” working more quietly for workers’ welfare. Important work, for example, had been accomplished since the late 1860s in the way of collecting information and statistics on wage rates and working conditions, particularly through a growing circuit of state labor bureaus. The most prominent center for such work had been Massachusetts, where the irrepressible advocate George McNeill had served as state labor commissioner (until forced to resign for political reasons) in 1873. McNeill’s less obstreperous and more painstakingly professional successor, Carroll Wright, established the basis for a permanent government role in monitoring the national labor force, heading the first federal labor bureau (within the Department of the Interior) in 1884. Although relatively spare in his social judgments, Wright (and a few other empiricists like him) gave vent to a growing economic revisionism, referring scornfully, for example, to the “hard, unsympathetic nature” of the “so-called science of political economy.”⁹

What pushed the new economists of the 1880s forward, however, was not only religious sympathy and educational pedigree but also the visible mobilization of the workers themselves. A movement of unions, cooperatives, and political action, loosely grouped around the sprawling presence of the Knights of Labor, initially presented itself as a possible engine of fundamental social change. Willingly dissolving the barrier between campus and community, the young academic radicals saluted the arrival of this rational yet morally charged and broad-gauged social movement. Like breathless late arrivals onto a departing train, the academics threw caution to the winds; saluting the movement for labor reform, they openly identified with its aims and principles while implicitly casting themselves as its chief interpreters abroad and tutors at home.

The first and clearest exemplar of this trend was Richard T. Ely, perhaps the most influential academic reformer of his generation. Ely, the son of a well-read but struggling Presbyterian farmer from western New York, had secured a position at Johns Hopkins after imbibing the social gospel at Columbia and pursuing a

⁸ John L. Thomas, *Alternative America: Henry George, Edward Bellamy, Henry Demarest Lloyd, and the Adversary Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983).

⁹ Bruno Cartosio, “Strikes and Economics: Working-Class Insurgency and the Birth of Labor Historiography in the 1880s,” in *American Labor and Immigration History, 1870–1920: Recent European Research* (Urbana, Ill., 1983), 23–25, 27. By 1886, fifteen states, following Massachusetts’ lead in 1869, had organized bureaus of labor statistics.

graduate degree at Heidelberg under the historicist economist Karl Knies.¹⁰ Ely wrote *The Labor Movement in America* in 1886 at the height of both academic and political radicalism of the Gilded Age. Decrying the extremes of the old-school "conservative trade unionist" who accepts the "fixed bounds" of "natural laws" as well as the revolutionary socialist, Ely identified a "midway" position that "begins within the framework of present industrial society, but proposes to transform it gradually and peacefully, but completely, by abolishing a distinct capitalist class of employers." The labor movement was to play the leading role in this process.¹¹ Gradually replacing the formal church as a source of human brotherhood, the Knights of Labor, proclaimed Ely, was "preparing the way for a moral regeneration of the American industrial system and for the establishment of the 'ideal' system, the union of capital and labor in the same hands, in grand, wide-reaching co-operative enterprises."¹² Rather than promoting social divisions, the Knights promised an inclusive moral unity with which even the academic might identify: the Knights of Labor "did not emphasize class war; in fact in certain instances they would admit teachers, preachers, other intellectuals and even employers."¹³ Amazed at the integration within the Knights' ranks of diverse occupational groups (and even groups of Confederate and Union Civil War veterans), Ely romanticized the order as the practical working out of a Hegelian Unity of Opposites and invested in it his hopes not only for domestic progress but, ultimately, for ending wars through international parliaments.¹⁴

To be sure, even in his rhetorical swoon before the movement of the masses, Ely did not surrender a constructive social role for people like himself. His own genteel manners and even a measure of cultural condescension shone through his egalitarian sympathies. To assuage a skeptical middle-class readership, Ely acknowledged the apparent illogic of a political enlightenment arising from "below." "Strange is it not! that the despised trades-union and labor organizations should have been chosen to perform this high duty of conciliation! But hath not God ever called the lowly to the most exalted missions, and hath he not ever called the foolish to confound the wise?" Ely's personal contact with Terence Powderly likewise inverted the normal condescension bestowed by the leader of more than a half-million citizens on a private petitioner. Honored to meet with the university professor, the General Master Workman humbly addressed his correspondence to "Richard T. Ely, PhD," closed it "Very Respectfully Yours," and readily apologized for his own inattention to economic literature: "I am so busy I seldom get the chance to read the daily papers. I know that this is wrong and that a man in my position ought to have the time to scan the doings of the day . . . but our members do not think that way and I must keep at the drudgery of letter writing and reading all the time."¹⁵

Ely set an example that others quickly followed. Next to him in the front ranks of the labor-oriented intellectual awakening was Henry Carter Adams, perhaps best known as an early theorist of the regulatory state and a moderate reformist

¹⁰ Benjamin G. Rader, *The Academic Mind and Reform: The Influence of Richard T. Ely in American Life* (Lexington, Ky., 1966), 2-27, 54, 56.

¹¹ Richard T. Ely, *The Labor Movement in America* (New York, 1886), 5-6.

¹² Rader, *Academic Mind*, 83.

¹³ Quoted in George M. Fredrickson, "Intellectuals and the Labor Question in Late Nineteenth-Century America," paper presented to the AHA Annual Meeting, New York City, December 1985.

¹⁴ Ely, *Labor Movement*, 75; Rader, *Academic Mind*, 82.

¹⁵ Rader, *Academic Mind*, 82; Ely, *Labor Movement*, ix, xi; Terence Powderly to Richard T. Ely, June 6, 1885; December 22, 1886, reel 1, Richard T. Ely Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.



University of Wisconsin economist Richard T. Ely, *circa* 1900–1910. Photo by E. R. Curtiss. Courtesy of State Historical Society of Wisconsin (WHi X3 41451).

within the academic economics establishment.¹⁶ But Adams's earliest contributions, like Ely's, reflect a more radical cast of mind. Another rebel from midwestern small towns and theological orthodoxy, Adams completed his doctorate at Johns Hopkins

¹⁶ Joseph Dorfman, *The Economic Mind in American Civilization*, Vol. 3 (New York, 1949), 164–74.

in 1878, headed for Germany, and returned to juggle part-time teaching positions at Cornell and the University of Michigan.¹⁷

Adams's views on the labor problem were distinguished not only by an original elaboration of a worker's property rights in a job but by his public exploration of such issues in the midst of a charged political climate. In Cornell's Sibley College Lectures delivered during the Knights' violence-plagued Southwest Strike in April 1886, Adams resolutely and passionately defended organized labor as "the greatest and characteristic movement of the present century." While censoring the disorder accompanying the strike, Adams accepted the basic logic of strikers who had walked off their jobs to protest the arbitrary dismissal of union members:

What the Knights of Labor say is, that they desire to exercise some of the rights of proprietorship over the industry to which they give their skill and their time. And it's certainly true that concession to their demands would deprive men now controlling industries of the right to control and operate their property "under well defined rules of law"; but we will not add "[under] common sense," for that is the question at issue.¹⁸

Ely and Adams may have been the most intellectually precocious of the Young Turk economists, but both their sympathies and broad analysis of the labor problem were shared in the mid-1880s by colleagues who later elaborated the more conservative principles of twentieth-century economic thought. Perhaps the most prominent was John Bates Clark, the father of modern marginal utility theory.¹⁹ When he was called home from Amherst College to take over his ailing father's plow manufacturing business in Minnesota, Clark witnessed the hard times of surrounding farmers. He passed up a career in the ministry after graduation and turned to economics. Following study in Germany, Clark taught part-time at Smith College, then divided his time between Amherst and Columbia before securing a permanent position at Columbia in 1895. In his early scholarship, Clark tried to combine the moral ends of Christian social reform with the workings of the competitive marketplace, an effort crowned by the publication of *The Philosophy of Wealth: Economic Principles Newly Formulated* in 1886.

Clark was convinced that "individual competition," which had regulated an earlier era, was now "incapable of working justice," and he looked to new forms of "solidarity" by employers, government, workers, and the church for "the beginnings of a reign of law." In his defense of labor unions and even the boycott as commensurable resources against an unjust distribution of the economic product, and an identification of the Knights of Labor as the chief hope for the unskilled, Clark hoped to contain social conflict by a new institutionalization of economic interests. Beginning with arbitration, then advancing to profit-sharing and ultimately to the "full cooperation" preached by English Christian socialists, society would be "redeemed" when men voluntarily accepted the fraternal principle. "Christian socialism," declared Clark, "is economic republicanism; and it can come

¹⁷ Cornell trustees were skeptical enough of evolving currents in professional economics that they "balanced" Adams's appointment with that of a non-professional high-tariff advocate, a humiliating arrangement that the *Nation* called the "Duplex Professorship"; Furner, *Advocacy*, 130; Ross, "Development," 38–40.

¹⁸ Henry Carter Adams, "The Labor Problem," *Scientific American Supplement*, 22 (August 21, 1886): 8861–63.

¹⁹ Dorfman, *Economic Mind*, 188–205; see also Franek Rozwadowski, "From Recitation Room to Research Seminar: Political Economy at Columbia University," in Barber, *Breaking the Academic Mould*, 199–200; on the political significance of Clark's "marginalism" (particularly as elaborated in *Distribution of Wealth*, 1899), see James Livingston, "The Social Analysis of Economic History and Theory: Conjectures on Late Nineteenth-Century American Development," *AHR*, 92 (February 1987): 69–95.

no sooner, stay no longer, and rise, in quality, no higher than intelligence and virtue among the people.”²⁰

The distinguished later career of another Columbia economist, E. R. A. Seligman (who made his reputation in the field of public finance), likewise overshadowed his earlier enthusiasms. While no refugee from the Christian hinterlands (his father was a wealthy German-Jewish businessman), Seligman nevertheless shared much with his generational peers. Following European study and completion of a doctoral dissertation on medieval guilds, Seligman in 1885 helped Ely found the American Economics Association (AEA). “The paramount question of political economy,” the young Seligman argued, “is the question of distribution and in it the social problem (the question of labor, of the laborer),—how, consistently with a healthy development on the lines of moderate progress, social reform may be accomplished.”²¹

In a celebrated parlay over Henry George’s proposed Single Tax before the American Association for Social Science in 1890, Seligman well reflected the simultaneous identification of the New Economists with academic objectivity and social reform. Declaring that there was “not a single man with a thorough training” in economics who advocated the Single Tax, Seligman complained that, while the specialist was universally respected in the natural sciences, “every man whose knowledge of economics or the science of finance is derived from the daily papers or one or two books with lopsided ideas, thinks he is a full-fledged scientist, able to instruct the closest students of the markets or of the political and social organism.” Henry George responded energetically to Seligman’s attack, at once linking academic economists to the exploiting classes and condemning Seligman’s claim to expertise as insidious elitism (“if we cannot all study political economy . . . then democratic republican government is doomed to failure, and the quicker we surrender ourselves to the government of the rich and learned, the better”). Most interesting for our purposes is that Seligman, in final rebuttal, chose to stand not merely on scientific grounds but to argue, pointedly, “It is grossly unjust to ascribe to professors of political economy a truckling or even an unconscious subservience to the powers that be.” Indeed, not without a degree of hyperbole, Seligman further insisted that “in the United States, to mention only one instance, almost the entire support which the labor-unions receive is at the hands of the college professors,—a course which has drawn on them not a little opprobrium.”²²

Even in his early, “radical” phase, however, Seligman undoubtedly seemed tame compared to the firebrands around him. Edmund J. James and Simon Nelson Patten, for example, who had helped reorient Ely during his first European trip, also led the fight for a reform-oriented professional association. As director of the Wharton School of Finance in 1886, James, who shortly thereafter was to turn away from social issues toward a career in commercial education and administration (he ended up as president of Northwestern University and then the University of Illinois), vigorously endorsed labor unions and attacked ruthless owners for producing mass discontent.²³

We may well take the creation of the American Economics Association in 1885 as

²⁰ John B. Clark, *The Philosophy of Wealth: Economic Principles Newly Formulated* (1886; rpt. edn., Boston, 1894), 126–48, 174–202.

²¹ Rozwadowski, “From Recitation Room,” 196–97; Furner, *Advocacy*, 98–99.

²² *Journal of Social Science*, 27 (October 1890): 44, 84–85, 87–88; compare Rhoda Hellman, *Henry George Reconsidered* (New York, 1987), 70–73.

²³ Dorfman, *Economic Mind*, 160–61.

the first official recognition of an intellectual-labor entente in American public life.²⁴ For a brief moment, at least, the possibility of what many of the organizers called a "Christian social science" seemed the obvious intellectual corollary of a social and political movement seeking to redefine the political economy on moral principles.²⁵ The first volume of *AEA Publications* in 1886, for example, included an argument by Edmund J. James for municipal ownership of utilities, Albert Shaw on associations among Minneapolis Knights of Labor, Edward W. Bemis on producer and consumer cooperatives in New England, and Henry C. Adams's classic justification for government control of monopoly in "The Relation of the State to Industrial Action."

Exactly this juncture between critical scholarship and the social gospel attracted Oberlin College senior John R. Commons to begin a lifelong path of labor studies. Another midwestern refugee from ministerial ambitions, Commons, even as an undergraduate, had decided that "the educated man should . . . be a guide the army of discontented may trust and follow."²⁶ Following Ely to Hopkins in 1888 and soon helping his mentor to found the reformist Institute for Christian Sociology, Commons quickly emerged as the most determined as well as talented representative of the new economic thinking.²⁷ In the 1890s, even as other colleagues turned away from philosophical and political issues, Commons maintained a reputation as an academic "hothead."²⁸

A characteristic outburst occurred during a public exchange with the conservative Yale economist Arthur T. Hadley in 1899. In his presidential address to the AEA, Hadley, a defender of the liberal marketplace as instrument of the common good, urged economists to function above the din of political and social conflict as a kind of farseeing policy elite—"representatives," as Hadley put it, "of nothing less than the whole truth." In rebuttal, Commons, who was speaking without an academic position of his own, caustically dismissed Hadley's presumptions as a mask for bourgeois privilege by denying the fundamental nature of social antagonisms: "As economists I believe we would stand on safer ground if, when our

²⁴ The dominant impetus behind establishment of the AEA is still debated by historians of American social science. Viewed across even a ten-year time frame, tendencies toward professional group promotion seem to have been inextricably mixed with tendencies toward radical social reform. Compare Furner, *Advocacy*; and Thomas L. Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association, and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority* (Urbana, Ill., 1977). While Haskell is generally convincing in stressing the quick transformation of rhetorical "radicalism" into a self-protective posture of professional expertise among the new-school economists who created the AEA, he may have underestimated the impact of outside forces (for instance, those beyond the academics' own career aims) in deflecting the intellectuals' initial reform enthusiasms. On the centrality of the labor problem to the early professional economists, see McNulty, *Origins*, 142–51.

²⁵ *Labor: Its Rights and Wrongs* (Westport, Conn., 1975 [1886]), 30. Of fifty chartering members of the AEA, twenty-three were ministers or ex-ministers; Coats, "Educational Revolution and the Professionalization of American Economics," 358.

²⁶ Horne, "John R. Commons and the Climate of Progressivism," 57.

²⁷ Lafayette G. Harter, Jr., *John R. Commons: His Assault on Laissez-Faire* (Corvallis, Oreg., 1962), 13–19. Commons was attracted to Johns Hopkins precisely by the radical notoriety of Ely, choosing his college after reading a nasty review in *The Nation* of Ely's *Studies in the Evolution of Industrial Society*; Ely to Robert Hunter, October 21, 1903, reel 27, Richard T. Ely Papers. A baseball aficionado (and pretty fair pitcher in his Oberlin college days), Commons dated his conversion to an overall "economic sceptic" to his personal refutation in 1885–1886 of Herbert Spencer's casual claim that a curve ball defied the laws of physics: "he knew not the seams on the ball and forgot the friction of the air"; John R. Commons, *Myself: The Autobiography of John R. Commons* (Madison, Wis., 1963), 28.

²⁸ Dorfman, *Economic Mind*, 285. Commons confessed to one such warning from Ely in 1895: "I recognize that on some occasions I may have seemed needlessly to have aroused antagonism. It is difficult to combine opportuneness with exposures of injustice, but I believe I am getting more cautious"; Furner, *Advocacy*, 200–02.



Professor John R. Commons, in his study, 1925. Courtesy of University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives (X25 1923).

conclusions lead us to champion the cause of a class . . . or to expose another class, we should come squarely out and admit that it is so; not because the class interest is foremost in our minds, but because the class is the temporary means of bringing about the permanent welfare of all.”²⁹

²⁹ Arthur T. Hadley, “Economic Theory and Political Morality”; and “Comment” by John R. Commons in *Publications of the AEA, Papers and Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Meeting* (New York, 1900), 45–88, quotations 61, 65, 69, 77, 79; compare Furner, *Advocacy*, 273–77. Some analysts, in my view, go too far in attributing class-conciliatory corporatist notions to Commons’s earliest writings. See, for example, Andy Dawson, “History and Ideology: Fifty Years of ‘Job Consciousness,’” *Literature and History*, 8 (Autumn 1978): 223–41; and Ronald W. Schatz, “From Commons to Dunlop and Kerr: Rethinking the Field and Theory of Industrial Relations,” paper presented at “Industrial Democracy”

Of course, the impact of the stirrings of the reform-minded academics should not be exaggerated. Youthfully confident and enthusiastic, they were a distinct and finite subset of social science-oriented professionals. In the circumstances of widespread labor unrest and an organized mass movement, however, when both serious social reforms and more apocalyptic transformations of the social order appeared possible, the visions of the radical idealists left an impression even on more traditionally conservative colleagues. For example, the older economist, federal census superintendent, and president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Francis A. Walker, initially reacted violently against the labor upheavals of the 1880s, heaping abuse equally on strikers, foreign laborers, and radical dreamers like Henry George and Edward Bellamy.³⁰ Walker's election as president of the AEA in 1887 has been cited as evidence of the organization's budding emphasis on public respectability at the expense of radical reform. But it is worth noting that Walker, a moderate critic of laissez-faire dogma who had years before attacked the Malthusian wages-fund doctrine, took pains to conciliate the labor movement (and thus also to reassure his professional left flank) in his presidential address of 1888. In "Efforts of the Manual Laboring Class to Better Their Condition," Walker joined his colleagues in a remarkably even-handed treatment of the rise of the Knights of Labor and its social implications. He referred to the "revolution" in economic thought that had followed the revolution in political thought during the preceding one hundred years. He saw a shift from a "general consent of economic opinion that all distinct efforts of the laboring class, directed to the advancement of their own interest, must at the best be useless" to "the present time when . . . it is fully recognized that the self-assertion of the laboring class importantly contributes to the equitable and beneficial distribution of wealth; and that such self-assertion, within proper limits and by proper agencies, is not more for the interest of the laboring class than of the employing class, or of the community as a whole." Obliquely, Walker even buttressed the case for direct intellectual-worker contacts by implying that the insights on wage theory of British economist Henry Fawcett were due in part to the fact that "one-half of his actual intimate daily companions were laboring men."³¹

THE "AWAKENING" PERIOD OFFERS AMPLE TESTIMONY to the quality of labor-oriented engagement by a generation of socially conscious intellectuals. Whether by joining in forums with labor leaders and social reformers, establishing professional associations through which to maximize their influence on public opinion, or training a younger generation of citizens and scholars in their own classrooms, the new-school economists etched in the possibility for a formal intellectual counterpart to labor-populist currents in workplaces and electoral politics. Perhaps most significantly, these intellectuals imagined that the "scientific" development of their own field of knowledge was intimately bound up with the welfare of working people themselves. As Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger concluded, "the strategies

Conference, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C., March 28–30, 1988.

³⁰ Dorfman, *Economic Mind*, 101–10.

³¹ *Publications of the American Economic Association*, Vol. 3 (Baltimore, Md., 1889), 162. For a similar turn by the Sumnerian Franklin H. Giddings, see Ross, "Development," 43–44.

of the new political economy and of organized labor . . . seemed to coincide.”³²

Yet, overall, between 1890 and 1910, the ardor of the labor-oriented academics perceptibly cooled. In place of public identification with workers’ aspirations and open advocacy of social transformation, the young social scientists either withdrew from advocacy altogether or channeled their reform energies into more publicly acceptable roles as policy “experts”—a process that Mary Furner labeled “practical research.”³³

Suspension of a politically engaged, anticapitalist critique by the labor economists likely had several causes and reflected changes within as well as outside the academy. Part of the problem was intellectual. Lacking a developed social theory (while generally disdaining revolutionary socialist models as well as the “amateurish” heterodoxy of a Henry George), the academic radicals faced difficulty in establishing their social claims on anything but subjective moral foundations.³⁴ “Scientific” integrity as well as the demands of academic respectability thus impelled many of the new economists toward accommodation with the developing marginalist revolution in economic thought, a theoretical universe in which workers appeared less as visionary citizens than as integers of material self-interest.³⁵ Marginalist theory, moreover, carried a persuasive descriptive brief in an economic world where corporate capital had secured its institutional and legal moorings. In this respect, the collapse of both the Knights of Labor by the end of the 1880s and defeat of subsequent labor-populist political challenges in the early 1890s left few options for theorists who had seriously contemplated a different political economy.

A more immediately revisionist goad to erstwhile academic radicals, however, was supplied by university administrators. Four of the most prominent of the labor-oriented economists—Adams, Ely and his students, Bemis, and John R. Commons—faced the threat or fact of dismissal for their intellectual commitments. These actions were part of a larger housecleaning of heterodoxy in the universities that climaxed in the mid-1890s, and the survivors of this “intellectual Haymarket” learned the contemporary limits of academic freedom each in his own way.³⁶

Henry Carter Adams was dismissed in 1886 from his half-time position at Cornell, following publication of his Sibley College lecture “The Labor Problem.” Adams had been unlucky enough to have as official commentators on his talk both

³² Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger, *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* (New York, 1955), 31.

³³ Furner, *Advocacy*, 271–72.

³⁴ On the problem of contemporary intellectual authority, see Furner, *Advocacy*, 81–106; Hofstadter and Metzger, *Development*, 401–02; and Haskell, *Emergence*, 190–210. Having dislodged natural law, the radical economists faced the problem of what authority to turn to, other than arbitrary moral claims or public opinion, neither of which proved satisfactory as a basis for “expertise” by the academic class. Academic professionalism, reigning in its political judgments and public interventions, proved one enduring “solution.”

³⁵ Livingston, “Social Analysis of Economic History,” 69–95.

³⁶ Related cases of political discrimination involved economist E. Benjamin Andrews at Brown and sociologist E. A. Ross at Stanford. Dorfman, *Economic Mind*, 240; Hofstadter and Metzger, *Development*, 420–23. While Hofstadter and Metzger’s long view of free speech conflicts in American academe remains a most valuable basic work, it seems flawed in serious ways by their own ideological blinders. So concerned were they in the early 1950s to ward off totalitarianism (and intellectual intolerance) from the left and right extremes, especially the resort to irrational “conspiracy” theories, that they were inclined to miss the debilitating effects of bureaucratically imposed norms of academic behavior by the “liberal” center. By identifying the philosophical “empiricist” and “common sense” traditions of American thought as the chief source of the relative political “neutrality” of American academics, the authors underestimated their own evidence for the political limits imposed on the universities by the turn of the century. See esp. 400–03, 450–51, 506.

university president Charles Kendall Adams and president of the board of trustees, lumber millionaire Henry Sage. While the university president publicly offered his understanding that labor troubles "partly arise from the old familiar weakness of human nature which inclines every man to get all that he can . . . and from the inclination to get large pay for little work," Sage declared emphatically that strikes derived "mainly from our foreign population" who "neither believe in God nor government." Sometime following the debate, Sage reportedly marched into the president's office and declared, "This man must go, he is sapping the foundations of our society."³⁷

With his career saved by a full-time, tenured appointment at the University of Michigan, Adams maintained a lower public profile even as he continued to elaborate a defense of collectivist, democratic regulation of the marketplace. It was not through association with popular movements that Adams subsequently advanced his ideas, however, but through state administrative agencies. Chief statistician in the late 1880s for the Interstate Commerce Commission, Adams pushed for expansive investigatory and regulatory powers and against restrictions increasingly imposed by the courts. While Adams's intellectual curiosity alone may have steered him from the labor question toward other issues, his career suggests a more general gravitation among the new economists away from controversy and toward applied expertise.³⁸

In any case, the Adams experience proved a harbinger of the troubles the more outspoken "Elyites" would face in the following decade. In 1894, amid the nationwide railroad strike precipitated by the Pullman boycott, Ely himself, now a well-established full professor at Wisconsin, endured a "trial" before the Board of Regents for alleged support of local strikers as well as for theories that supposedly undermined a society based on private property. To prove his innocence, Ely presented himself as a "conservative" and "scientist" with no interest in public agitation or even direct contacts with the working class.³⁹ His case ended in his personal exoneration and a ringing endorsement of the principle of free inquiry by the university trustees. Although personally vindicated, Ely's ordeal apparently left him deeply wounded.⁴⁰ He effectively withdrew from all reform activity for the next five years. In 1902, facing financial stress from his wife's illness, Ely sold his magnificent labor history collection and used the proceeds to invest in real estate. Although Ely did reassert his reform credentials during the Progressive Era (chartering the American Association of Labor Legislation in 1906), his biographer located a passion for respectability in his actions well before his open political "souring" in the 1920s, when he campaigned against public utilities while maintaining extensive industry connections.⁴¹

³⁷ Adams, "Labor Problem," 8863, 8877-78; A. W. Coats, "Henry Carter Adams: A Case Study in the Emergence of the Social Sciences in the United States, 1850-1900," *American Studies*, 2 (October 1968): 189.

³⁸ Furner, *Advocacy*, 115-24, 139-42, 277; Coats, "Henry Carter Adams," 195; Dorfman, *Economic Mind*, 171-72; Coats, "Educational Revolution," 365; Haskell, *Emergence*, 187; Ross, "Development," 47-48, 56-59, 77.

³⁹ Furner, *Advocacy*, 147-58; Rader, *Academic Mind*, 152-54. Excusing his apparent hypocrisy, Ely explained to the associate editor of the *Outlook*, "Suppose if you should become known as a radical you would lose your position on the 'Outlook,' and on account of alleged radicalism you could never secure any other position. Would you not under these circumstances feel a little sensitive about the epithet 'radical'? You see what it can do in the case of Professor Bemis"; Rader, *Academic Mind*, 153.

⁴⁰ Seven years after his trial, Ely confessed that he had still not "gotten over" it; Rader, *Academic Mind*, 152-54.

⁴¹ Rader, *Academic Mind*, 192-222, 224-27, 236.

Edward Bemis fared less well. He was forced out of a tenured position at the University of Chicago in 1894 on formal grounds of incompetent teaching, an excuse for the pressures brought to bear on President William Rainey Harper by Bemis's call for municipally owned utilities and criticism of railroad owners. Except for a short stint at a Populist-dominated college in Kansas, Bemis did not regain academic employment.⁴²

The pressure on Commons was more subtle. In 1895, Indiana University authorities, having impatiently borne his heresies for three years, "urged" him to take a full professorship extended by Syracuse University. In 1899, however, the same propensities led to outright unemployment when Syracuse eliminated his position. There followed five years of academic unemployment; in 1903, Ely referred to Commons as having been "practically blacklisted." When he finally found a position at Wisconsin, Commons likened the feeling to being "born again . . . after five years of incubation."⁴³

Commons's rebirth also occasioned the flowering of the "Wisconsin School" of labor history that culminated in the monumental ten-volume *Documentary History of American Industrial Society* (1910–12) and four-volume *History of Labour in the United States* (1918, 1935). Combining research on labor history, industrial relations, and economic theory with an active concern for public policy, Commons and his students at Madison significantly contributed to the Progressive political thrust of the state in the LaFollette years and beyond. In addition to the industrial relations field, the areas of civil service law, utility regulation, workmen's compensation, unemployment, and monetary policy all received sustained, creative attention from the "Wisconsin crowd."

It is worth noting, however, that in order to rescue institutional labor studies from academic oblivion, Commons had to reposition himself as both scholar and thinker. In Commons's case, the shift from academic bad boy to the mature and influential professional involved both a gradual evolution of perspective and a self-conscious learning experience. Commons retrospectively acknowledged a causative link between academic deprivation and his personal and intellectual development. His dismissal at Syracuse, for example, helped reorient his theoretical focus from "abundance" to "scarcity": "I figured that a 'chair' in political economy was not physically pulled out from under you, it was economically pulled out by withholding the funds . . . At least, I knew, after 1899 at Syracuse, that holding and withholding were not the same, and the latter was more important."⁴⁴ The stress on the scarcity value of labor and property as key determinants of economic behavior became a hallmark of Commons's labor history as well as his more theoretical writings. In Commons's view, skilled trade unionists, for example, sought above all to restrict entry into the labor market—an idealism of the job rights of the individual worker and occupational interest group—rather than a larger class-wide solidarity.⁴⁵

Commons's move to Wisconsin also reflected new political understandings. Beginning with a diplomatic leave-taking at Syracuse, Commons, both in his writing

⁴² Hofstadter and Metzger, *Development*, 427–28; Furner, *Advocacy*, 168–98; for a careful assessment of the Bemis case, see Harold E. Bergquist, Jr., "The Edward W. Bemis Controversy at the University of Chicago," *AAUP Bulletin*, 58 (Winter 1972): 384–93; Furner, *Advocacy*, 196–98.

⁴³ Commons, *Myself*, 52; Furner, *Advocacy*, 202; Ely to Hunter, April 26, 1903, reel 25, Richard T. Ely Papers; Commons, *Myself*, 95.

⁴⁴ Commons, *Myself*, 58–59.

⁴⁵ See M. Perlman, *Labor Union Theories*, on Commons's four "phases" of trade union analysis, 176–90, esp. 180, 182.

and personal decorum, increasingly earned the respect of colleagues for assimilating professional mores. Endorsing Commons's fitness for an academic appointment, conservative Harvard economist T. N. Carver insisted, "Whatever may in the past have been said against his so-called indiscreet utterances can not now be said because he has published nothing for a number of years so far as I have learned, which would not stand the severest scientific criticism."⁴⁶

Commons, in fact, had learned more than a lesson in academic manners. Thanks to connections with a few self-made men of broad social vision, his academic hiatus proved a most productive and intellectually creative period.⁴⁷ A series of contract research assignments—with the Democratic National Committee, the Industrial Commission of 1900, and the National Civic Federation (NCF)—laid the groundwork for continuous ties to public research projects. From his campus base in Madison, Commons spearheaded drives in the state for expansive civil service reform, an industrial commission, and workmen's compensation laws; while, through the Commission on Industrial Relations (1912–1915), the American Association for Labor Law Reform, and informal networks, he remained for years a signal national influence for labor law reform and social welfare legislation.⁴⁸ Like Henry Carter Adams, Commons illustrates the turn among social scientists from the moral and agitational stance of the critical outsider toward technical expertise and influence among policy-making elites.⁴⁹

His growing contact with institutions of social mediation—both government bureaus and the "tri-partite" bodies of business, labor, and public representatives that he long favored—led Commons to a revised understanding of the relationship, and boundaries, between "intellectuals" and "workers." A necessary reliance on the "public interest" (those "two-thirds of the voting population" who were but "spectators" to the inevitable industrial disputes), in particular, required disciplined self-restraint by the labor-oriented intellectual.⁵⁰ At the NCF, in personal contacts with United Mine Workers president John Mitchell and American Federation of Labor president Samuel Gompers, Commons learned that the "place of the economist was that of adviser to the [trade union] leaders, if they wanted him, and not that of propagandist to the masses."⁵¹ Disinterested, empirical inves-

⁴⁶ Pressed by reporters to explain his departure from Syracuse, Commons kept mum. "He [the Chancellor] gave me a rousing send-off. Speaking to a general University convocation, he bewailed the loss of one of their ablest and most popular professors . . . And there I was sitting on the platform beside him. So I learned the virtue of silence. It makes eulogists instead of avengers"; *Myself*, 60–61; T. N. Carver to Ely, December 20, 1903, reel 27, Richard T. Ely Papers.

⁴⁷ As he explained in his autobiography, "My dismissal turned out to be a fortunate happening. It drove me out for five years to live in the struggles of human beings"; Commons, *Myself*, 60.

⁴⁸ Harter, *John R. Commons*, 89–129.

⁴⁹ Furner, *Advocacy*, 271–72; this is not to say that respectable, reformist intentions assured academic "immunity" from outside pressures. In 1910, for example, a visit by Emma Goldman to Madison triggered charges of "socialist teaching" on campus and a Board of Visitors investigation centered on Edward A. Ross and the economics department of which he (as a sociologist) was a member. Among graduate students called to testify, Selig Perlman was asked, "Do you think Sociology and Socialism are identical?" Perlman, who had sworn to his mentor Commons, "Brother, they will not fire you on my testimony," took pride in an official exoneration of the faculty, especially reference to "striking instances of foreigners who have come to the university as students believing in anarchism and violence, who have been led to discard such beliefs through the instruction given in the university"; Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin: A History, 1848–1925* (Madison, Wis., 1949), 2: 63–67; Selig Perlman interview, April 13, 1950, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

⁵⁰ John R. Commons, *Labor and Administration* (New York, 1923), 72, 78–79, 83. These comments, published in the *American Journal of Sociology*, were first enunciated in a discussion before the American Sociological Society in 1906.

⁵¹ Commons, *Myself*, 88.

tigation rather than open advocacy was the intellectual's modern weapon.⁵²

Commons's approach accorded well with the dominant tenor of the contemporary labor movement. Out of the nadir of the 1890s depression, labor unions had revived, not on the basis of the inclusive, antimonopoly platform of the Knights of Labor but through the self-protective and politically conservative craft unionism of the AFL. Its leaders, Gompers and Adolph Strasser, who themselves enjoyed a grounding in European Marxism, chose early to present themselves as "practical men" "opposed to theorists" or "fool friends" of labor. Inherently inhospitable to rabble-rousing reformers, trade unions, declared Gompers characteristically in 1898, "are not the creation of any man's brain" but rather "organizations of necessity . . . of the working class, for the working class, by the working class."⁵³ On the one hand, a unionism oriented toward bread-and-butter issues fit both a legally and politically defensible image, which facilitated an expansion of collective bargaining. On the other hand, the same tenets provided internal ideological protection from the advocates of independent labor or socialist political initiatives both within and outside the labor federation. Whereas experts might still be sought (and needed) for specific functions (legal defense, bill drafting, and public relations, for example), the AFL, unlike the Knights of Labor, sought no broader alliance with men and women of letters. AFL secretary-treasurer Matthew Woll, in 1919, characteristically responded to criticism from an intellectual "friend of labor": "The AFofL does not take its inspiration from those who sit and peer at it through microscopes in contemplation, nor yet from those who pick and pull at its being with scalpel and forceps in heavy-browed analysis. The AFofL takes its inspiration from the needs of the men and women who toil."⁵⁴ Indeed, John Frey, self-taught editor of the *Iron-Molders' Journal* and trade-union conservative, happily quoted Gompers to the effect that "God save us from our intellectual friends. All I ask is that they get off our backs."⁵⁵

In ways he doubtlessly did not anticipate, Gompers's formulation of workers' psychology and interests found ready acceptance in the academic world. The postulation of the labor movement as a force born of economic necessity rather than "man's brain" or moral vision justified a stance of scholarly "objectivity" (as opposed to overt union "advocacy") by the academics, which was in any case a political imperative within the university. The twin doctrines of the sovereignty of the labor leader and autonomy of the academic serendipitously fulfilled the needs of both parties.⁵⁶

Together, the contemporary academic and political contexts help explain the special self-consciousness on the part of the Wisconsin School economists about the relationship of intellectuals to the labor movement. In the introduction to his *History of Labour* (1918), for example, Commons identified the intellectuals as "a

⁵² A hard-headed acquaintance with industrial realities, not "the assumptions of natural equality of the Declaration of Independence, or of Adam Smith" would equip the intellectual for a useful role; Commons, *Myself*, 89.

⁵³ U.S. Senate Committee on Education and Labor, *Report upon the Relations between Labor and Capital and Testimony*, 1 (Washington, D.C., 1885), 460; Gompers, quoted by Commons, *Myself*, 87; AFL Proceedings of the 18th Annual Convention, 1898, 5.

⁵⁴ Matthew Woll, "Labor Will Lead," *American Federationist* (June 1919): 513; see also Lyle Cooper, "The AFL and the Intellectuals," *Political Science Quarterly*, 43 (1928): 388–407.

⁵⁵ John Frey to W. A. Appleton, December 21, 1928, John Frey Papers, Library of Congress.

⁵⁶ For elaboration on some of the intellectual and political differences between Gompers and Commons, see Leon Fink, "The Intellectual as Quarterback: Charles McCarthy and the Debacle of the U.S. Industrial Relations Commission, 1912–1915," in *Intellectuals and Political Life*, Judith B. Farquhar, Leon Fink, Stephen T. Leonard, and Donald M. Reid, eds. (forthcoming, Ithaca, 1992).

miscellaneous class of men and women, taking more or less part in labour movements, yet distinct from manual workers." Commons readily allowed that this group had played a major role in the development of the American labor movement—from Frances Wright and Robert Dale Owen to Horace Greeley, Henry George, John Swinton, Henry D. Lloyd, and George McNeill. But, by a kind of unspoken evolutionary process, the influence of such people was sharply reduced within "the organization or management of the 'wage-conscious' trade unions."⁵⁷

Commons sharpened his argument in an entry in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (1935). There he integrated American developments into larger trends, identifying the "intelligentsia" as the "natural leaders" of the first "desperate" stage of labor movements, "the stage of Marx, Lassalle, Lenin, Powderly, Louis Blanc or Proudhon." "They have a formulated social philosophy and an ability to articulate what the others feel but cannot tell." Then, as the possibility of stable and successful organization develops, new "rank and file" leaders ("a Gompers, an Applegarth, a Legien, a Jouhaux") take over. In Commons's view, such a development was natural and fitting. The intellectual's "proper place" was "not as a leader in forming policies" but "as a technician in details and adviser against mistakes."⁵⁸ This prescription set Commons apart from the more doctrinaire commitments of socialist and communist intellectuals; by the time he wrote his autobiography in 1934, Commons had lost all patience with a social class he now identified with the extreme political left: "I always look for them [intellectuals] and try to clear them out from all negotiations between capital and labor, and from the councils of labor."⁵⁹

IF HIS OWN ACCOMMODATION TO THE REALITIES of academic and trade union politics inclined the mature Commons to a dim view of the critical intellectual, he left the further elaboration of this perspective to his student, Selig Perlman. Perlman, far more than Commons, integrated the issue of the intellectual's role into the very heart of the "Wisconsin" view of labor history.

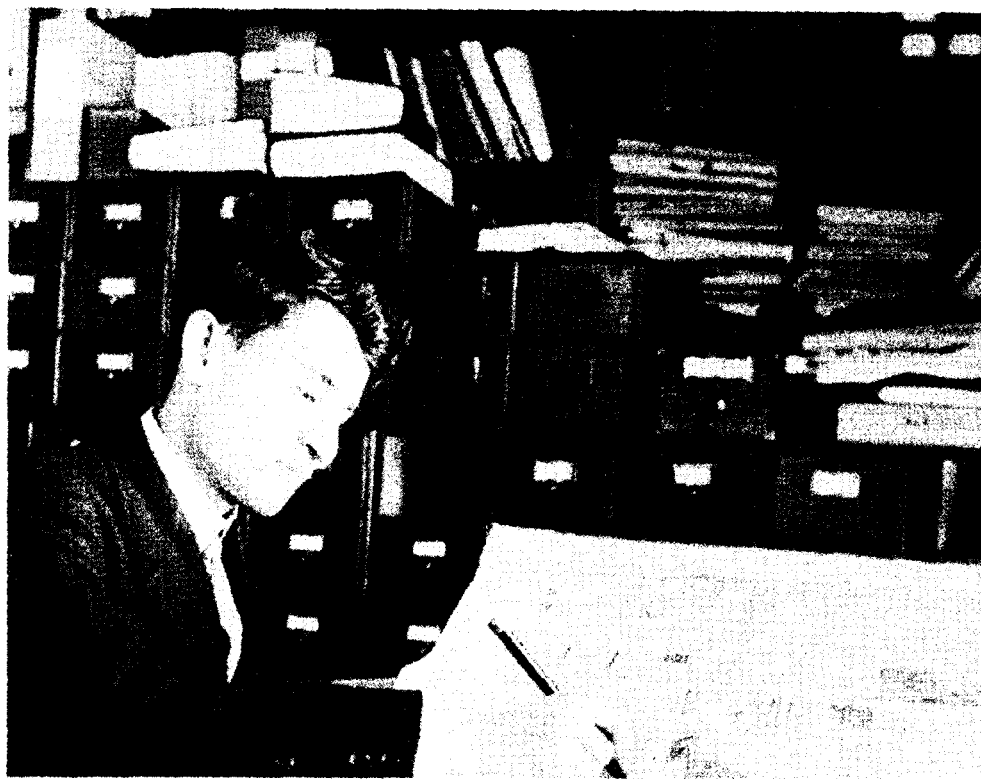
Perlman's first account of the subject, as presented in Commons *et al.*, *History of Labour*, ventured little beyond Commons's own assertion that intellectuals tended "to direct the manual workers away from the strict and narrow interest of wage-earners as a class, and to lead them towards affiliation with other classes."⁶⁰ Perlman applied this dictum, in particular, to the Knights of Labor's infatuation with the "panacea" of cooperation—the very topic that had attracted economists of an earlier generation to the labor movement—distinguishing the "middle-class

⁵⁷ John R. Commons, Davis J. Saposs, Helen L. Sumner, *et al.*, *History of Labour in the United States* (New York, 1946 [1918]), 1: 18–19. In an intriguing aside, Commons noted that "the 'rule' regarding intellectuals and unions is violated in unions organizing women workers 'where intellectuals [presumably a reference to clothing workers' leaders, Hillman and Dubinsky, as well perhaps to Women's Trade Union League figures] have been actual leaders'; Commons, 1:18–19. For an arresting commentary on intellectual-labor relations in Europe during the same period, see David Beetham, "Reformism and the 'Bourgeoisification' of the Labour Movement," in Carl Levy, ed., *Socialism and the Intelligentsia, 1880–1914* (London, 1987), 106–34.

⁵⁸ *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, 8 (New York, 1935), 685–86.

⁵⁹ Commons, *Myself*, 86–87. Commons traced his first encounter with a destructive intellectual type to T. A. Schaffer, the "unsuccessful or dismissed minister," whose apparent misguided militancy led the steelworkers to disaster in 1902; Commons, 86.

⁶⁰ Commons, *History of Labour*, 1: 19.



Selig Perlman as a graduate student at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1912. Courtesy of Mark Perlman.

psychology" of the Knights' leaders from the more down-to-earth "wage-consciousness" of the trade unions.⁶¹

Even more pointedly, Perlman's magnum opus of 1928 defined the continual struggle of "organic labor" against "dominance by the intellectuals."⁶² Instead of an "American exceptionalism" à la Werner Sombart, Perlman's intellectual-versus-worker paradigm implied a "Soviet" exceptionalism, with 'backward' Russia the one country where the "will to power" of intellectuals within the workers' movement had prevailed. Outside the Soviet Union, argued Perlman, built-in tensions between the two social groups persisted (with the intellectuals weakest of all in the United States), but the trade unionists, mature and well-organized, tended increasingly to shape both industrial and political action in their own pragmatic, nonrevolutionary image.⁶³ Published as *A Theory of the Labor Movement*, Perlman's work was as much an analysis of intellectuals as workers. He himself noted to a friend that the "Macmillan people . . . made me . . . abandon my more laborious title of "Capitalism, Labor, and Intellectuals."⁶⁴

⁶¹ Commons, *History of Labour*, 2: 438. The theme is reiterated in Selig Perlman and Philip Taft, *History of Labour*, Vol. 4 (New York, 1935), 4-5; Perlman's emphasis on the worker's psychology of job scarcity soon led him to abandon Commons's term "wage-consciousness," in favor of "job consciousness"; Harter, *John R. Commons*, 196.

⁶² Perlman, *Theory*, 5-6.

⁶³ Perlman, *Theory*, 13-233.

⁶⁴ Selig Perlman to William M. Leiserson, January 28, 1928, William Morris Leiserson Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Like the work of Ely and Commons before him, Perlman's masterpiece reflected an implicit commentary on his own relation to his subject. A member of what might heuristically be considered the "third generation" of labor historians, Perlman represented an important departure from his predecessors in one vital respect: he was an immigrant Jew in a non-Jewish and often anti-Semitic academic world. Born in 1888 to a small merchant family in the Russian town of Białystok, Perlman, a shy child afflicted with a stutter, threw himself into his studies at the *cheder*, or the local Jewish day school. He won a scholarship to the city's science-oriented gymnasium, where an influential teacher introduced him to Georgii Plekhanov and a new world of intellectual and political radicalism. Perlman followed other Russian émigrés to Italy, studying medicine at the University of Naples.⁶⁵

A fortuitous set of events brought Perlman to the United States in January 1908 at age nineteen. The radical bohemian poet Anna Strunsky was gathering a new wardrobe in New York in anticipation of a European trip with her future husband, wealthy American socialist William English Walling. Her seamstress turned out to be Perlman's aunt, and talk eventually turned to her brilliant young nephew who read Karl Marx. Subsequent to a personal meeting in Naples, Perlman accepted Walling's invitation to come to New York to do translations; and, when the young immigrant grew tired of office work, Walling kindly agreed to send him to the University of Wisconsin to work with Walling's friends, Ely and Commons.⁶⁶

At Wisconsin, Perlman quickly emerged as a brilliant, uncommonly cosmopolitan student. His undergraduate thesis, "History of Socialism in Milwaukee," completed after one year of coursework, reflected an initial continuity of intellectual and political commitments. Espousing the revisionist "opportunism" of Eduard Bernstein, Perlman extolled Victor Berger and the Milwaukee socialists for the triumph of "realism" over "revolutionism" in labor and political circles.⁶⁷

Even as he imbibed the heady new intellectual influences of his Wisconsin mentors, Perlman, just as at gymnasium, never lost the self-consciousness of being an outsider. Much of this feeling was connected to his Jewishness. Nor was his alienation limited to common, Upper Midwest reference to his kind as "sheenies." On a formal level, and by any contemporary comparative measure, Commons's approach to his students was uncommonly tolerant and inclusive. In a later reminiscence for the State Historical Society, Perlman called his adviser "a formal man, rather difficult to get acquainted with . . . [but] exceedingly generous in his intellectual life . . . I have always maintained that I owe everything to Professor Commons."⁶⁸ Yet, according to his son, Perlman privately expressed frustration at what he experienced as Commons's residual, cultural anti-Semitism, an attitude that limited the depth of their friendship.⁶⁹ One of Perlman's most embarrassing

⁶⁵ Selig Perlman left no papers, and remarkably little biographical information about him survives in published form. Most of the following portrait is drawn from an interview with his son, Mark Perlman, conducted by the author, January 19, 1989, in Pittsburgh. Although the relationship of father to son was marked by a classical, European-style formality, Mark Perlman recalled that his father talked to him daily about many matters, including his work. That Mark Perlman followed his father into labor economics seems also to have sharpened both his understanding and recollection of his father's words.

⁶⁶ Reminiscence of Selig Perlman, recorded April 13, 1950, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

⁶⁷ Selig Perlman, "History of Socialism in Milwaukee, 1893–1910," Unpublished manuscript, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1910, copy in author's possession courtesy of Mark Perlman.

⁶⁸ Reminiscence of Selig Perlman, recorded April 13, 1950, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*; for evidence of Commons's stereotypes of Jews, typical for his time, see John R. Commons, *Races and Immigrants in America* (New York, 1930), 88–95, 132, 152–53; Mark Perlman noted that two other Jewish students, David Saposs and William Leiserson, were both considerably more "Americanized" and secularized than Selig Perlman—Leiserson came to the United States in 1890, Saposs in 1895—and thereby avoided some of the cultural disdain felt by Selig Perlman. While Saposs, for

moments came when he brought his parents to live in Madison, after their economic position in Russia had collapsed. Now he was revealed before his mentor not only as a "Jew," not only an "immigrant with a Yiddish accent," but worst of all, a "poor Russian Jew."⁷⁰ Moreover, it pained Perlman that the dedication of *A Theory* ("To J. R. C. and N. D. C. [Mrs. Commons]") never received an acknowledgment from his mentor. The worst moment came in 1931 when, before the usual crowd of Friday Nighters gathered at the Commonses' house, Commons declared that Edwin Witte had been named his successor at Wisconsin and openly expressed relief at not having to place Perlman in that position. Perlman did not get out of bed for days after this slight and broke off contact with Commons for an extended period.⁷¹

For all his accomplishments, Selig Perlman often experienced the academic profession—at least outside his own classroom—as a cold, unrewarding, and inhospitable one. Both by temperament and for lack of invitations, Perlman rarely left Madison. Unlike other Wisconsin colleagues, he did almost no direct public service work and had little contact with labor leaders, public figures, or, outside Madison, even policy-oriented academics.⁷² It is noteworthy that the man who

example, entirely disavowed Jewish religious practice, Perlman rather uncomfortably interrupted his family's Sabbath celebration for Commons's famous Friday Nighter home seminars. And, when even Leiserson married a non-Jewish woman, Mrs. Commons, according to Mark Perlman's recollection, noticeably took offense. Saposs also displaced the blame for his own personal estrangement from John R. on Mrs. Commons, for example: "Mrs. Commons indirectly hated Jews. Commons never did." Interview with David Saposs by William C. Haygood and Theron Schlabach, September 8, 1964, State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The extensive nature of anti-Semitism in American academe is amply documented in Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 172–74.

⁷⁰ Commons acknowledged this incident in his autobiography, referring to his wife's help with Perlman's "English composition and desperate family affairs"; *Myself*, 81. According to Mark Perlman, Selig Perlman always felt more readily and warmly received by Ella (Mrs. Commons) than by John R. Yet, even Mrs. Commons apparently showed little respect for the religiosity of his wife, Eva, whom he had married in 1918; Perlman interview. The rebuke of condescension that Perlman felt from Commons was, in part, self-made. Perlman raised the issue of his parents' desperate financial position (factory production of textiles had effectively squeezed out "middle men" like his father) with Commons, and his teacher responded with a substantial raise in his student's stipend. Through the early 1920s, when Perlman found it impossible to secure a regular university position, Commons helped him with grants and fellowships, even intervening when the cantankerous Ely moved to dismiss Perlman after a difference of opinion. When Ely left Wisconsin for Northwestern University in 1925, Perlman finally succeeded to a permanent appointment, assuming much of Commons's old undergraduate teaching load. Helen Sumner to Commons, June 10, 1915, Commons to H. W. Farnam, October 12, 1915, John R. Commons Papers, reel 2; Mark Perlman interview.

⁷¹ Mark Perlman recalls the break with Commons as lasting for "several years," but this recollection appears contradicted by the timing of reconciliation, namely the suicide of Commons's daughter, Rachel, in the early 1930s. Mark Perlman remembers answering a distressful call from Commons in which Commons pleaded, "I want Selig," "I must have Selig." Selig Perlman spent the evening trying to comfort his former teacher, who had already been doubly wounded by the death of his devoted wife, Ella (Nel) in 1928 and the tragic disappearance of his son Jack (after abandoning his wife and child, Jack was found fourteen years later driving a milk truck in Hartford, Connecticut, the apparent victim of a combination of mental illness and amnesia). Commons and Perlman seem to have remained on good terms after this. In a 1950 protest against anti-Semitism within the Wisconsin history department, Perlman extolled his former teacher for a "liberality not to be found anywhere else in the world." Seven years later, Perlman was appointed the first John R. Commons Professor of Political Economy. Harter, *John R. Commons*, 83; Mark Perlman interview; Commons, *Myself*, 81, 87; Selig Perlman to Merle Curti, May 6, 1950, Merle Curti Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Dorfman, *Economic Mind*, 4, 395.

⁷² His only professionally connected government service was the early work for the Commission on Industrial Relations in 1913–1914, arranged by Commons, and later consultancy on a history of the World War II War Labor Board; in addition, he had one unsatisfying experience as a labor arbitrator. Mark Perlman, "The Jewish Contribution as Distinct from the Contribution of Jews to Economics," Selig Perlman Memorial Lecture presented April 14, 1981, State Historical Society of Wisconsin (copy in possession of author); Witte, "Selig Perlman," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 13 (April 1960): 335–37; Mark Perlman notes that his father felt some disappointment that he was not approached more

produced the most influential picture of twentieth-century labor ideology—the basic common sense of the working-class Tom, Dick, and Harry—never met Samuel Gompers, Matthew Woll, William Green, or John L. Lewis and never addressed a national union meeting or convention.⁷³

Perlman's brief but demanding venture beyond the university's walls—field work in 1913–1914 for the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations—offers a revealing glimpse of his imaginative yet limited contact with American workers. The young Perlman was dispatched to New England textile towns that were gripped by fear and repression following a wave of organizing drives inspired by the radical syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World. Traveling incognito in order not to arouse employer suspicions, Perlman carefully sought to gather evidence of industrial conditions and popular feelings.⁷⁴ Though unable to gain entrée to workers' homes, he devised an ingenious strategy for acquiring candid and spontaneous opinion: he relied on local Jewish storeowners ("they are as a rule excellent observers of men and conditions and coming into very intimate contact with the laboring people . . . they are in a position to form correct opinions of the manner of thinking of the various elements of the population") and casually chatted with customers in their stores.⁷⁵

Aside from empirical observation and political context, contemporary philosophy seems also to account for the dualism separating Perlman's workers and intellectuals. We might well read Perlman's work as a creative adaptation of the philosophy and social psychology of Deweyan Pragmatism. Perlman's attack on the leftist intellectual's "social mysticism," the reduction of human goals and destiny to a matter of abstract faith, for example, bears close resemblance to the turn-of-the-century pragmatic critique of religious idealism and its ultimate replacement by the scientific study of human experience.⁷⁶ Similarly, the "organic" psychology (or "job consciousness") attributed to the worker enjoys the essential qualities of problem solving, instrumental learning favored by the pragmatists.⁷⁷

often by academic, political, or labor leaders for advice. His first invitation to Harvard, for example, did not come until 1948.

⁷³ Nor was the lack of contact a mere matter of physical distance from the leading labor figures. Samuel Gompers's official correspondence, a voluminous exchange with thousands of contemporaries inside and outside the labor movement, contains not a single letter to or from Selig Perlman; American Federation of Labor Records: The Samuel Gompers Era (microfilm edition), reel 58, finding aids. Outside Wisconsin, the one labor leader whose company Perlman did enjoy was David Dubinsky; the two spoke Yiddish together. Telephone interview with Mark Perlman, February 14, 1989; "Perlman's Interpretation of History," A. L. Riesch Owen, ed., *Selig Perlman's Lectures on Capitalism and Socialism* (Madison, Wis., 1976), 47–51.

⁷⁴ Perlman reported to his research supervisor that, had it not been for an envelope addressed to William English Walling found on his person, a group of suspicious Wobblies in Lawrence, Massachusetts, might well have thrown him out a window; Perlman to Basil M. Manly, December 4, 1913, Commission on Industrial Relations, Record Group 174, National Archives (courtesy of Philip Scranton) (hereafter, CIR, RG 174, NA).

⁷⁵ Selig Perlman, "Preliminary Report of an Investigation of the Relations between Labor and Capital in the Textile Industry in New England," July 24, 1914, CIR, RG 174, NA (courtesy of Philip Scranton).

⁷⁶ Perlman, *Theory*, 281. "Yet, at bottom, the intellectual's conviction that labor must espouse the 'new social order' rests neither on statistically demonstrable trends in conditions nor on labor's stirrings for the sort of liberty expressed through the control of the job, which any one who knows workingmen will recognize and appreciate, but on a deeply rooted faith that labor is somehow the 'chosen vessel' of whatever may be the power which shapes the destiny of society"; 281. On Deweyan Pragmatism and its relation to reform thought, see Andrew Feffer, "Between Head and Hand: Chicago Pragmatism and Social Reform, 1886 to 1919" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1987), esp. 23–75.

⁷⁷ Riesch Owen, *Selig Perlman's Lectures*, 127; on the Pragmatists' educational philosophy, see Frank C. Wegener, *The Organic Philosophy of Education* (Dubuque, Iowa, 1957), 26–48, 209–22; and Feffer, "Between Head and Hand," 113–71, 267–316; for Commons's version of this dualism, see "Utilitarian

A further clue to Perlman's broader philosophical bent derives from his close friendship with Max Kadushin, the famous Hebrew scholar who served as Hillel rabbi in Madison from 1931 to 1942. Kadushin's early works, including *The Theology of Seder Eliahu, A Study in Organic Thinking* (1932) and *Organic Thinking* (1938), make explicit reference to an "organismic approach to social science," associating concepts drawn from John Dewey, Alfred North Whitehead, and anthropologist Lucien Lévy-Bruhl with the logic of rabbinic theology. In particular, the complementarity Kadushin found between "logical" (abstract and systemic) and "organic" (essentially context-related) thought closely corresponds to Perlman's basic dualism, which suggests a common contemporary climate of intellectual discourse.⁷⁸

But Perlman's argument may also be open to a deeper, more personal reading. It is likely that Perlman's experience both in Russia and the United States led him not only to a clear delineation of the intellectuals as a separate social group but to a deep ambivalence, connected to his own bittersweet fortunes, about the intellectual's social role. Dating from his early education, Perlman framed the concept of the heroic intelligentsia and offered a moral but politically ineffectual critique of worldly power. Perlman himself more closely fit the modern image of the intellectual as college professor—a humane and philosophical man of letters with many well-formed opinions about the world but totally ill-equipped to act within it or upon it. The social gap suggested in *A Theory* between workers and intellectuals accurately reflected the world Perlman had known in Europe; it was reproduced on the Madison campus, where few manual laborers could be found. Yet, as thoroughly socialized as he was into the intellectual world, the marginalism Perlman felt as a Jewish academic made it difficult for him to feel comfortable with this identity.⁷⁹ Unlike many of his more technocratic-minded contemporaries to his right and left, Perlman had no reason to entrust the world to intellectuals.

If fertilized by intimate and even idiosyncratic circumstances, the labor economists' distinction between "workers" and "intellectuals" was nevertheless broadcast over a wide field. On the whole, it met political as well as academic requirements. The historic preponderance of employer power together with an inherent antagonism to collective economic action in American law had sent defenders of workers' welfare searching for a durable shelter.⁸⁰ Wisconsin School reformers believed they had found a defensible home for organized labor in the theory of labor relations later known as "industrial pluralism." Connecting collective bargaining not to the destruction of the capitalist order but to its reinvigoration, industrial pluralists pressed for legally sanctioned mechanisms of managed conflict between employers and workers. A champion of the doctrines of his mentor John R. Commons,

Idealism" and "Horace Greeley and the Working Class Origins of the Republican Party," in Commons, *Labor and Administration*, 1–6, 33, 49–50.

⁷⁸ Max Kadushin, *Organic Thinking* (New York, 1976), 247–61, and esp. v–vii; for further reflections on intellectual similarities between Perlman and Kadushin, see Mark Perlman, "Jewish Contribution," 20–21.

⁷⁹ Beginning in the late 1920s, Perlman did have regular contact with trade unionists as one of the directors of the Wisconsin School for Workers. The interaction was very much on his terms, however. Perlman enjoyed a reputation as "a spell-binding lecturer . . . [who] looked at the ceiling all the time"; Mark Perlman interview; telephone interview with Robert W. Ozanne, January 4, 1991; for a political-psychological profile of Perlman, see Benjamin Stolberg, "An Intellectual Afraid," *The Nation*, 128 (June 26, 1929): 769–70.

⁸⁰ Leon Fink, "Labor, Liberty, and the Law: Trade Unionism and the Problem of the American Constitutional Order," *Journal of American History*, 74 (December 1987): 904–25.

William M. Leiserson noted as early as 1926 the difference between the relatively new terms "labor relations" and "industrial relations" (implying "mutual accommodation and adjustment") and turn-of-the-century discussion of the "labor problem" or the "labor question," which implied "a solution" in terms of rights and wrongs. The change, in Leiserson's view, had by no means banished ethics from the considerations of reformers; rather, the frozen mentality of Labor versus Capital had been replaced by appeal to "an awakened social conscience" and a larger "public mind," and "new moral tests are [henceforth] applied to both management and workers."⁸¹ A shrewd political and social compromise, the model of collective bargaining sanctioned by industrial pluralism depended on the rational accommodation of conflicting but equally legitimate interest claims. Even as union rights, therefore, were defended on grounds of "public interest" (that favorite resort of the Progressive generation), they would also be subject to the limitations that that interest might impose.

The Wisconsin scholars' ideal of the "pragmatic" worker—self-interested, self-protective, and essentially incrementalist in orientation—indeed helped define the regulated freedom ultimately accorded labor unions in the era of the Wagner Act. Not only did the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) draw in its very inspiration on Commons's own efforts for the pre-war Commission on Industrial Relations but Commons's students Leiserson and Harry A. Millis personally presided over the administrative consolidation of the board beginning in 1939. Not surprisingly, Leiserson analyzed the problem of leftist influence within the newly founded Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and the resultant political backlash against the NLRB within the classic terms of the "intellectual" problem: "Communists and social reformers of various kinds [who] have attempted to capture the movement, control its policies, and divert the power of organized labor into social politics or revolutionary channels and away from collective bargaining and the institutions of stable industrial government which are its normal aims."⁸² An early application of the Leiserson-Millis doctrine of administrative objectivity, accordingly, was the dismissal of NLRB secretary, and alleged Communist party member, Nathan Witt. Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins captured the prevailing view that Witt represented "one of those intellectuals who was in love with labor, who thought that labor was always right and never could be wrong."⁸³ The comments of these policy makers recall the story of another Wisconsin labor historian, Philip Taft, about his teacher, Selig Perlman, for whom "'intellectual' . . . became a pejorative label for anyone whose views he did not share":

When I taught summer school in 1949 at Madison, there was a meeting of the School for Workers at which the Secretary-Treasurer of the UAW, Emil Mazey, spoke, advocating the formation of a labor party. Going home Professor Perlman asked me, "Who was that intellectual?" I had to tell him that this was a man who participated in the sit-down strikes, who was one of the finest of the new trade unionists, and who defied the Detroit gangsters who sought to interfere with the union.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Christopher L. Tomlins, *The State and the Unions: Labor Relations, Law, and the Organized Labor Movement in America, 1880–1960* (New York, 1985), xi–xiv. Leiserson's thoughts were later codified in William M. Leiserson, *Right and Wrong in Labor Relations* (Berkeley, Calif., 1938), 7–12.

⁸² J. Michael Eisner, *William Morris Leiserson: A Biography* (Madison, Wis., 1967), 41.

⁸³ James A. Gross, *The Reshaping of the National Labor Relations Board* (Albany, N.Y., 1981), 113.

⁸⁴ Philip Taft, "Reflections on Selig Perlman as a Teacher and Writer," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 29 (January 1976): 250. Taft's rather grudging praise for Perlman may have dated to their argument over the authorship of Volume 4 of the *History of Labour in the United States*. Taft wanted it to read "Taft and Perlman," but Perlman (perhaps reflecting a continuing sense of slight for his own

Intellectual prescription and government action thus ultimately joined hands. Altogether, the political triumph of labor reform thought must rank as one of the most impressive examples of social change ever emanating from academe. While banishing the disabling injunction and unmitigated employer authority as the *modus operandi* of American industrial relations, public policy, by the 1940s, formally accepted the "pragmatic" trade unionist (focused on acts of immediate, incremental material improvement) as a worthy industrial citizen, even while barring his "intellectual" counterpart (liable to the delusions of political radicalism or solidaristic acts like sympathy strikes and secondary boycotts) from the door.⁸⁵

However politically efficacious, preoccupation with the "intellectual" as a threatening outsider and factional foe occasioned a notable blind spot. For all their voluminous and monumental exploration of American labor relations, the Wisconsin scholars avoided self-scrutiny. The industrial relations model discountenanced the meddling radical and restricted both business and labor to horizons of common-sense materialism. It offered little analysis of its own mediating figures or sources of intentionality. Without apparent irony, some of the best scholars, the most subtle ideologists, and most effective social reformers of the early twentieth century categorically wrote themselves out of their own history.

IT IS A LONG WAY from the labor economists who began the academic study of American labor history to the social historians who dominate the field today. The "new labor history," which first emerged in the late 1960s, arose as much in defiance of as in continuity with the Commons-Perlman tradition. In addition to the disciplinary differences in research methods that conditioned the two perspectives, the newer work, stimulated in part by the political culture of the New Left, challenged the old in its basic ideological perspective. Class conflict replaced industrial pluralism as a central motif; workplace cultures other than those of skilled white males became objects of study; and workers' agency or subjectivity was extended beyond the workplace to encompass familial, ethnic, and community settings. In ways yet to be fully explored, present-day labor historians have also taken advantage of historiographic traditions (developed by African-American historians, women "social investigators," and leftist scholar-activists) outside the academic mainstream.⁸⁶

Curiously, while generally expanding or contesting the findings of their academic forebears, present-day scholars have largely avoided the self-conscious preoccupation that earlier scholarly generations had with the relationship of the intellectual to the worker. To be sure, this issue might be written off as a "non-problem." Most labor historians, unlike the earlier labor economists, are not

omission from authorship of Volume 1) insisted on "Perlman and Taft"; "Reflections," 257. Mark Perlman interview, January 19, 1989; on Taft, see David Brody, "Philip Taft: Labor Scholar," *Labor History*, 19 (Winter 1978): 9–22.

⁸⁵ Tomlins, *State*, 80–82, 241–43; Gross, *Reshaping of the National Labor Relations Board*, 112–30, 239.

⁸⁶ The pantheon of largely unsung heroes here would include Vera Shlakman, Edith Abbott, Caroline Ware, Norman Ware, Charles Wesley, Sterling Spero, Abram Harris, Samuel Yellen, Sidney Lens, and, more recently, Philip Foner. For a clairvoyant forecast of historiographic trends, see Caroline F. Ware, "Introduction," *The Cultural Approach to History* (New York, 1940), 3–16. For pathbreaking discussion of these counter-currents, see Fitzpatrick, *Endless Crusade*; and Francille Rusan Wilson, "Black Workers, Segregated Scholars: The Origins of Black Labor History, 1895–1920," paper presented to Perspectives on Labor History Conference, March 9, 1990, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

rubbing shoulders with the people or events they are interpreting, perhaps reducing the earlier source of tension. Moreover, freed both from the AFL's self-protective autonomism and a classical Marxist concern about "petit bourgeois" influences within a proletarian movement, today's historians are not instinctively affronted by the presence of non-wage earners in movements that often spoke broadly in the name of all "producing classes" or the "republican" majority. Nor, of course, with the collapse of an organized political left, do present-day practitioners contend with the choice of relating to organized labor as expert/technician versus vanguard intellectual.

In all these respects, the intellectual as such has not only slipped from the noose of controversy but lost allure as a worthy scholarly subject. While the autodidact intellectuals common to the Jacksonian workingmen's movement or the Gilded Age labor-political tradition are rather easily assimilated into the multiple community and occupational studies of recent vintage, little interest is shown in comparative "outsiders" whose political, philosophical, or economic analyses may have had less impact on the workers' own movement than on the larger political climate in which labor operated.⁸⁷ For the late nineteenth century, to take a prime example, the last serious exploration of worker-reformer relationships, David Montgomery's *Beyond Equality* (1967), appeared just before the impact of the dominant recent trends in the field. It is noteworthy that the only modern study of seminal radical reform figures Henry George, Henry Demarest Lloyd, and Edward Bellamy derives from an intellectual historian. Likewise, with the exception of its bearing on women's history, the close association of leading Progressive intellectual figures with labor circles (including Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, John Dewey, Louis Brandeis, Clarence Darrow, and Frank Walsh, not to mention the Wisconsin labor economists) has gone largely unexplored.⁸⁸

This indifference to the intellectual and professional classes may well reflect the unintended consequences of the best scholarship of the past twenty-five years. Effectively enunciating a new interpretive agenda for the field, Herbert Gutman, as early as 1963, pulled away from "struggling craft unions . . . and assorted reformers and radicals" in favor of "the workers themselves, their communities, and the day-to-day occurrences that shaped their outlook."⁸⁹ The New Labor historians

⁸⁷ Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York, 1984), 145-216; Gregory S. Kealey and Bryan D. Palmer, *Dreaming of What Might Be: The Knights of Labor in Ontario, 1880-1900* (New York, 1982), 301-11; Richard Oestreicher, *Solidarity and Fragmentation: Working People and Class Consciousness in Detroit, 1875-1900* (Urbana, Ill., 1986); Leon Fink, "The New Labor History and the Powers of Historical Pessimism: Consensus, Hegemony, and the Case of the Knights of Labor," *Journal of American History*, 75 (June 1988): 115-36, esp. 136.

⁸⁸ David Montgomery, *Beyond Equality: Labor and the Radical Republicans, 1862-1872* (New York, 1967), esp. 387-424. And indeed, "beyond Montgomery," the search for intellectual influences within Gilded Age labor culture passes almost uninterruptedly back to Chester McArthur Destler's classic, *American Radicalism* (Chicago, 1946); John L. Thomas, *Alternative America: Henry George, Edward Bellamy, Henry Demarest Lloyd and the Adversary Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983); Katherine Kish Sklar, "Hull House in the 1890s: A Community of Women Reformers," *Signs*, 10 (Summer 1985): 658-77; Elizabeth Anne Payne, *Reform, Labor, and Feminism: Margaret Dreier Robins and the Women's Trade Union League* (Urbana, Ill., 1988). An exception for the Progressive Era (and again, a volume uninfluenced by the New Labor history) is Irwin Yellowitz, *Labor and the Progressive Movement in New York State, 1897-1916* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1965). A renewed concern for the relations of labor and the state (and consequently state-oriented reformers) may help to bridge the aforementioned gaps; see Steve Fraser, "The 'Labor Question,'" in Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980* (Princeton, N.J., 1989); and Christopher H. Johnson, *Maurice Sugar: Law, Labor, and the Left in Detroit, 1912-1950* (Detroit, Mich., 1988).

⁸⁹ Herbert G. Gutman, "The Worker's Search for Power: Labor in the Gilded Age," rpt. in *Power and Culture: Essays on the American Working Class*, Ira Berlin, ed. (New York, 1987), 70.

justly undertook to restore to center stage what E. P. Thompson called the “agency of working people, the degree to which they contributed, by conscious efforts, to the making of history.” In practice, rescuing the common people from “the enormous condescension of posterity” inevitably obscured the role of individuals from middle-class backgrounds.⁹⁰ More precisely, the transformation of “labor” history (with its economic and institutional bias) into “workers” history (with its emphasis on initiative “from the bottom up”) left little room for the intellectual either as historical figure or self-conscious scholarly interpreter. Overcoming the restrictions, in turn, of Commons-Perlman institutionalism, the consensus assumptions of political historians, and the economic determinism of earlier Marxists, the new paradigm tended toward a kind of cognitive “workerism” or unmediated reconstruction of the workers’ own world. Like the “participatory democracy” of the New Left in the political realm, the new labor history assumed a basic cultural integrity among its selected public, who neither intellectually required nor historically desired direction from “above.”⁹¹

But the issue goes beyond a mere redress of scholarly imbalances. Just as the attitude of earlier labor historians toward the “abstract” intellectual was a product (at least in part) of their own academic and political experience, so we might ask if social context is not also a factor in recent interpretations. For, even as scholars now openly challenge the circumscribed mental world of the worker as painted by their Wisconsin forebears, they run the risk of validating a deeper, if unspoken, dichotomy between “worker” and “intellectual.” Identifying vicariously with the eras of insurgency in American workers’ past, while living amid a bureaucratic, defensive, and increasingly powerless labor union present, today’s labor historians have not, in any institutionally creative sense, discovered a way to connect personally or politically to their subject matter.⁹² The recent conceptual void regarding the intellectual’s historical role thus parallels the relatively isolated state of today’s academic denizens.⁹³ Indeed, the most serious manifestation today of the “intellectuals versus workers” problem may well lie in the yawning gap between the scholarly community and the world it presumes to describe. Attacked from the right for partisanship, assailed from the left for irrelevance, today’s labor scholar reaches uncertainly for a role that is at once intellectually and politically meaningful.

The contemporary situation eerily recalls the little-noticed conclusion to E. P.

⁹⁰ E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1963), 12.

⁹¹ On the underlying philosophical assumptions of “history from the bottom up” and other tendencies associated with New Left historians, see Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 438–57; discomfort in identifying oneself fully as an “intellectual” was endemic to the “New Left” sensibility of the 1960s. As former SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) leader Richard Flacks noted: “Most New Leftists adamantly refused to adopt this label [intellectual]. The word connoted the very things that they were trying to overcome in themselves. For ‘intellectual’ conveys a separation from action, from material reality, from struggle, from whole-hearted commitment. Moreover, not only do ‘intellectuals’ inhabit ‘ivory towers,’ but they do so in privilege, claiming exemption from physical labor, claiming also a capacity for understanding the world superior to that of the unlettered, demanding deference even though refusing to share the deprivations and sacrifices of the common folk”; Flacks, *Making History: The Radical Tradition in American Life* (New York, 1988), 281.

⁹² Lack of a conceptualized path for the contemporary labor intellectual is not to imply that the new labor historians, as individuals, have not conscientiously engaged the larger world around them. They have: witness David Montgomery’s consistent activism in strike support in Pittsburgh and New Haven, Herbert Gutman’s outreach to working-class audiences for a new social history, Peter Rachleff’s public defense of the Local P-9 Hormel workers, or Alice Kessler-Harris’s testimony on behalf of affirmative-action hiring in the *Sears* case, not to mention others employed in worker-education programs. But the issue is seldom considered in a strategic sense or taken up as any self-conscious group responsibility.

⁹³ For a provocative elaboration on this theme, see Jacoby, *Last Intellectuals*.

Thompson's classic work. Even if a "working-class consciousness" among Radical artisans had, in his terms, been "made" by the 1830s, Thompson nevertheless pointed to an ominous social cleavage. In the same years as the working-class revolt, the Romantic poets had equally "opposed the annunciation of Acquisitive Man." But the critiques evident within the workers' and the intellectuals' culture had, in Thompson's words, run a "parallel but altogether separate course . . . In the failure of the two traditions to come to a point of junction, something was lost. How much we cannot be sure, for we are the losers."⁹⁴ Win or lose, the dichotomy between scholar (intellectual) and scholarly object (worker) has long played a constitutive role in the writing of labor history. To insist on a "relational" reading of the field's seminal texts is not a means of dismissing their authors, be they young or old.⁹⁵ It is rather meant to remind us of our own constant and inevitable presence in what we write.

⁹⁴ Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*, 832.

⁹⁵ "Relationism" was Karl Mannheim's term for a non-evaluative cognitive relativism: "relationism signifies merely that all of the elements of meaning in a given situation have reference to one another and derive their significance from this reciprocal interrelationship in a given frame of thought"; Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York, 1970), 85–86; compare Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 159–61.

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Rethinking the Intellectual Origins of
American Labor History

ELLEN FITZPATRICK

LEON FINK'S ESSAY is a stimulating and important analysis of intellectuals and workers. Yet the story he tells threatens both to romanticize and reify critical aspects of the relationship he explores. The retreat of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century intellectuals from active engagement in labor's struggles may have been inevitable. But it was not a result of exogenous factors alone. Nor did all scholars who felt an affinity for workers follow the tortured path Fink so perceptively lays bare. In rethinking the intellectual origins of American labor history, historians must acknowledge the crucial moment Fink uncovers and account for the limitations of the historical tradition he reveals.

Certainly, Fink's study commands the attention of historians across an array of subfields. Intellectual historians would do well to weigh carefully Fink's analysis of the pragmatic political forces and persistent social tensions that shaped scholarly visions of the labor movement. Social historians should take seriously Fink's persuasive account of the intellectual underpinnings of labor reform and the institutional framework within which ideas and action were mediated. Finally, and perhaps most important, labor historians must confront the reality of a historiographical tradition far more complex than the mythic "old labor history"—"new labor history" dichotomy has allowed.¹

The explicit, sustained, and nuanced attention Fink gives to the intellectual roots of American labor history is long overdue. The "labor problem" stood at the center of much late nineteenth-century debate, not only among politicians, moderate reformers, trade unionists, and labor radicals but among academic social scientists as well. The social upheaval of late nineteenth-century America, the clash between labor and capital, the conditions of workers' lives and the struggle to organize laboring men and women absorbed the energies and interests of some of the

¹ This is not to suggest that the "new labor history" of recent years has not differed in critical ways from previous historical work in emphasis, interpretation, and methodology. It is to suggest, as Herbert Gutman stressed some years ago, that the binary paradigm does not do justice to the field's historiographic complexities. See, for example, David Brody, "The Old Labor History and the New: In Search of the American Working Class," *Labor History*, 20 (Winter 1979): 111–26; Thomas A. Kruegar, "American Labor Historiography, Old and New: A Review Essay," *Journal of Social History*, 4 (Spring 1971): 277–85; David Montgomery, "To Study the People: The American Working Class," *Labor History*, 21 (Fall 1980): 485–512; Herbert G. Gutman and Donald H. Bell, *The New England Working Class and the New Labor History* (Urbana, Ill., 1987), xii; J. Carroll Moody and Alice Kessler-Harris, *Perspectives on American Labor History* (DeKalb, Ill., 1989); Eric Arnesen, "Crusaders against Crisis: A View from the United States on the 'Rank and File' Critique and Other Catalogues of Labour History's Alleged Ills," *International Review of Social History*, 35 (1990–91): 106–27; Leon Fink, "American Labor History," in *The New American History*, Eric Foner, ed. (Philadelphia, 1990).

nation's most important social scientists. Although several intellectual historians have repeatedly stressed these facts in a series of brilliant studies, their findings have not been integrated into a fuller and richer historiographical understanding of American labor history.²

The omission is a critical one. As Fink rightly stresses, intellectuals who chose to focus their scholarly attention on workers in the late nineteenth century helped lay the groundwork for fundamental aspects of modern labor history and for central features of contemporary social and economic policy. It is true that the scholars featured most prominently in Fink's essay—Richard Ely, John R. Commons, and Selig Perlman—have long been recognized for their formative contributions to labor history. Indeed, Commons is usually seen as the founder of the “traditional” school. But Fink approaches the early labor analysts and their legacy from a fresh vantage point. He recasts the nineteenth-century economists' ideas, emphasizing the close connections between the scholars' evolving views of workers and their own personal and professional fortunes within the academic marketplace.

In so doing, Fink provides a compelling vision of labor history's vital intellectual traditions as well as the social and political factors that shaped the work of important early practitioners of the field. Yet he assigns insufficient responsibility to the labor scholars for the intellectual limitations and political vulnerability of their views. The result is an unnecessary narrowing of the discipline's varied political and intellectual roots.

These tensions are apparent in the most alluring chapter in the story Fink tells, and the one most marked by dashed expectations, the “awakening” period of the 1880s. Fink describes a historical moment ripe with possibility, when workers rebelled against the constraints of capital and forged powerful new alliances that inspired “young academic radicals” in the universities. Intellectuals such as Richard Ely who identified with labor's cause laid their scholarship and political principles on the line, endorsing the Knights of Labor and the workers' movement it exemplified. Mixing advocacy with objectivity, Christian ethics with economic analysis, Ely and his compatriots tied their mission as intellectuals to the progress of labor and the advancement of reform.³

The activist ideals of “labor-oriented” scholars in the 1880s suffered a rout, according to Fink, between 1890 and 1910. Fink emphasizes political repression in the academy as a central factor in cooling the academics' “ardor” for “public identification with workers' aspirations and open advocacy” of social change. The conflict that erupted in universities over political activism and professional conduct clearly had a chilling effect on “radical idealists” who lost their jobs and nearly their professional futures in the aftermath.⁴

² See especially Dorothy Ross, “Socialism and American Liberalism: Academic Social Thought in the 1880s,” in *Perspectives in American History*, Donald Fleming, ed., Vol. 11 (Cambridge, Mass., 1977–78); Mary O. Furner, *Advocacy and Objectivity: A Crisis in the Professionalization of American Social Science, 1865–1905* (Lexington, Ky., 1975); James T. Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870–1920* (New York, 1986); Thomas Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science* (Urbana, Ill., 1977); and, most recently, Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (Cambridge, 1991), and Mary O. Furner, “Knowing Capitalism: Public Investigation and the Labor Question in the Long Progressive Era,” in Mary O. Furner and Barry Supple, eds., *The State and Economic Knowledge: The American and British Experiences* (Cambridge, 1990).

³ Leon Fink, “Intellectuals' versus ‘Workers’: Academic Requirements and the Creation of Labor History,” *AHR*, 96 (April 1991): 396–99.

⁴ Fink, “Intellectuals versus Workers,” 399, 406–07, 405. See Furner, *Advocacy and Objectivity*, for more on the strains produced by professionalization in economics. Kloppenberg offered a thoughtful assessment of Ely's Wisconsin trial in *Uncertain Victory*, 265–66.

Yet, while coercion was undoubtedly a major factor in the retreat of intellectuals, both the speed and nature of this response are not so easy to explain. There were, after all, alternatives to withdrawing intellectually (if not professionally) from the scholars' ideals in the face of conservative and institutional demands. Thorstein Veblen, for example, took another tack. He remained loyal to his socialist principles and eventually used his experience in higher education to draw parallels between the status of intellectuals and workers in the world American industrial capitalism had made. *The Higher Learning in America* (1918), however convoluted its prose, likened the university to a corporation run by "captains of erudition" intent on extracting profit and enforcing prevailing social norms. The acquiescence of university professors to these trends exasperated Veblen. "There is no trades-union among university teachers and no collective bargaining," he noted. "There appears to be a feeling prevalent among them that their salaries are not of the nature of wages, and that there would be a species of moral obliquity implied in overtly so dealing with the problem."⁵

The "suspension of a politically engaged, anticapitalist critique by the labor economists," Fink explains, also devolved from intellectual concerns. Fink stresses the challenge posed by marginalist theory and the vulnerability of a social analysis grounded in ethics and subjectivity. Yet deeper tensions inherent in the economists' world view were critical to the fate of their commitments and reform ideals. They deserve greater emphasis in Fink's account. The radical idealists were indeed "labor oriented," but their attitudes toward workers were rooted in a broader conception of social relations and social change that vitiated the power of, or at least rendered problematical, the worker-intellectual alliance.⁶

The posture of the early social scientists toward socialism illustrates the point. Treated somewhat obliquely in Fink's account, socialism attracted and bedeviled Ely, Clark, Adams, and the other radical "new economists" of the "awakening" years. As Dorothy Ross has persuasively demonstrated, these men embraced socialist ideals in their early careers. Influenced by their evangelical Christian backgrounds and their exposure to socialism as graduate students, the scholars' beliefs were well grounded intellectually and flowed only in part from emotional sympathy with labor's cause. Although they differed among themselves in their conception of socialism, each of the three scholars made the case for socialism publicly by the mid-1880s (Ely was last). Admittedly, the call was for a gradualist and evolutionary socialism distinct from the most radical and revolutionary brand. The radical economists looked forward to a "cooperative commonwealth" that restored egalitarian principles to a country transformed by the march of industrial capitalism. Still, theirs was a daring position, given prevailing views of socialism among elites in late nineteenth-century America.⁷

⁵ Thorstein Veblen, "The Higher Learning in America," in *The Portable Veblen*, Max Lerner, ed. (New York, 1948), 516; Ross, "Socialism and American Liberalism," 52–55, and *passim*; Ross, *Origins of American Social Science*, 204–16; Joseph Dorfman, *Thorstein Veblen and His America* (New York, 1934). Veblen did not share the enthusiasm of many of his intellectual contemporaries for active engagement in reform activities.

⁶ Fink, "Intellectuals versus Workers," 405–07; Ellen Fitzpatrick, *Endless Crusade: Women Social Scientists and Progressive Reform* (New York, 1990).

⁷ Ross, "Socialism and American Liberalism," 14–25 and *passim*; Furner, *Advocacy and Objectivity*; Ross, *Origins of American Social Science*, chaps. 3 and 4; Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory*, 241–46, 250–51; Richard T. Ely, *Socialism and Social Reform* (Boston, 1894); Richard T. Ely, *The Labor Movement in America* (New York, 1890); Benjamin G. Rader, *The Academic Mind and Reform* (Lexington, Ky., 1966). For the differences in the various scholars' views of socialism, see Ross, "Socialism and American Liberalism," 23–35.

At the same time, equally powerful intellectual beliefs tempered the radical stance of the new economists. The persistence of liberal notions of individualism and the competitive marketplace competed with the attraction of socialism. The lure of American exceptionalism remained strong as the “radical idealists” sought to square their vision of far-reaching economic change with their continued faith in the nation’s democratic past. Their evolutionary concept of social change attenuated the radical implications of their reform ideals. Their enduring respect for the demands of social democracy determined their approach to political change. The scholars put their faith, too, in the power of social knowledge and intellectual understanding to advance “responsible” reform. As a logical corollary, they often credited academic experts with a superior ability to untangle the origins of complex social and economic problems. (Consider the paternalism of Commons’s assertion that the “educated man . . . should be a *guide* the army of discontented *may trust and follow*.”) More radical than thinkers who refused to give socialism any quarter, the scholars were less than radical in their conception of the *process* of social change.⁸

These tensions were never very far below the surface of the intellectuals’ understanding of the workers’ struggle. And even the most unfettered worker-intellectual alliance would, I believe, have felt the strain of the academics’ ideas. The scholars identified with the aims of a labor movement operating within certain parameters. Ely, for instance, celebrated the American labor movement in part, as Ross points out, because he believed it would “preserve society as it was, yet fundamentally change it.” Unions held the promise of redressing inequality and stabilizing a society rocked by violent conflict between labor and capital. Determined to advance the cause of working men and women but equally wedded to moderate principles of social reform, Ely told workers in 1886: “if your demands are right, if they are reasonable, then you will win. The world will listen to socialism, if properly presented.” Yet he followed those encouraging words by instructing labor to follow this strategy: “*Educate, Organize, Wait*. Christ and all Christly people are with you for the right. Never let go that confidence.” Such patient counsel, even under the best conditions—and the best conditions did not prevail in 1886—suggests the real divide that separated labor-oriented scholars from many of the workingmen who were the subjects of their studies.⁹

However the intellectual shift is to be explained, “radical idealists” such as John R. Commons certainly moderated their professional conduct by the dawn of the new century and pledged their political allegiance to liberal, progressive reform ideals. Commons managed to “rescue institutional labor studies from academic oblivion” in the Progressive years. But his experience in the academy, Fink explains, chastened the political economist and informed a new understanding of labor. “Growing contact with institutions of social mediation” all but erased Commons’s role as a “critical outsider” in favor of a new kind of “engagement”—expert “adviser” to government, business, and labor leaders. This approach matched the conservative, pragmatic orientation of the labor movement in the

⁸ Fink, “Intellectuals versus Workers,” 395, my emphasis; Ross, “Socialism and American Liberalism”; Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory*; Ross, *Origins of American Social Science*, esp. chaps. 4–6; Furner, “Knowing Capitalism”; Robert L. Church, “Economists as Experts: The Rise of an Academic Profession in the United States, 1870–1920,” in *The University in Society*, Vol. 2, Lawrence Stone, ed. (Princeton, N.J., 1974); Fitzpatrick, *Endless Crusade*, esp. chap. 3.

⁹ Ross, “Socialism and American Liberalism,” 41; Ely quoted in Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory*, 250–51, emphasis in original.

Progressive Era. A new, and perhaps largely theoretical, alliance between the ideas of labor economists and the aims of trade union leaders emerged.¹⁰

The years of Commons's "academic hiatus" appear to be of central importance to the economist's subsequent views and thus require close scrutiny in any attempt to unravel the fate of his ideals. Contact with labor leaders in the National Civic Federation and "a necessary reliance on the 'public interest,'" Fink reveals, accelerated the trend toward "empirical investigation" and away from bold and "open advocacy" of social change. But, again, the institutional and contextual forces Fink stresses tell only part of the story. The high value the "radical idealists" had always placed on active engagement in reform through intellectual work, in my view, made for a smooth transition to Commons's new role. The model of intellectual-as-activist that Commons and the others embraced proved remarkably adaptable to shifting political winds. The "radical" ideological content dropped out; "engagement," albeit of a different order, remained.¹¹

The intellectual and political substance of Commons's work with the NCF, the U.S. Industrial Commission, and, later, the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations is revealing as well. Through "a process of political learning," Mary Furner has recently argued, two "competing conceptions" of American liberalism surfaced in the Progressive Era, one "voluntarist" and "associative" (corporate liberalism), the other "more democratic" and "statist" in form. Commons endorsed key elements of the voluntarist approach to industrial relations. He continued to do so even when political and economic reversals experienced by labor in the early twentieth century rendered this optimistic model more problematical with each passing year. Other experts, including many of Commons's associates on the Commission on Industrial Relations (1912–1915), challenged the "liberal corporatist" strategy and called for a far more interventionist, statist approach. In sum, the applied research and empirical study pursued by academic experts within the public sphere resulted in divergent views of "the labor question." Their findings remained inextricably linked to politics.¹²

This aspect of the academics' involvement in public policy should be underscored. It could be argued that Commons's role as "expert" represents a logical culmination of the nineteenth-century intellectual's "engagement" in labor reform rather than a retreat or break with the past. Although the ideological posture of intellectuals shifted, and some thinkers certainly abandoned reform, many others realized their activist ideals. They simply placed their intellectual energies in the service of more conservative aims. Why they did so is a matter Fink's essay helps to explain. That they did so ought to give us pause. A survey of academic involvement in social policy and reform throughout the twentieth century would provide a sobering reminder of the dangers of "engagement" and one of its logical analogs, applied expertise. While we may admire the passion with which the "radical idealists" pursued their work, it is important not to celebrate the posture of

¹⁰ Fink, "Intellectuals versus Workers," 408–10; David Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor* (Cambridge, 1987); Furner, "Knowing Capitalism"; Ellis Hawley, "Economic Inquiry and the State in New Era America: Antistatist Corporatism and Positive Statism in Uneasy Coexistence," in Furner and Supple, *The State and Economic Knowledge*.

¹¹ Fink, "Intellectuals versus Workers," 409–10; Fitzpatrick, *Endless Crusade*.

¹² Furner, "Knowing Capitalism," 241–46, 259–61, 273–85; Ross, *Origins of American Social Science*, 187–95, 201–04; James Weinstein, *The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State, 1900–1918* (Boston, 1968), chap. 7; Irving Bernstein, *The Lean Years: A History of the American Worker 1920–1933* (Baltimore, Md., 1966); Morton Keller, *Regulating a New Economy: Public Policy and Economic Change in America, 1900–1933* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990); Hawley, "Economic Inquiry and the State," 290–93.

“engagement” without considering the ideological thrust of reform. Given the range of political opinion represented among intellectuals, some might want to celebrate the “yawning gap” that separates “the scholarly community” from “the world it presumes to describe.”¹³

Fink’s poignant discussion of Selig Perlman’s suspicious attitude toward “intellectuals” thus seems full of irony to me. Historically, academic social scientists were only one group among many who sought the crowns of authority and expertise. Even as the early economists of the 1880s struggled to work out a political and professional modus vivendi within the academy, self-proclaimed “experts” challenged their alleged supremacy. The academics won the crucial battle in the late nineteenth century. Still, the war did not cease. In tagging more radical labor activists with the “pejorative label” of “intellectuals,” Commons and Perlman appeared to surrender rhetorically what late nineteenth-century academics had fought hard to achieve.¹⁴

Not all early twentieth-century labor historians, of course, shared the prejudices and preoccupations of the Wisconsin School. And, in exploring the complex intellectual roots of American labor history, it is imperative that historians avoid reifying the Wisconsin School. Just as labor history cannot properly be a history of trade unions, its intellectual history cannot fittingly be a history of intellectuals oriented toward organized labor. There were, after all, other academic economists of Commons’s generation who sought to expand historical accounts of American workers beyond trade unionism. Edith Abbott, doubly marginalized as a female academic social scientist, chose as her subject of study “the great army of the unskilled.” Although she supported and worked to advance the cause of organized labor, she believed unorganized and unskilled industrial workers deserved even greater political support and intellectual attention. That focus brought black, immigrant, child, and female workers within the purview of labor history as early as 1910. It also resulted in a form of “engagement” that differed from that of Commons and his disciples.¹⁵

The lineage of much contemporary labor history reaches back not so much, in my view, to Ely, Adams, Clark, Commons, the Wisconsin School, and activist scholars of the Progressive years but to little-studied historians of the interwar period. Caroline Ware’s call in 1939 for a history that detailed the lives of the “inarticulate” was issued in the midst of tremendously important attempts to uncover the historical experience of the American working class. The Great Depression inspired yet another, and perhaps a more compelling, attempt to bridge the gap between workers and intellectuals. Even a cursory glance at the work of often-overlooked scholars reveals that labor history has not really been only a

¹³ Fink, “Intellectuals versus Workers,” 421. On the nature of “engagement,” see, for example, the various projects undertaken by the women social scientists described in Fitzpatrick, *Endless Crusade*. On the “objectivity question” and historians, see Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988).

¹⁴ Fink, “Intellectuals versus Workers,” 418; Haskell, *Emergence of Professional Social Science*; Furner, *Advocacy and Objectivity*; Dorothy Ross, “The Development of the Social Sciences,” in *The Organization of Knowledge in Modern America 1860–1920*, Alexandra Oleson and John Voss, eds. (Baltimore, Md., 1979); Martin Bulmer, *The Chicago School of Sociology* (Chicago, 1984).

¹⁵ Edith Abbott and Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, “Employment of Women in Industries—Twelfth Census Statistics,” *Journal of Political Economy*, 14 (January 1906); Edith Abbott, “The Wages of Unskilled Labor in the United States, 1850–1900,” *Journal of Political Economy*, 13 (June 1905); Edith Abbott, *Women in Industry* (New York, 1910). I do not wish to suggest Abbott’s approach to reform was superior to that of Commons and his followers but to point out the existence and significance of different, though related, models. See Fitzpatrick, *Endless Crusade*, for the strengths and limitations of Abbott’s activism.

history of trade unionism for nearly one hundred years. Intellectuals who studied workers have long appreciated the importance of culture, gender, and class.¹⁶ As Leon Fink demonstrates, a full appreciation of labor history's rich intellectual tradition can deepen our understanding of the American working class. Indeed, his illuminating account of labor history's origins reminds us again of the ways in which intellectual, social, and political history must inevitably meet.

¹⁶ Caroline F. Ware, ed., *The Cultural Approach to History* (New York, 1940), 7–12; Gutman and Bell, *New England Working Class and the New Labor History*, preface. For examples of some of the pioneering studies of the 1930s, see Caroline F. Ware, *The Early New England Cotton Manufacture: A Study in Industrial Relations* (Boston, 1931); Vera Shlakman, *Economic History of a Factory Town: A Study of Chicopee, Massachusetts*, *Smith College Studies in History*, 20 (October 1934–July 1935); Constance Green, *Holyoke, Massachusetts: A Case Study of the Industrial Revolution in America* (New Haven, Conn., 1939). Ware's contributions to labor history are explored in Ellen Fitzpatrick, "Caroline F. Ware and the Cultural Approach to History," *American Quarterly* (forthcoming, Spring 1991).

ELLEN FITZPATRICK raises some very good questions. I welcome her call for a more pluralistic genealogy of American labor history, a task to which she has already substantively contributed. I also appreciate her invocation of Dorothy Ross's emphasis on the ambivalent ideology of the late nineteenth century's radical scholars, particularly the "socialism" of figures like Henry Carter Adams, John Bates Clark, and Richard T. Ely.

There is a small but perhaps significant difference in the value we attach to the inherent political implications of such ideological distinctions. I place less importance on the exact ideological profiles of the early social scientists for two reasons. In the first place, the ethical socialism of the 1880s had little connection to any tangible political initiative. Like the *Kathedersozialisten* (armchair socialists) who had attracted their admiration in Germany, the young American idealists used socialism more as a fertile intellectual springboard—a theoretical justification for new departures in state action and a philosophical counterpoint to individualism—than a serious political agenda. For this reason, I am inclined to count their public identification with and defense of the labor movement as a more significant political act, one that established a more "radical" model for scholars, than their professed socialism. It was the former position from which they had to back off, or reestablish in less "offensive" ways, but this process had little to do with the fine points of their ideology.

Secondly, I see the "problem" of socialism for American academics as less one of ideological ambivalence than of strategic political options and personal ambitions. By way of example, let me cite evidence from John R. Commons and his students. Commons, while still mixing in socialist intellectual circles, distanced himself early on from explicitly "socialist" political ventures. "It is a mistake to join the SP [Socialist party]," he counseled Henry Demarest Lloyd in 1903. "You would be excluded from the press, [you] would only get to talk to the SP itself. The SP can always use your socialist arguments even if you're not a member." Even the cautious Commons would have easily fit into Fabian or Labour party culture in Great Britain; he was one of a multitude of Labor-Progressives or American social democrats who never found a comfortable political home.¹

The effect of social class background and expectation also weighed on the young intellectuals. Several of Commons's students, stalwart members of the University Socialist Club, entertained persistent doubts as to how they might connect their convictions to their larger life plans. The philosophical principles they embraced did not, after all, appear to correspond with the political mainstream of the country; moreover, the young male academics were determined to make their mark professionally. The result was an inevitable balancing act. With an eye to his future professional welfare, William M. Leiserson made sure in 1911 that his contribution to the Milwaukee *Social Democratic Herald's* series on unemployment would remain anonymous. That it was less ideology than lifestyle separating him

¹ That Commons was thinking along the lines of a Labor or Populist party formation is suggested by his comment to Lloyd that "I expect to see the time when a new people's party will arise, gathered from the rank and file of all the other parties. When an issue comes around which such a party can form, then your influence will be much greater if you can come to such a party without having been tied up with what is really a bigoted and dogmatic section of the forward movement of the time." John R. Commons to Lloyd, Henry Demarest Lloyd Papers, reel 14, June 5, 1903, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison (courtesy Steven Sapolsky).

from the *Herald's* struggling editor, Carl Sandburg (whose own recognition as a poet was just over the horizon), is evident in Leiserson's letter to his wife. Sandburg, he explained, was a "bully fellow" who "began as a boy driving a milk wagon," "knocked around all his life" and now "shows in his looks the experience he has gone thru [*sic*]":

It is an inspiration to talk to him and to see how thoroughly devoted he is to the cause and how completely he forgets himself. I am afraid he overdoes this however, and I feel so strongly that he is neglecting to take care of himself and his health that I am going to try to teach him little by little to take more care of himself . . . I gave him a good feed.²

A certain distancing from "the cause" came almost automatically with a professional career. The radical social scientist not only tended to perceive things beyond the ken of the masses but also had his own career (and ultimately, family) to look after. After Leiserson had accepted a position in 1912 to investigate the causes of unemployment with the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations, his old friend Ira B. Cross congratulated him for forcing "the citizens of this 'grand and glorious Star-spangled Banner country'" to deal with an unwanted subject. Yet, even while issuing a bold critique of the republican creed—including reference to a people "manacled mentally and otherwise by a set of ideas and principles . . . since completely outlived"—Cross, then teaching at Stanford, could turn without pause to more practical considerations:

I am glad that you intend to teach later on in life, for I feel that you would have a great influence in that field. I have written Mrs. Commons . . . that if I ever become the head of a department any place (note the IF) you would be the first person that I would call to be with me. I have much faith in you and your ability, Bube, and I shall do all that I can to help you on the upward climb.³

Together, recognition of the larger political climate and the search for personal fulfillment thus clouded the picture for "radical" young scholars. They made choices, therefore, that were "compromised" by their situation as well as being limited by their own understandings.

Was Commons's later role as "expert," as Fitzpatrick suggests, the "logical culmination" of an original political engagement? I think the "logic" of this development, with all of its ambivalent implications, has still to be worked out. For it was perhaps less the "aims" of the Wisconsin scholars that had changed over time than the forms through which they carried out their work. We need to know more about the changing relationships between scholars ("intellectuals") and their subjects ("workers"). What was it, for example, about settlement houses and schools of social work that opened a wider window on the working-class world than did the social science disciplines? Was the growing "thingness" of the public under the lenses of economists, sociologists, and political scientists the product of specific intellectual paradigms or the indirect outgrowth of university institutional

² William M. Leiserson to Emily Leiserson, March 18, 1911, William Morris Leiserson Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

³ Ira B. Cross to William M. Leiserson, December 29, 1912, William Morris Leiserson Papers. Cross and Leiserson addressed each other, respectively, as "Dear Bube" and "Das Kind" and referred on occasion to their mentor as "Daddy Commons." For an expression of similar concerns, see Edwin E. Witte to William M. Leiserson, January 12, 1910, William Morris Leiserson Papers; for a different historical reading of republicanism, see Leon Fink, "The New Labor History and the Powers of Historical Pessimism: Consensus, Hegemony, and the Case of the Knights of Labor," *Journal of American History*, 75 (June 1988): 115–36.

environments?⁴ On either side, historical—and, by inference, contemporary—alternatives require a further fleshing out.

Although leery of the model of applied expertise, I am also unprepared to “celebrate the ‘yawning gap’ that separates ‘the scholarly community’ from ‘the world it presumes to describe.’” That direction, of course, was counseled by Julien Benda in *La Trahison des Clercs* (“The Treason of the Intellectuals,” 1928) and revitalized in reaction to the 1960s “best and the brightest.”⁵ It might be argued, however, that the very removal of the intellectual from popular experience has contributed to the determinism and manipulation of the policy sciences. And even in more humanistic areas of inquiry, what kind of knowledge flourishes in an insulated, intellectual hothouse? If Commons’s activism faintly foreshadowed the depredations of Samuel P. Huntington, Milton Friedman, and Arthur Laffer, today’s rarified scholasticism hardly beckons as a solution. The costs of abstention as well as engagement will surely be written in the sand.

⁴ See the penetrating discussion of the triumph of “scientism” in Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (New York, 1991), 303–470.

⁵ See, perhaps most notably here, Christopher Lasch, *The New Radicalism in America, 1889–1963: The Intellectual as a Social Type* (New York, 1965).

Chambersburg: Anatomy of a Confederate Reprisal

EVERARD H. SMITH

WHEN THE CIVIL WAR BEGAN IN 1861, Americans shared romantic assumptions about its nature. Hostilities opened amid a festive atmosphere of flags, martial music, colorful uniforms, and patriotic speeches. The young men who flocked to the Union and Confederate armies viewed combat as a chivalrous, even knightly, adventure. Professional soldiers also envisioned a brief, limited contest in the eighteenth-century manner. The genteel traditions of a bygone era taught that social concerns had little impact on strategy, that campaigns should be conducted with minimal bloodshed, and that noncombatants should be carefully spared the exigencies of military operations.

Four years of bitter fighting shattered these comfortable illusions and transformed the conflict in ways no one had anticipated. By 1864, the imperatives of total warfare inextricably mingled social, political, and strategic objectives. The resulting dynamic brought to a climax the civil-military relationship established at the beginning of the struggle. As the war expanded beyond the battlefield, idealistic enthusiasm gave way to the determination to conquer a peace at any cost. The cycle of ferocity spiraled ever upward, while civilians suffered under a ruthless new ethic that countenanced retaliation, destruction of private property, even occasional atrocities, all justified in the name of great democratic principles. Following Federal army efforts to stamp out guerrilla activity in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, Confederate raiders burned Chambersburg, a small town in Pennsylvania. Major General Philip H. Sheridan then unleashed a policy of devastation that left much of the valley a desolate ruin. Meanwhile, Major General William Tecumseh Sherman waged a campaign in Georgia and the Carolinas that made his name a legendary byword for cruelty. "The war became base and desperate," Emory M. Thomas has written, "and the baseness and desperation produced a kind of counterpoint, a sad, minor theme to accompany the major chords."¹

In recent years, the relationship between Civil War soldiers and American society has attracted renewed interest from historians such as Gerald F. Linderman, Reid Mitchell, and Joseph T. Glatthaar. Linderman has argued forcefully that the trend toward escalation derived from frustrated ideals of courage, manhood, and personal valor. The young men who entered service at the start of the war inherited these strong moral values from civilian society. But the stark reality of combat alienated their convictions by demonstrating the futility of bravery on the battlefield. Disillusioned, soldiers turned instead to a value system based on vengeance

¹ David Herbert Donald, *Liberty and Union* (Lexington, Mass., 1978), 97–99, 110, 122–24; Emory M. Thomas, *The Confederate Nation, 1861–1865* (New York, 1979), 274.



The ruins of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, in the wake of John McCausland's Confederate raid on July 30, 1864. The scene is at the corner of Main and King Streets near the center of town. These images, originally released as stereoscopic views, were taken shortly after the raid by Charles E. Meyer, a Philadelphia photographer. (Library of Congress)

and annihilation. Mitchell's work has emphasized, among other themes, the contempt veterans felt for enemy society and their growing desire to remake it through violence, a finding echoed in Glatthaar's careful study of Sherman's army during the March to the Sea and the Carolinas campaign. All three scholars have examined the ways in which changing military ethics brutalized participants on both sides. Their research has added to contemporary understanding of the total war mentality and the savage forces that emerged with it.²

² Gerald F. Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York, 1987), esp. 1–3, 180–215; Reid Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers* (New York, 1988), 90–180; Joseph T. Glatthaar, *The March to the Sea and Beyond: Sherman's Troops in the Savannah and Carolinas Campaign* (New York, 1985), 66–80, 134–55. Glatthaar compared and contrasted Linderman's and Mitchell's work in his review of *Civil War Soldiers*, in *Civil War History*, 35 (June 1989): 187–88.

The burning of Chambersburg in July 1864 by troops detached from the Army of Northern Virginia provides a rare glimpse into the sources of Confederate behavior under wartime pressure. Because most of the fighting took place on Southern soil, Northern attitudes toward such subjects as enemy civilians and retaliation are easier to determine and have been investigated more thoroughly. However, the questions that must be asked of a Confederate reprisal are basically the same. What are the forces that motivated Southern soldiers and shaped their reaction to new modes of warfare? To what degree do they resemble the forces that characterized Northern conduct? Why were these passions focused on Chambersburg? How did Confederate soldiers rationalize their actions within the context of a self-image that asserted moral superiority over the North? Finally, in what ways do the events at Chambersburg contribute to the continuing effort to comprehend the complex interrelationship of war and society?

Evidence suggests that the answers to these questions lie in attitudes that soldiers in Robert E. Lee's army formed toward the Northern population during their invasion of Pennsylvania in the summer of 1863, a year before the town was destroyed. Prior to the Gettysburg campaign, Confederates serving in the eastern theater had little direct knowledge of the North. Consequently, their brief experience as invaders conditioned their opinions. Between June 15 and July 2, 1863, Chambersburg served as the concentration point for nearly the entire Confederate army. General Lee himself established his headquarters there; thousands of troops passed through its streets, and at one point almost two-thirds of the infantry were encamped in the woods and fields nearby. What these soldiers encountered was the typical Pennsylvania German culture of the Cumberland Valley. It appears that to many of Lee's troops this culture epitomized enemy civilization. To a greater extent than has been generally realized, Chambersburg became to the curious occupiers the virtual embodiment of Yankee society and Yankee institutions.

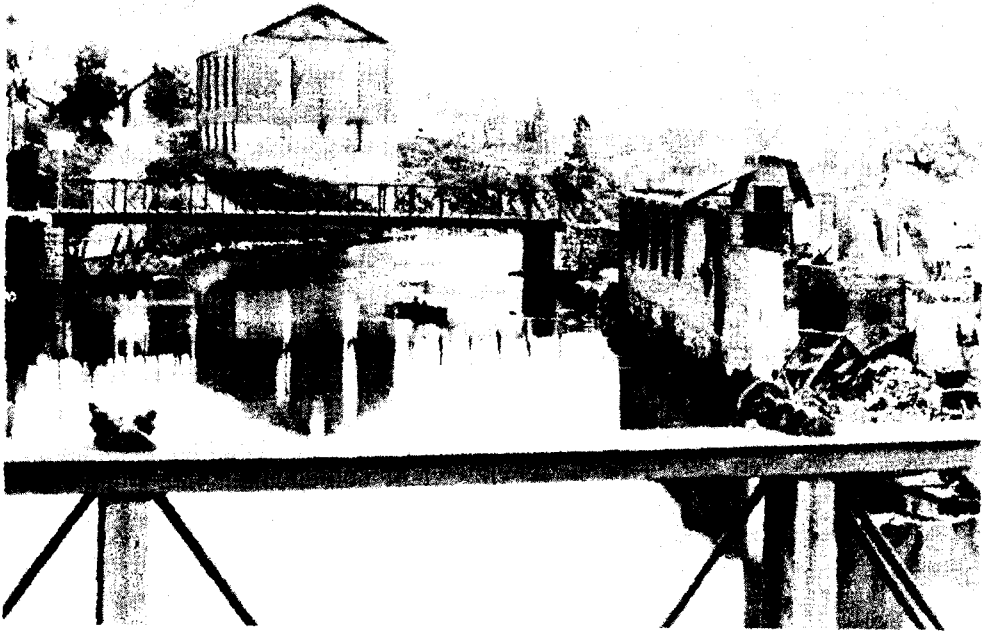
Throughout the Gettysburg campaign, the Confederates behaved with commendable restraint, carefully protecting private property and treating civilians with considerable respect. But their attitudes toward the local residents were characterized by arrogance, nativist and chauvinist prejudices, and anger at what seemed to be an insufficiently submissive reception. Depiction of the enemy as an inferior being, a process known as depersonalization, is a psychological technique commonly practiced by warriors to lessen their sense of guilt. It often presages an increase in belligerence. Confederate perceptions of Northern society were further corrupted by honor, the convoluted ethic to which most white male antebellum Southerners ascribed. Honor dictated magnanimous conduct toward inferiors but demanded deference in return. Violence constituted an acceptable response to those who refused to show subservience to their betters, for such defiance challenged the fundamental assumptions of a society founded on slavery. In 1863, military discipline, reinforced by the prevailing doctrine of forbearance toward noncombatants, was still strong enough to prevent immediate repercussions. By the following year, the escalation of conflict had eroded these constraints. The possibility thus exists that Chambersburg was destined for reprisals more than a year before they occurred. Under the pressures generated by total war, the soldiers who sealed its fate were responding both as Americans and as Southerners to values deeply embedded in their society.

LONG A SYMBOL OF CONFEDERATE ASCENDANCY in the East, the Shenandoah Valley furnished food and military commodities to the armies defending Richmond. It was the setting for Stonewall Jackson's brilliant maneuvers in 1862 and had served as an invasion route into Northern territory on several occasions. Its capture was part of Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant's strategy to seize the Southern capital in 1864. But two Federal expeditions under Major Generals Franz Sigel and David Hunter failed to achieve their objectives, and in early July a Confederate counter-attack led by Lieutenant General Jubal A. Early reached the outskirts of Washington, D.C., momentarily threatening to reverse the entire course of the war. General Sheridan then consolidated command of the Union forces in the region. His victories over Early in September and October ended Southern supremacy in western Virginia and set the stage for Grant's eventual triumph at Appomattox.³

Confederate operations in the Shenandoah Valley were often accompanied by guerrilla fighting, a form of resistance many Federals regarded as little better than terrorism. During his tenure in command, General Hunter attempted to solve this problem by holding private citizens responsible for partisan acts occurring in their vicinity. His troops carried out his hard-line policies with a heavy hand. Most of the property destruction Hunter justified as punishment for specific attacks on his men, but in early July he burned the homes of Andrew Hunter, Alexander R. Boteler, and Edmund Jennings Lee in Jefferson County, West Virginia, for no apparent reason beyond the fact that the owners were prominent Southern sympathizers. This incident triggered the sequence of events that brought catastrophe to Chambersburg. On July 28, following a small battle with Hunter's men near Kernstown, Virginia, Early placed Brigadier General John McCausland in charge of a cavalry detachment composed of two brigades and an artillery battery. Approximately half these men had visited Pennsylvania the previous summer in the mounted brigade then led by Brigadier General Albert G. Jenkins. Early's written orders instructed McCausland to occupy Chambersburg, some twenty miles north of the Mason-Dixon line, and to demand of its inhabitants the sum of \$500,000 in greenbacks or \$100,000 in gold as compensation for the houses burned at Hunter's direction. In default of payment, McCausland was commanded "to lay the town in ashes."

McCausland's troopers reached their destination at dawn, Saturday, July 30, 1864. Forewarned of the approaching raiders, the local bankers had decamped with their cash assets during the night. While some citizens urged the cavalrymen to abate their demands, others reacted defiantly, unable to believe the Confederates would actually carry out their threat. The town council refused even to meet with the invaders. After waiting an interval variously estimated at three to six hours, the general put the town to the torch. A few soldiers resisted their orders outright or found ways to avoid putting them into effect. Colonel William E. Peters of the 21st Virginia Cavalry Regiment refused to obey and was placed temporarily under arrest; the day after the raid, all charges against him were dropped. But individual episodes of compassion were quickly submerged in the tidal wave of violence that engulfed the town. McCausland's men fanned out through the streets, breaking into homes and turning out the terrified families on ten minutes' notice. Few victims managed to save much more than the clothing on their backs. Twelve blocks

³ Standard sources for the Shenandoah Valley campaign of 1864 include William C. Davis, *The Battle of New Market* (Garden City, N.Y., 1975); Marshall Moore Brice, *Conquest of a Valley* (Verona, N.J., 1965); Frank E. Vandiver, *Jubal's Raid: General Early's Famous Attack on Washington in 1864* (New York, 1960); and Jeffry D. Wert, *From Winchester to Cedar Creek: The Shenandoah Campaign of 1864* (Carlisle, Pa., 1987).



The view east along Conococheague Creek. At right are remains of the W. F. Eyster and Brother Foundry. In the background are the walls of the Bethel Church of God, burned by the Confederates under the mistaken impression that it belonged to a black congregation. (Library of Congress)

surrounding the central square were soon on fire. The roar and surging, the crackling and crash of falling timbers and walls mingled in terrible dissonance with the cries of animals trapped in their pens. Fearful whirlwinds sent piles of burning debris shooting skyward. A lurid column of smoke, punctuated by flames, ascended over the countryside.

As the fire spread, many of the participating units lost all sense of military discipline. Officers found it impossible to control their men. Drunken Confederates cavorted among the ashes, pillaging freely and robbing citizens of sums large and small. Some inebriated troopers attempted to carry off women with them. At one home, soldiers locked a woman into an upstairs bedroom while they set the dwelling on fire beneath her. At another, they poured gunpowder under an elderly invalid's chair, swearing they would teach her to walk. Neighbors rescued both women before the flames reached them. At a third house, where the owner's wife had just died in childbirth, the soldiers interrupted the wake, forcing the mourners



The view west along Main Street from the central square, or Diamond. The raiders destroyed twelve blocks of buildings in the central portion of town. (Library of Congress)

to inter the body in the garden to save it from the flames. One sick child was rushed to safety on a shutter. "I never witnessed such a site in all my life," wrote one Southerner to his wife. "Nancy, the poor wimmen and children and also gray heard men was runing in every direction with a little bundle of cloths under there arms crying and skreaming." Miraculously, despite numerous close calls, no one died in the conflagration. When the incendiaries concluded their task on the afternoon of July 30, more than 3,000 civilians were homeless. The fire destroyed three-quarters of the central business and residential district, including 266 buildings valued at

\$783,950. A state commission later evaluated total damage to real and personal property at \$1,628,431.⁴

General Early, whose orders unleashed this cataclysm, provided the Confederate explanation for it in a long series of postwar publications. The general maintained that he bore Chambersburg no grudge, and that he had offered the populace a genuine chance to save their homes. He claimed the town was selected "because it was the only one of any consequence accessible to my troops, and *for no other reason*" (emphasis in original). In one letter written for a Richmond newspaper, he averred that the three houses for which he exacted recompense "were worth fully \$100,000 in gold and I demanded that, or what I regarded as equivalent in greenbacks." In another letter, he reminded his readers that he had levied ransoms on several previous occasions, including a \$200,000 assessment on Frederick three weeks earlier: "I had no knowledge of what amount of money there might be in Chambersburg. I knew it was a town of some 12,000 inhabitants. The town of Frederick, Maryland, which was a smaller town than Chambersburg, had . . . very promptly responded to my demand on it for \$200,000. Some of the inhabitants who were very friendly to me expressed the regret that I had not made it \$500,000."⁵

One may question whether these assertions tell the true story of the reprisal. Early's state of mind with regard to the purpose of the raid may have been best revealed in a private, unpublished letter to Edmund Jennings Lee in 1872: "[I]f I

⁴ Diary entries, Captain Achilles James Tynes (Assistant Commissary of Subsistence, staff of Brigadier General John McCausland), July 29–30, 1864, Achilles James Tynes Letters, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (hereafter cited as SHC); diary entry, J. Kelly Bennette (Hospital Steward, 8th Virginia Cavalry Regiment), vol. 2, July 30, 1864, J. Kelly Bennette Diary, SHC; M. T. Norman (37th Virginia Cavalry Battalion) to Nancy Norman, August 9, 1864, M. T. Norman Letter, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. The quotation is from Norman's letter. Brigadier General Bradley T. Johnson's report of the raid is in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (1880–1901; rpt. edn., Harrisburg, Pa., 1985), series 1, vol. 37, part 1, 354–56; vol. 43, part 1, 4–8 (hereafter cited as *Official Records*). Other Confederate sources include Jubal A. Early, *War Memoirs: Autobiographical Sketch and Narrative of the War between the States*, Frank E. Vandiver, ed. (1912; rpt. edn., Bloomington, Ind., 1960), 401–05; Brigadier General John D. Imboden, "Fire, Sword, and the Halter," *The Annals of the War Written by Leading Participants North and South* (1879; rpt. edn., Dayton, Ohio, 1988), 169–83; and John McCausland, "The Burning of Chambersburg," *ibid.*, 770–74. For contemporary Union accounts, see the Franklin County Repository, August 24, 1864; the Reverend B. S. Schneck, *The Burning of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania* (1864; rpt. edn., Chambersburg, Pa., 1949); and Jacob Hoke, *Reminiscences of the War; or, Incidents which Transpired in and around Chambersburg during the War of the Rebellion* (Chambersburg, 1884). Secondary materials on the raid include Liva Baker, "The Burning of Chambersburg," *American Heritage*, 24 (August 1973): 36–39, 97; and Catherine Henderson, "The Man Who Never Knew Defeat" (General McCausland), *Civil War Times Illustrated*, 23 (June 1984): 36–45.

⁵ Baker, "Burning of Chambersburg," 38 (first quotation); Early, *War Memoirs*, 402, 478 (second quotation); Edward S. Delaplaine, "General Early's Levy on Frederick," *To Commemorate the 100th Anniversary of the Battle of Monocacy, "The Battle That Saved Washington"* (Frederick, Md., [1964]), 54 (third quotation).

On June 28, 1863, during the Gettysburg campaign, Early levied an assessment of \$100,000 in cash plus various military stores on York, Pennsylvania. The inhabitants paid \$28,600. After entering Maryland in July 1864, the general made three levies as follows: Hagerstown, \$20,000 (July 6); Middletown, \$5,000 (July 8); and Frederick, \$200,000 (July 9). Early later claimed that he intended to collect \$200,000 from Hagerstown as well but that McCausland, his emissary, missed a digit. Hagerstown and Frederick paid their ransoms in full; the mayor of Middletown negotiated a reduction from \$5,000 to \$1,500. On July 30, during the retreat from Chambersburg, McCausland halted briefly in Hancock, Maryland, and assessed it \$30,000, but Union pursuers forced him to continue the withdrawal without collecting any money. On this occasion, the Confederates were apparently willing to deal, a flexibility they did not display farther north. Although Early described his final ransom as "compensation," there is no evidence he intended to aid private sufferers with the proceeds. His other levies were justified as requisitions, contributions, or taxes on the Northern population for the use of the Confederate army.



Only the shell of the Franklin County Courthouse remained standing after the raid. (Library of Congress)

had had an opportunity I would have done much more burning in the enemy's country."⁶ Likewise debatable is Early's contention that he set his levy at a reasonable figure to enable the townspeople to redeem their possessions. However finely appointed the homes burned by General Hunter may have been, it is unlikely that their collective worth was \$500,000. The most expensive residence lost in Chambersburg was valued at \$15,000, exclusive of furnishings. The Franklin County Courthouse was appraised at \$45,000. Moreover, Early was incorrect in his statement that Chambersburg was a larger and more prosperous urban center than Frederick and thus presumably able to pay a bigger ransom. Frederick, with a population of 8,000, customarily added the appellation "City" to its name to distinguish itself from its smaller neighbors. The population of Chambersburg was

⁶ Jubal A. Early to Edmund Jennings Lee II, September 26, 1872, Edmund Jennings Lee II Papers, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

only 6,000. The amount paid by Frederick was an onerous burden on the municipal government, which required eighty-seven years to discharge its indebtedness to the five banks that put up the money. Yet the payment expected of Chambersburg, which had one bank, was more than twice as large.⁷ Taken together, these circumstances indicate that Early's intention from the beginning was to destroy the community. They also demonstrate the need for a more satisfactory explanation of the impulses that culminated there in so tragic and explosive a manner.

NORTH OF THE POTOMAC RIVER, the Shenandoah Valley becomes the Cumberland Valley, stretching through Maryland into central Pennsylvania. Scotch-Irish and German pioneers first settled here early in the eighteenth century. The German majority imparted to the region a distinctive ethnic flavor that it enjoys to the present. Founded in 1764 on Falling Spring, a small tributary of the Conococheague River, Chambersburg prospered almost from the moment of its birth. It became the seat of Franklin County, an important early ironworking center, and a junction on the Cumberland Valley Railroad linking Hagerstown, Maryland, with the state capital at Harrisburg. By 1860, its commercial assets included a foundry, an edged tool factory, a paper mill, one bank, two breweries, and four hotels.⁸

By virtue of its location, the town was destined to attract the attention of Confederate forces operating north of the Potomac. Initial contact occurred in the autumn of 1862 as a consequence of one of Major General J. E. B. Stuart's frequent circuits around the Army of the Potomac. Having received orders to reconnoiter the Union army and to destroy the iron railroad bridge across Conococheague Creek, a short distance north of town, Stuart crossed the Potomac at McCoy's Ford on October 10 at the head of 1,800 picked cavalry. Chambersburg, occupied that evening, surrendered without resistance. The following morning, the Confederates plundered a quartermaster depot and attempted unsuccessfully to remove the railroad bridge. Then, proceeding east and south, they recrossed the Potomac near Leesburg on October 12. While this visit was too short to create lasting impressions, it did engage Confederate interest for the first time. As the earliest Southern incursion into Pennsylvania, it received considerable publicity throughout the Confederacy and was widely celebrated as "Stuart's Chambersburg Raid," even though Chambersburg was in no sense its objective.⁹

More significant was the campaign that began in June 1863, as Lee's army surged across the Potomac and advanced down the Cumberland Valley toward Harrisburg. Brigadier General Albert G. Jenkins's cavalymen, the first troops to reach Franklin County, clattered into Chambersburg on June 15 and remained two days. One week later, Lieutenant General Richard S. Ewell, commanding the Second

⁷ Schneck, *Burning of Chambersburg*, 45, 47; Delaplaine, "General Early's Levy on Frederick," 47, 54.

⁸ Paul Swain Havens, *Chambersburg: Frontier Town, 1730-1794* (Chambersburg, Pa., 1975), 21-29, 54, 117-20; Milton Rubincam, "Population Characteristics of the Cumberland Valley in 1860," in Francis Coleman Rosenberger, *The Cumberland Valley of Pennsylvania in the 1860s* ([Chambersburg], Proceedings of the Rose Hill Seminar, June 8, 1963), 67-70; Schneck, *Burning of Chambersburg*, 42-52.

⁹ First Lieutenant Richard Channing Price (Aide-de-Camp, staff of Major General J. E. B. Stuart) to Mrs. Thomas R. Price, October 15, 1862, Richard Channing Price Papers, SHC; R. O. McAdams (2d South Carolina Cavalry Regiment) to His Father, October 24, 1862, Confederate Miscellaneous Papers, SHC; *Official Records*, series 1, vol. 19, part 2, 52-59; H. B. McClellan, *I Rode with Jeb Stuart* (1885; rpt. edn., Millwood, N.Y., 1976), 136-66; Lieutenant Colonel W. W. Blackford, *War Years with Jeb Stuart* (New York, 1946), 164-81.

Corps, occupied the town and established headquarters in the courthouse. Two of his infantry divisions camped close by; the third (Early's) marched along a parallel road some ten miles east through Waynesboro and Greenwood. On June 26, as Ewell's men departed north along the Harrisburg Turnpike, Lieutenant General A. Powell Hill's Third Corps arrived from the south. With Hill came General Lee, who pitched his tent in the woods just outside town and remained there directing the army's operations for the next four days. By June 28, with the arrival of Lieutenant General James Longstreet's First Corps, no fewer than six Confederate infantry divisions held positions in the immediate vicinity. Meanwhile, Ewell's corps had penetrated as far north as Carlisle and as far east as Wrightsville, threatening the state capital. The next day, having learned that the Union army was advancing, Lee began a reconcentration of his forces twenty-five miles farther east, at Gettysburg. Major General George E. Pickett's division, designated the rear guard, remained at Chambersburg until July 2, a circumstance that delayed its arrival on the battlefield and determined its employment in the climactic third day's assault.

During the course of this three-week period, Chambersburg played unwilling host to more than 60,000 Southern soldiers. According to Edwin B. Coddington, a Pennsylvania historian and author of a definitive study of the campaign, no community suffered more from the invasion. There was, he added, a second unique distinction as well: "Chambersburg had the additional dubious honor of being the first and most important testing place for Lee's occupation policies in a territory that the Confederates considered completely alien." Lee's men had encountered Unionist sentiment in Maryland the year before during the Sharpsburg or Antietam campaign. Western Maryland, however, was a border area where the South had many friends. The region beyond the Mason-Dixon line was unquestionably enemy terrain.¹⁰

The Army of Northern Virginia conducted its summer offensive in 1863 in an elevated spirit established by its commanding officer. A proponent of limited warfare, Robert E. Lee believed in sparing civilians unnecessary suffering. In one preinvasion conversation, he promised "to carry on the war in Pennsylvania without offending the sanctions of a high civilization and of Christianity."¹¹ On June 21, as his troops began crossing the Potomac, he issued General Orders Number 72, which forbade injury to private property and set orderly procedures for requisitioning and purchasing supplies.¹² Six days later came an even more specific statement of his principles in General Orders Number 73—issued, as a mocking fate would have it, while the army was headquartered in Chambersburg:

The commanding general considers that no greater disgrace could befall the army, and through it our whole people, than the perpetration of the barbarous outrages upon the unarmed and defenseless and the wanton destruction of private property, that have marked the course of the enemy in our own country . . .

It must be remembered that we make war only upon armed men, and that we cannot take vengeance for the wrongs our people have suffered without lowering ourselves in the eyes of all whose abhorrence has been excited by the atrocities of our enemies, and offending against Him to whom vengeance belongeth.¹³

¹⁰ Edwin B. Coddington, *The Gettysburg Campaign: A Study in Command* (New York, 1968), 159–208, quote 160.

¹¹ Quoted in Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee: A Biography*, 4 vols. (New York, 1935), 3: 55.

¹² *Official Records*, series 1, vol. 27, part 3, 912–13.

¹³ *Official Records*, series 1, vol. 27, part 3, 943.

However naïve this idealism may now seem (and it had its critics even in 1863), there is little doubt that Lee believed in it wholeheartedly. His model of civil-military relations was perhaps best exemplified in a famous quotation: "The forbearing use of power does not only form a touchstone; but the manner in which an individual enjoys certain advantages over others, is the test of a *true gentleman*. The power which the strong have over the weak . . . the forbearing and inoffensive use of all this power or authority, or a total abstinence from it, when the case admits it, will show the gentleman in a plain light." In a recent gloss on this statement, William C. McDonald has shown that Lee throughout his life sought to endow the traditional Southern definition of gentility with deep moral and spiritual properties of his own.¹⁴ There is also ample evidence that his sentiments enjoyed widespread support among the rank and file. "Gen. Lee has issued very stringent orders about private property," noted Lieutenant Colonel Franklin Gaillard of the 2d South Carolina Infantry Regiment. "He is very right . . . [W]e must not imitate the Yankees in their mean acts."¹⁵ Echoed Sergeant Major Preston H. Turner of the 14th North Carolina Infantry Regiment, "I think it is right to show them we are gentlemen."¹⁶ And Sergeant H. C. Kendrick, a soldier in the 9th Georgia Infantry Regiment, doubtless spoke for many others when he wrote, "I feel like retaliating in the strictest sense. I don't think we would do wrong to take houses; burn houses; and commit evry depredation possible upon the men of the North. I can't vindicate the principle of injuring, or insulting the female sex, though they be never so disloyal to our Confederacy and its institutions. Could I ever condescend to the degrading principle of taking from a female's person, a piece of jewelry?, Shall I ever become so thoughtless of my character or forgetful of my raising,? God forbid."¹⁷

Throughout their stay on Pennsylvania soil, the Confederates attempted to live up to their commander's high expectations and their own. Not everyone behaved in a manner above reproach. The worst lapse from propriety was probably the effort to round up runaway and free blacks and to ship them southward into slavery. But commercial destruction was limited to legitimate targets of war such as Thaddeus Stevens's ill-fated Caledonia Iron Works. The army seized military commodities, including thousands of horses and cattle, for which it paid in Confederate currency or requisitions on the government. General Early levied a ransom of \$100,000 on York but allowed the city council to escape with a payment of \$28,600. Most of the looting that occurred involved petty seizures of hats, shoes, fence rails, vegetables, fruit, and other articles that officers and enlisted men alike tended to regard as fair pickings. The vast literature on the campaign contains no mention of rape and only occasional references to other violent crimes. Two

¹⁴ William C. McDonald, "The True Gentleman: On Robert E. Lee's Definition of the Gentleman," *Civil War History*, 33 (June 1986): 119–38, quote 120. But see below, note 52.

¹⁵ Franklin Gaillard (2d South Carolina Infantry Regiment) to David Gaillard, June 28, 1863 (transcription), Franklin Gaillard Letters, SHC.

¹⁶ Preston H. Turner (14th North Carolina Infantry Regiment) to His Parents, June 28, 1863, Preston H. Turner Papers, SHC.

¹⁷ H. C. Kendrick (Company E, 9th Georgia Infantry Regiment) to His Mother, June 8, 1863, H. C. Kendrick Letters, SHC. For additional comment on the endorsement of Lee's policies by the rank and file, see Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 181–82. Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, 148–57, provides an extended discussion of the behavior of Confederate troops during the Gettysburg campaign. Citing General Longstreet and Major John S. Mosby, the famous partisan leader, Mitchell argued that the principal purpose of General Orders Number 73 was not to protect Pennsylvanians but to preserve morale and discipline. He also pointed out that the policy of forbearance was aimed at influencing Northern and foreign opinion. Mitchell's emphasis on military necessity is a valid point but may underestimate the strength of Lee's idealistic appeal.

soldiers were apparently hanged for the murder of an elderly man. Rumors circulated that others had been executed for plundering homes or robbing women of their jewelry. Even Coddington, who titled his chapter on this subject "The Confederates Plunder Pennsylvania," admitted that the local residents' experiences could have been a great deal worse.¹⁸

Confident that they had vindicated their reputation as magnanimous conquerors, many Confederates waxed self-congratulatory, even a bit smug. "[Y]ou may believe that the people was very near skird to death but wee treated them with respect," proudly noted Private Jonathan Fuller Coghill of the 23d North Carolina Infantry Regiment.¹⁹ "I have heard of no case of outrage to person or property," averred Captain Thomas Gordon Pollock, a Virginia staff officer. "Such is Genl Lees order . . . And what Genl Lee says the army does down to the lowest private because they say 'I reckon he knows.'" ²⁰ James B. Sheeran, a Catholic chaplain serving with the 14th Louisiana Infantry Regiment, thought "it was remarkable to see how orderly our men conducted themselves on this march . . . This I think redounds more to the honor of our army than a dozen victories over the enemy on the battlefield."²¹ John Overton Casler, a private in the Stonewall Brigade who was by his own admission a less-than-model soldier, reported a fellow infantryman for stealing a ham. Casler professed himself "as well satisfied as if I had eaten a hearty meal."²² Repeatedly, and at greater length than was probably appreciated, the troops reminded the civilian population of how courteously they were behaving.²³ The legend of Confederate rectitude only grew in the retelling. By postwar times, it had reached truly preposterous extremes. In his memoirs, compiled years after the war, General Early advanced the improbable claim that his men had not touched so much as a single fence rail. His subordinate, Brigadier General John B. Gordon, admitted the destruction of one fence but maintained that he personally returned the horse his men had tried to steal.²⁴

YET THE PRESUMPTION OF SUPERIORITY carries with it the corollary that others are inferior. Over and over, even as they praised themselves, the Confederates also expressed arrogant contempt toward the Pennsylvanians they encountered. Fueling their disdain for Yankee society were corrosive ethnocentric and chauvinistic prejudices, compounded by anger at what they regarded as their unappreciative reception.

The existence of anti-German prejudice in the Confederate army should surprise no one familiar with middle nineteenth-century American social and

¹⁸ Diary entry, Charles Edward Lippitt (Surgeon, 57th Virginia Infantry Regiment), June 28, 1863, Charles Edward Lippitt Book, SHC; Second Lieutenant Iowa Michigan Royster (Company G, 37th North Carolina Infantry Regiment) to Mary Ashley Royster, June 29, 1863, Iowa Michigan Royster Papers, SHC; Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 181; Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, 152–53; Coddington, *Gettysburg Campaign*, 153, 154, 177.

¹⁹ Jonathan Fuller Coghill (Company G, 23d North Carolina Infantry Regiment) to His Family, June 25, 1863, Jonathan Fuller Coghill Papers, SHC.

²⁰ Thomas Gordon Pollock (Assistant Adjutant General, staff of Brigadier General James L. Kemper) to Abram David Pollock, June 30, 1863, Abram David Pollock Papers, SHC.

²¹ *Confederate Chaplain: A War Journal of Reverend James B. Sheeran, c.s.s.r., 14th Louisiana, C.S.A.*, Joseph T. Durkin, ed. (Milwaukee, Wis., 1960), 47–48.

²² John O. Casler, *Four Years in the Stonewall Brigade* (1906; rpt. edn., Dayton, Ohio, 1982), 178.

²³ Hoke, *Reminiscences of the War*, 49; Major Robert Stiles, *Four Years under Marse Robert* (1903; rpt. edn., Dayton, Ohio, 1977), 203.

²⁴ Early, *War Memoirs*, 264; John B. Gordon, *Reminiscences of the Civil War* (New York, 1903), 144–46.

political trends. The rapid increase in both the Irish and German populations during this period produced a substantial nativist backlash throughout the United States. Although the South had only a small ethnic minority, it was by no means immune to the intolerance sweeping the rest of the nation. The Know-Nothing party, which often catered to such bigotry, controlled an estimated 29 percent of the Southern delegation in the House of Representatives during its brief heyday. It strongly influenced politics in several states, among them Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Missouri, and Texas. According to Ella Lonn, who has studied the history of foreigners in the Confederacy, all minorities suffered at the nativists' hands, but none more so than the Germans, who were regarded with particular suspicion because of their alleged proclivities for freethinking, liberal politics, and abolitionism.²⁵

The Civil War only fanned the flames of Southern xenophobia. Many Southerners cherished the belief that the Union army was made up of German mercenaries, just as the British army during the American Revolution had been. In Alexander St. Clair Abrams's novel *The Trials of the Soldier's Wife: A Tale of the Second Revolution* (1864), the villainous merchant and landlord who persecuted the heroine were both described as Germans. Disregarding an impressive record of commitment to the cause, Confederate authorities frequently discriminated against ethnic soldiers and civilians. Some rabid nationalists looked forward to a postwar South freed from foreign as well as Northern influences. Francis Warrington Dawson, a British soldier of fortune who ran the blockade to join the Southern army, described one superior who hoped an independent Confederacy would rid itself of all "d——d foreigners." When criticized for his attitude, the officer responded violently, striking at Dawson with his fist. For Southern nativists, the Gettysburg invasion was no doubt an opportunity to vent their prejudices on an enemy population that was conveniently alien to boot. As the Dawson incident indicated, the potential for violence in this situation existed from the beginning.²⁶

Certainly, many Confederates had little but scorn for the predominantly Teutonic culture of the region through which they were passing. Major General Lafayette McLaws remarked on a meeting with Southern sympathizers in western Maryland: "I was very glad to meet them as I thus had in my mind the contrast between the Southern gentlemen and ladies and the very different species I soon encountered, as I crossed the line into Pennsylvania."²⁷ Chaplain Sheeran discovered similar distinctions between the inhabitants of both sections: "Here you find none of that grace of manners, high-toned sentiment, or intellectual culture that you find in old Virginia. Indeed, with all their wealth they appear little advanced in civilization."²⁸ The supposed contrast between the beauty of the countryside and its low human condition was a common theme. James Peter Williams, a corporal in the Richmond Howitzers, noted that his unit had been "marching constantly & through the finest country I ever laid my eyes on, inhabited by the hardest looking set of people—*abolition Dutch*. We have passed through such a number of little towns that I can't remember the names of half of them but the principal ones were

²⁵ W. Darrell Overdyke, *The Know-Nothing Party in the South* (1950; rpt. edn., Gloucester, Mass., 1968), 91–126, 167; Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy* (1940; rpt. edn., Gloucester, 1965), 417–38.

²⁶ Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 383–416, 420; Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South* (Baton Rouge, La., 1988), 48–49; Francis W. Dawson, *Reminiscences of Confederate Service, 1861–1865*, Bell Irvin Wiley, ed. (1882; rpt. edn., Baton Rouge, 1980), 102–03.

²⁷ Lafayette McLaws to Emily Allison Taylor McLaws, June 28, 1863, Lafayette McLaws Papers, SHC.

²⁸ Sheeran, *Confederate Chaplain*, 47.

Chambersburg & Shippensburg. The former is a place of about 10,000 inhabitants, all Dutch & the meanest looking white people I ever saw.”²⁹ Second Lieutenant James E. Green of the 53d North Carolina Infantry Regiment expressed a similar opinion: “[T]his is a fine country the fields all covered with the finest Wheat I ever saw . . . And the People Generly Ugly. they are a mixed People, Dutch, Irish, &c.”³⁰ Colonel Collett Leventhorpe of the 11th North Carolina Infantry Regiment was even more blunt: “This is the best farming country I almost ever saw. But such stupid, boorish people—genuine Dutch!”³¹

Rebel chauvinism was even more striking than Rebel ethnocentrism. Given their patronizing attitude toward Yankees in general and German Yankees in particular, it is likely that Lee’s soldiers would have regarded Northern women with condescension under any circumstances. But there is an additional clue to the intensity of Confederate feeling on this subject: the demeanor of the women in the various towns along the line of march. As the long gray columns wound through Mercersburg, Shippensburg, Greencastle, and especially Chambersburg, the women filled the windows and sidewalks. They jeered at the passing soldiers’ ragged condition, held their noses at the smell, resolutely turned their backs to the street, sang Union songs, waved Union flags with enthusiasm, and made pointed remarks about Pharaoh’s army and the Red Sea. Captain Dawson, whose horse stumbled on Chambersburg’s cobblestones, sending him sprawling, was vexed to hear a female voice exult, “Thank God, one of those wicked Rebels has broken his neck.” Lieutenant Colonel James Arthur Lyon Fremantle, an officer in the Coldstream Guards who was visiting the Confederate army, felt that the natives regarded the troops “in a very unfriendly manner.” He described Chambersburg women as “viragos” and recorded that they “were particularly sour and disagreeable in their remarks.”³²

On the surface, Lee’s men responded to this treatment with cheers and laughter, bandying words with the civilians or simply ignoring them. But there are frequent hints that the provocation made a stronger impression than the soldiers admitted to:

I often felt as if I was amidst heathen they all looked grim and angry not a wave of Hankerchief was made for us after we left Maryland.

Lieutenant Thomas Frederick Boatwright,
44th Virginia Infantry Regiment³³

²⁹ James Peter Williams (1st Company, Richmond Howitzers) to His Father, June 28, 1863, James Peter Williams Papers, SHC, emphasis in original. The word “Dutch,” a corruption of Deutsch, was a common synonym for “German.”

³⁰ Diary entry, James E. Green (Company I, 53d North Carolina Infantry Regiment), June 25, 1863 (transcription), James E. Green Papers, SHC.

³¹ Collett Leventhorpe (11th North Carolina Infantry Regiment) to Unknown, June 29, 1863, Collett Leventhorpe Papers, SHC.

³² Coddington, *Gettysburg Campaign*, 156–57; Dawson, *Reminiscences of Confederate Service*, 93; James Arthur Lyon Fremantle, *The Fremantle Diary*, Walter Lord, ed. (1863; rpt. edn., London, 1956), 190, 194, 191. The colonel, who included among his remarks the statement that Pennsylvania Germans “speak an unintelligible language” (p. 196), appears to have either shared or mirrored the attitudes of his hosts.

³³ Thomas Frederick Boatwright (Company C, 44th Virginia Infantry Regiment) to Anne E. Boatwright, July 9, 1863, Thomas Frederick Boatwright Letters, SHC.

People [in Greencastle] strong Unionist & looked mad & sullen at our appearance a great many closed doors; stores all closed.

Private Thomas Lewis Ware, 15th Georgia Infantry Regiment³⁴

Nearly a month after the campaign concluded, Colonel Gaillard complained that the people “looked at us with sour faces, long faces, and indifferent faces.”³⁵ Lieutenant Green found the residents of Chambersburg “very grum,” adding that they had nothing to say unless spoken to.³⁶ Underlining this sense of resentment, Colonel Fremantle remarked on “the singular good behavior of the troops towards the citizens” in Chambersburg but noted that “I heard soldiers saying to one another that they did not like being in a town in which they were very naturally detested.” He concluded that the natives seemed not “the least thankful” for Confederate forbearance.³⁷

An even more ominous development was the soldiers’ tendency to dehumanize the women they observed. These comments were frequently coupled with negative remarks concerning the women’s behavior:

At Green Castle on the road to Chambersburg, several young ladies were assembled engaged in scoffing at our men as they passed, but they were treated with contempt or derision. I heard of nothing witty said by any of them. It was made evident however that they were not ladies in the Southern acceptation of the word . . . The people of Chambersburg are decidedly hostile. The men dare not show it but by their looks. The women tried to be sarcastic on various occasions but succeeded in being vulgar only. They are a very different race from the Southerner. There is a coarseness in their manners and looks and a twang in their voices, which grates harshly on the senses of our men.

Major General Lafayette McLaws³⁸

This is a most magnificent country to look at, but the most miserable people. I have yet to see a nice looking lady. They are coarse and dirty, and the number of dirty looking children is perfectly astonishing. A great many of the women go barefooted and but a small fraction wear stockings. I hope we may never have such people . . . Their dwelling houses are large and comfortable . . . but such coarse louts that live in them. I really did not believe that there was so much difference between our ladies and their females. I have seen no ladies.

Major General William Dorsey Pender³⁹

What a race of people! Until yesterday when we reached this place [Carlisle], I have seen nothing approaching to good looks in the women. Real specimens

³⁴ Diary entry, Thomas Lewis Ware (Company G, 15th Georgia Infantry Regiment), June 27, 1863 (transcription), Thomas Lewis Ware Diary, SHC.

³⁵ Gaillard to Maria Porcher, July 17, 1863 (transcription), Gaillard Letters, SHC.

³⁶ Green Diary, June 23, 1863 (transcription), James E. Green Papers, SHC.

³⁷ Fremantle, *Fremantle Diary*, 195, 196.

³⁸ McLaws to Emily Allison Taylor McLaws, June 28, 1863, Lafayette McLaws Papers, SHC.

³⁹ *The General to His Lady: The Civil War Letters of William Dorsey Pender to Fanny Pender*, William W. Hassler, ed. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1965), 254.

of the Dutch boors. The heavy brutish lips, thick drooping eyelids indicate plainly the stupidity of the people.

Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Swift Pendleton, Second Corps staff⁴⁰

The people in the towns seem to stir about as much as usual or more, and behave pretty well, except that now & then the women turn their backs on us, or bring up a decided pout, which as they are naturally very much uglier & coarser than ours, doesn't improve them, in fact it is a trial their faces are not equal to.

Major G. Campbell Brown, Second Corps staff ⁴¹

[P]assed through Chambersburg . . . Stores closed but streets & windows filled in with men and women, the latter very common looking, not to compare with our Southern females . . . Some of the women were very impudent.

Surgeon Charles E. Lippitt, 57th Virginia Infantry Regiment⁴²

I believe I never told you any thign [*sic*] about the Girls of Pennsylvania. Neither is it necessary that I should, for they are the ugliest set of mortals I ever saw, long faced bare footed big nose and every thing else that it takes to constitute an ugly woman. I do not say this out of any disrespect, but because it is the truth.

Private John Alexander Barry, Phillips's Georgia Legion⁴³

Since ancient times, soldiers have attributed subhuman characteristics to their foes. Such trends are always dangerous, for as sociologists Everett C. Hughes and Lewis A. Coser have pointed out, they establish a social climate more conducive to cruelty toward the enemy while simultaneously rationalizing away inconvenient feelings of guilt. According to Hughes, wartime dehumanization can create an unconscious social mandate for oppression, "a distillation of what we may consider our public wishes . . . [together with] a sort of concentrate of those impulses of which we are or wish to be less aware."⁴⁴ The Civil War experience suggests that these tendencies were linked with some frequency to attitudes toward women and to issues of

⁴⁰ Alexander Swift Pendleton (Chief of Staff, Second Corps) to Anzolette Elizabeth Page Pendleton, June 25, 1863, William Nelson Pendleton Papers, SHC.

⁴¹ G. Campbell Brown (Assistant Adjutant General, staff of Lieutenant General Richard S. Ewell) to Hattie S. Brown and Lizinka Campbell Brown, June 25, 1863, Polk, Brown, and Ewell Family Papers, SHC.

⁴² Lippitt Diary, June 27, 1863, SHC.

⁴³ John Alexander Barry (Rifle Battalion, Phillips's Georgia Legion) to Sallie J. Barry, July 26, 1863, John Alexander Barry Letters, SHC. To emphasize his point, Barry included a sketch of a Pennsylvania girl, titled "A Sample." For additional examples of dehumanization, see Colonel Gaillard to David Gaillard, June 28, 1863 (transcription), Gaillard Letters; Ordnance Sergeant George Whitaker Wills (Company D, 43d North Carolina Infantry Regiment) to Lucy Wills, June 28, 1863, George Whitaker Wills Letters, SHC; and the soldiers' opinions quoted in Coddington, *Gettysburg Campaign*, 157; and Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, 150.

⁴⁴ Everett C. Hughes, "Good People and Dirty Work," *Social Problems*, 10 (Summer 1962): 3–11; Lewis Coser, "The Visibility of Evil," *Journal of Social Issues*, 25 (Winter 1969): 101–09. The quotation is from Hughes, 8. Some of the philosophical implications of depersonalization are explored in Martin Buber, *I and Thou*, Ronald Gregor Smith, trans. (New York, 1958). See also the discussion of colloquial language and its relationship to philosophy in William Barrett, *The Illusion of Technique* (Garden City, N.Y., 1978), 64–73. A feminist perspective on the same issue is provided in Robin Lakoff, *Language and Women's Place* (New York, 1975).

deportment. Both Linderman and Glatthaar have cited instances in which the reaction of Southern women to a Northern presence differed dramatically from soldiers' expectations, thereby creating a desire to retaliate that was intended to punish not only disloyalty but "unwomanly" conduct as well. Whether these episodes are indicative of a more widespread pattern of discrimination among Northern troops is uncertain.⁴⁵

THE PERSISTENCE WITH WHICH CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS expressed ethnocentric and chauvinistic sentiments indicates that wartime pressures ignited passions already smoldering beneath the surface of their society. In addition, it is likely that other influences were at work. The behavior of Lee's troops is consistent with what many historians have described as the regional values of the antebellum South, especially the concept of honor. These values constituted an explosive ideology that easily could have aggravated resentment, focused hostility, and even rationalized the eventual outcome. Honor, an ancient complex of beliefs with deep roots in the Indo-European tradition, has characterized many societies past and present. Bertram Wyatt-Brown has argued that in the American South it comprised not only a personal moral code but a social system that created communal order. Honor defined a properly organized society as one in which all classes knew their rightful place and deferred naturally to their superiors. Not surprisingly, it contributed far more to nineteenth-century Southern culture than the courtesy and gentility with which it is usually associated. Southerners believed they had created an ideal society based on honorable precepts, and they never tired of proclaiming its virtues to the outside (and often disbelieving) world.⁴⁶

The harsh reality of the Southern character belied such easy assumptions. The ideology of the Old South was an ethic of white male power, created by the dominant race, gender, and class for the dual purpose of protecting slavery and preserving the status quo. It complacently tolerated the subjugation of anyone the rulers defined as inferior. Black slaves were its most obvious victims, but in fact the spectrum of inferiority was much broader and included practically anyone who was not white, male, native-born, and Protestant. These preconceptions systematically excluded both ethnic groups and women from participation in the power structure.⁴⁷

Studies of Southern women have stressed the centrality of male dominance in preventing any challenge to the slave regime. Masters who demanded absolute obedience from their servants were quick to realize they must require it of their families as well. Mingled love and fear of women were evident in the well-known Southern adulation of ladyhood, which stressed the submissive virtues of restraint,

⁴⁵ Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 195; Glatthaar, *March to the Sea and Beyond*, 71–72. One Illinois soldier claimed, many years after the war, to have burned down the home of a Mississippi woman who spat on him while he was a prisoner. "Thus may it be," the arsonist declared, "with all who descend from their high pedestal of womanhood and disgrace themselves"; *Army Memoirs of Lucius W. Barber, Company "D," 15th Illinois Volunteer Infantry* (Chicago, 1894), 137.

⁴⁶ Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Honor and Violence in the Old South* (New York, 1986), vii–x. This work is an abridgment of *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York, 1982). References in this article are to the shorter work, which focuses on the theme of violence and its relationship to antebellum Southern culture. Additional insights into this theme, together with a useful critique of Wyatt-Brown's work, are provided in Elliott J. Gorn, "'Gouge and Bite, Pull Hair and Scratch': The Social Significance of Fighting in the Southern Backcountry," *AHR*, 90 (February 1985): 38–42.

⁴⁷ Wyatt-Brown, *Honor and Violence*, 4.

abstinence, and self-sacrifice and consequently ensured that women would be at least outwardly subservient to male will. By the middle of the nineteenth century, women in other regions of the country were beginning to question their stereotyped lot with increasing insistence and some small degree of success. Such direct confrontations were virtually unknown in Dixie, however. Indeed, given the intolerance associated with the cult of honor, they would have been extremely dangerous. The Southern woman who flouted traditional mores risked abandoning the protection ladyhood afforded her and subjecting her person to more direct forms of repression.⁴⁸

Southern apologists spelled out these risks in language combining exhortation with thinly veiled threats. William Harper, author of a "Memoir on Slavery," originally delivered in 1837 before the South Carolina Society for the Advancement of Learning, took the common line that civilization was based on hierarchical arrangements in society that produced affection between masters and dependents. With regard to the consequences of improper behavior by women, he was blunt: "Here [in the South], there is that certain and marked line, [below] which there is no toleration or allowance for any approach to license of manners or conduct, and she who falls below it, will fall far below even the slave . . . Not only essential purity of conduct, but the utmost purity of manners, and I will add, though it may incur the formidable charge of affectation or prudery,—a greater severity of decorum than is required elsewhere, is necessary among us."⁴⁹

Even more emphatic was George Fitzhugh, whose *Sociology for the South; or, The Failure of Free Society* appeared in 1854. Fitzhugh, like Harper, believed that reciprocal respect between the races and sexes flourished only in a state of dependency. The slaveowner and patriarch, his character ennobled by the peculiar institution, was "lofty and independent in his sentiments, generous, affectionate, brave and eloquent." These qualities guaranteed the rights of the women under his control. "A man loves his children because they are weak, helpless, and dependent; he loves his wife for similar reasons . . . He ceases to love his wife when she becomes masculine or rebellious." Lest his readers miss this point, Fitzhugh explained it at length:

So long as she is nervous, fickle, capricious, delicate, diffident, and dependent, man will worship and adore her . . . In truth, women, like children, have but one right, and that is the right to protection. The right to protection involves the obligation to obey. A husband, a lord and master, whom she should love, honor, and obey, nature designed for every woman . . . If she be obedient, she is in little danger of mal-treatment; if she stands upon her rights, is coarse and masculine, man loathes and despises her, and ends by abusing her. Law, however well-intended, can do little in her behalf.⁵⁰

Given such themes in the prevailing ethic, the careful distinction drawn by Confederate soldiers between their own "Southern ladies" and the "Northern

⁴⁸ Wyatt-Brown, *Honor and Violence*, 35–38, 85–91. The place of women in Southern society has been studied in numerous sources, including Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830–1930* (Chicago, 1970); Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Women's World in the Old South* (New York, 1982); and, most recently, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988). The relationship between Southern rhetoric and the role of women is explored in Virginia Kent Anderson Leslie, "A Myth of the Southern Lady: Antebellum Proslavery Rhetoric and the Proper Place of Women," in Caroline Matheny Dillman, ed., *Southern Women* (New York, 1988), 19–33.

⁴⁹ William Harper, "Harper's Memoir on Slavery," *The Proslavery Argument, As Maintained by the Most Distinguished Writers of the Southern States* (Philadelphia, 1853), 66.

⁵⁰ George Fitzhugh, *Sociology for the South; or, The Failure of Free Society* (1854; rpt. edn., New York, n.d.), 244, 247, 214–15. See also the commentary in Leslie, "Myth of the Southern Lady," 24, 26–32.

females" of Pennsylvania may be regarded as an observation fraught with more significance than might appear at first glance.

Clearly, Southern honor was a tense, volatile value system, wracked by internal inconsistencies capable of being resolved only within a narrow range of behavior. On the one hand, it was capable of instilling great personal virtue in the individual. Robert E. Lee fashioned from its idealistic elements a code that guided him throughout his life, and thousands of others emulated his example. The Confederate captain who prayed "that I may leave the low, sordid, selfish and mean and strive after the honorable, upright, just, noble and generous" was not simply gushing, as the cynical modern observer might be tempted to suspect, but rather was expressing genuine expectations that he took with complete seriousness.⁵¹ Yet, at the same time, the paradoxes embodied in the ethic were capable of undermining the very virtues it was supposed to maintain. With no conscious irony, Southerners asserted that they guided their lives by the highest ethical standards, while they simultaneously engaged in practicing oppression and inequality. Both sides of the Confederate character were much in evidence during the Gettysburg campaign, and an appreciation of the underlying dichotomy has much to suggest concerning their behavior. General Orders Number 73 and the expressions of rectitude accompanying it reflected one side of this character. The proclivity to brutalize German Americans and women reflected all too obviously the other.⁵²

Soldiers imbued with an ethic of honor would have been unlikely to respond temperately either to mockery or to the perception that their virtuous conduct was insufficiently appreciated. Since time immemorial, profound psychological and symbolic meanings have clustered around the concept of surrender. In his thoughtful study of the origins of Reconstruction, Eric L. McKittrick has observed that submission implies more than mere physical acquiescence to superior force. The conqueror also has deeper psychic needs that must be satisfied by appropriate demeanor on the part of the conquered. In particular, the emotional acceptance of defeat is as important as the actual laying down of arms. Through suitable displays of compliance, the vanquished signify their willingness to submit and in so doing encourage a magnanimous response. As a case in point, McKittrick contrasted Southern intransigence in the wake of Appomattox with Japanese capitulation following World War II. In the former instance, the South's refusal to act out the rituals of defeat prolonged sectional bitterness, poisoned early efforts at reconciliation, and ultimately provoked a punitive response. In the latter, Japanese

⁵¹ *Diary of Captain Henry A. Chambers*, T. H. Pearce, ed. (Wendell, N.C., 1983), 83. Chambers was an officer in the 49th North Carolina Infantry Regiment.

⁵² In this regard, it may be noted that there seem to have been limits even to Lee's humane sensibilities. McDonald wrote that Lee's definition of the gentleman "takes dead aim at the underpinnings of an ethic of honor which tolerated, indeed encouraged, a recourse to violence. Instead of a highly developed sense of insult, his honorable gentleman demonstrates patience; in the place of satisfaction, this man puts kindness and studied forgiveness . . . He obeys an inner moral law rooted in an ethic of humility, following which the courage to fight becomes the courage to endure offense"; "The True Gentleman," 135. It is possible to take exception with this conclusion. While there is no reason to hold Lee responsible for the decision to destroy Chambersburg, it is equally true that he neither denounced it nor reprimanded Early in any way. Lee's writings during and after the war contain not one word of regret that the incident took place. In one postwar letter, Early argued that Lee's silence demonstrated at least tacit endorsement of what he had done: "I gave the order on my own responsibility, but General Lee never in any manner indicated disapproval of my act, and his many letters to me expressive of confidence and friendship forbade the idea that he disapproved of my conduct on that occasion"; Early, *War Memoirs*, 478. Wyatt-Brown, who devoted an extended passage to Lee in his discussion of gentility, noted also that the acquiescence of political and religious hierarchies played an important role in violent group demonstrations to uphold the Southern social order; *Honor and Violence*, 51-61, 188. See below, notes 54-57.

eagerness to reform their society under American direction quickly provided a catharsis for wartime hatred and dehumanization, and defused potential vindictiveness. In both cases, American attitudes toward women appear once again to have played a formative role in determining the occupiers' bearing. Southern ladies virtually defined an antagonistic social climate by rejecting even the most superficial gestures of amity. Japanese women, on the other hand, accepted fraternization freely.⁵³

The Confederate invasion of Pennsylvania was, of course, a Northern "surrender" only in the most limited, temporary sense. Yet the argument is persuasive in this context, too. Antebellum male Southerners regarded public opinion as indispensable to personal honor, a gauge of identity and self-worth. Men measured their reputations by the approbation of an approving world and were touchy about any slight that signified insufficient appreciation. The famous code duello was the most obvious manifestation of this impulse on an individual level. Having placed their ideals and magnanimity on public display during the campaign, Lee's men expected an appropriately grateful response. The failure of the citizenry to reciprocate would thus have been seen as an affront to propriety rendered all the more objectionable because of the inferior status of those responsible for it. Only social equals could engage in the affairs of honor so carefully delineated in the duelists' manuals. But for impudence of lower degree, depending on the gravity of the offense, there were many other gradations of shame and punishment available.⁵⁴

THE MAINTENANCE OF THE SOUTHERN VALUE SYSTEM rested on brute force. The close relationship between violence and Southern culture is a topic that has long fascinated historians.⁵⁵ Honor sanctioned the use of violence, legally or otherwise, against those who were perceived as challenging the established order. This effect was not the product of hypocrisy or self-delusion. On the contrary, it was integral to the honorable society and was often encouraged by the climate of public opinion.

⁵³ Eric L. McKittrick, *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (Chicago, 1964), 31–41. McKittrick acknowledged the obvious limitations of his analogy. The American conquest in World War II heralded a virtually complete emancipation of Japanese women, accompanied by sweeping transformations in their status and condition. The Federal occupation in the postwar South offered Southern women no such incentive for friendly feelings. Nor did relations between American men and Japanese women always run as smoothly as articles in the popular press (on which McKittrick based much of his argument) tended to imply. Nevertheless, the behavior of Japanese women apparently helped reduce tension and hostility in an atmosphere that could easily have been tainted by the racist, dehumanizing propaganda of the wartime years. The American response may also indicate consistency over time in male attitudes toward appropriate female roles. Theodore Cohen, one of the architects of American policy in postwar Asia, discussed fraternization and the clash of cultures in *Remaking Japan: The American Occupation as New Deal*, Herbert Passin, ed. (New York, 1987), 123–28, 135–36. See also John Curtis Perry's comments on dehumanization and fraternization in *Beneath the Eagle's Wings: Americans in Occupied Japan* (New York, 1980), 34–35, 184–87, 209.

⁵⁴ Wyatt-Brown, *Honor and Violence*, 27, 30–32; Dickson D. Bruce, Jr., *Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South* (Austin, Tex., 1979), 21–43; Jack R. Williams, *Dueling in the Old South: Vignettes of Social History* (College Station, Tex., 1980).

⁵⁵ W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York, 1941); John Hope Franklin, *The Militant South, 1800–1861* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956); and the works by Wyatt-Brown, Gorn, Bruce, and Williams already cited analyze Southern violence in the nineteenth century. For the modern context, see Sheldon Hackney, "Southern Violence," *AHR*, 74 (February 1969): 906–25; and Becky L. Glass, "Women and Violence: The Intersection of Two Components of Southern Ideology," in Dillman, *Southern Women*, 191–201. Not all historians believe that the South was inherently more violent or militaristic than the rest of the country. Marcus Cunliffe, *Soldiers and Civilians: The Martial Spirit in America* (Boston, 1968), presents a countervailing opinion. See especially Chap. 10, "A Southern Military Tradition?"

The ethic of honor existed to protect both the conventional order and the status of the ruling elite therein. The white native-born males who occupied the summit of the social pyramid demanded proper respect for their position and reacted defensively to any threat to it. Their automatic reaction to either real or imagined danger was to strike out instantly. As Dickson D. Bruce, Jr., has commented, the threat of violence was greatest when the unwritten rules of society had been broken, necessitating extreme sanctions to restore an appropriate sense of communal order. Coercion was efficacious as well as necessary, a process whereby society affirmed existing authority, defended its security against internal or external threat, and reanimated its attachment to prevailing ethical norms. It also permitted honor to emerge, unscathed and triumphant, from whatever ordeal had momentarily endangered it.⁵⁶

One of the most common instruments of group violence and social control in the Old South was the charivari or "shivaree," a festive, almost ecstatic rite that mingled justice with bacchanalia, releasing tension in spectacle. Its sanctions ranged from mild shaming to deadly vengeance and were frequently accompanied by raucous, inebriated celebrations. The acquiescence, sometimes the supervision, of those who held power was essential to its success. Society's leadership often condemned the charivari, and a few progressives occasionally even attempted to interfere with it, but the majority endorsed its activities either through their participation or their silence. Once in a while, as in the case of a lynching or the aftermath of the Nat Turner rebellion in Virginia in 1831, the charivari exploded in rage and anarchy. But most of the time, as in the case of a tar-and-feathering, it expressed itself in stylized, almost formal rituals, upholding stability by circumscribing how far the participants could go. Its importance was determined by its role in expiating social evil and in defending traditional mores, especially the core values of status and family sanctity. Defense of reputation or true womanhood was typically a potent call to community action. Those who violated the ethics of their sex were likely to encounter a particularly grim fate. Through acts of moral purification involving the sacrifice of one or more victims, virtue was reconfirmed and an object lesson served on anyone who might contemplate future offenses.⁵⁷

If the residents of Chambersburg drew down upon themselves the collective ire of the Confederate army in 1863 by violating Southern standards of propriety, then the destiny that befell them the following year may be understood as a charivari in which the inhabitants of an entire town were brought to account, punished, and humiliated for their conduct. Numerous reports testify to the breakdown of military discipline and to the atmosphere of dark carnival that attended the event. "After the order was given to burn the town of Chambersburg and before," wrote Brigadier General Bradley T. Johnson, who commanded the second of the two participating brigades, "drunken soldiers paraded the streets in every possible disguise and paraphernalia . . . I tried, and was seconded by almost every officer of my command, but in vain, to preserve the discipline of this brigade, but it was impossible; not only the license afforded was too great, but actual example gave them excuse and justification."⁵⁸ Added the local Presbyterian minister, the Reverend J. S. Niccolls, "The ferocity of the Rebel soldiers during this

⁵⁶ Bruce, *Violence and Culture*, 87–88; Wyatt-Brown, *Honor and Violence*, 154, 186.

⁵⁷ Wyatt-Brown, *Honor and Violence*, 187–213.

⁵⁸ *Official Records*, series 1, vol. 63, part 1, 7–8.

affair seems almost incredible. With all their fierce passions unrestrained, they seemed to revel, as if intoxicated, in the work of destruction.”⁵⁹

The diary of J. Kelly Bennette, a hospital steward in the 8th Virginia Cavalry Regiment, provides additional insight into the perceptions of those who did the burning. Young Bennette forded the Potomac in early July with bitterness in his heart at the sight of General Hunter’s numerous depredations. Two pretty Marylanders, who burst into tears at his approach in the approved fashion, momentarily assuaged his thirst for retaliation. “I thought before I crossed the river how heartless I would be toward the Yankee women & all,” he noted, “but fiddlestix when I saw these two girls with tears trembling in their eyes my wrath & spirit of revenge all passed away & I felt like saying or doing anything in the world just to remove their tears . . . Say what you will a lady is a lady be she union or secesh & a *gentleman* will not be long in recognizing the fact.” Only three weeks later, however, Bennette commented approvingly on his comrades’ actions in Pennsylvania and the presumed restoration of order that followed it. “[W]hen reason had time to regain her seat I believe that they all thought as I thought at first; that it was Justice & Justice tempered with mercy . . . That burning *per se* is wrong no one can deny . . . But there may be circumstances under which it is not only *justifiable* but becomes a duty—stern it is true but nevertheless binding.” Bennette equated the reprisal with the protection of Southern womanhood: “We are in this war to defend the *women*—if we try one expedient & it fails we are recreant in our duty if we persevere in that expedient instead of changing the prescription.” He acknowledged that “there were some who having become drunk seemed to glory in destruction,” but he pleaded strong provocation in their behalf.⁶⁰ The formal, ineffective protests by some Confederates in authority, and the silence of General Lee thereafter, the inebriated celebrations, the revelry in destruction, the mingling of the twin themes of saturnalia and justice, and the association of ladyhood with the need for retaliation, all fit the tragic pattern of the charivari and support the interpretation that the raiders viewed their requital in social as well as military terms. This belief would have had the added advantage of rationalizing their conduct within an ethical framework that all understood, thereby mitigating guilt and even permitting them to emerge from their grim work with a renewed sense of virtue.

IT IS NOT LIKELY THAT the average Confederate soldier could have identified, let alone analyzed, the preconceptions leading him to regard Chambersburg as a center of Yankee subversion or to welcome the opportunity to destroy it. Nevertheless, it is hardly surprising that he behaved as he did. In his famous treatise *Vom Kriege* (1833), Carl von Clausewitz speculated that warfare had been forever altered by public involvement in affairs of state and, in consequence, had come closer to achieving its “absolute perfection”—by which he meant a state of pure violence, unrelieved by conventional restraints—than ever before. A cautious scholar, Clausewitz was unwilling to predict whether the democratic nationalism unleashed by Napoleon would lead to even more violent future wars. Yet he was not hopeful, for he believed that the passions of the people, once engaged, could not easily be

⁵⁹ Quoted in Schneck, *Burning of Chambersburg*, 38.

⁶⁰ Bennette Diary, vol. 1, July 5, 1864 (first quotation), vol. 2, July 30, 1864 (remaining quotations), SHC, emphasis in original.

restrained.⁶¹ Alexis de Tocqueville, who toured the United States during the same period, reached similar conclusions about the relationship of warfare to popular will. A democracy, he surmised, would fight with irresistible determination because of the totality of its involvement: "War . . . in the end becomes the one great industry, and every eager and ambitious desire sprung from equality is focused thereon."⁶² Clausewitz and Tocqueville were among the first to realize that total warfare reflects the national characteristics of those fighting it and in a democracy may be shaped by many different forces. As McKittrick has remarked, the moral coercions of such a war arise not from state decree but from consensus within the community. These coercions are "the hardest of all to resist, for no one can really personify their source; they emanate, in the ultimate sense, from 'the people.'"⁶³ Southern soldiers, no exception to this rule, expressed cultural beliefs and assumptions through their behavior. Like warriors in societies everywhere, they attempted to fight their war as an affirmation of their ideals.

As one might imagine, the sources of Confederate conduct are difficult to isolate or to categorize. Some aspects of warfare are universal, with roots deep in the human psyche. Depersonalizing tendencies can be found throughout recorded history. The Civil War also had its particularized elements drawn from the American experience. In Lee's army, dehumanization seems to have been verbalized most frequently in the context of ethnic and chauvinistic prejudices. Whether or not this is a distinctly Southern phenomenon remains to be seen. Federal troops also voiced derogatory opinions of enemy civilians. Their letters and diaries emphasized physical unattractiveness and reinforced familiar Southern stereotypes such as sloth, shiftlessness, and cultural inferiority.⁶⁴ Logically, one would expect to find fewer nativist expressions in Northern writings because the Southern population was less diverse. Further research into the strange synergy of gender, deportment, and violence will be needed before its prevalence in the North can be assessed. Whatever the degree of particularity, the evidence suggests that, among Confederate soldiers at least, the total war mentality was closely linked to social tensions present in nineteenth-century American society.

The ideology of slavery exerted additional influence over men in gray. During the antebellum period, apologists for the peculiar institution made strenuous efforts to construct an alternative regional value system in opposition to the beliefs of the rest of the nation. This ethos enjoyed widespread support among white male Southerners of all conditions. Even in peacetime, maintenance of a social order based on the inhumane values of slavery required force. It is reasonable to suppose that, once unleashed, these values contributed to Southern ferocity while the conflict was underway. In keeping with David Herbert Donald's dictum that Northerners and Southerners were "fundamentally similar, fundamentally part of the same great people," recent studies have tended to stress aspects of behavior that both sides exhibited.⁶⁵ Yet a shared national identity need not preclude the existence of significant sectional differences in outlook. Linderman's provocative

⁶¹ Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, Michael Howard and Peter Paret, ed. and trans., rev. edn. (Princeton, N.J., 1984), 579–94. For further discussion of Clausewitz's concepts, see Theodore Ropp, *War in the Modern World* (Durham, N.C., 1959), 141–42; Raymond Aron, *Clausewitz: Philosopher of War*, Christine Booker and Norman Stone, trans. (London, 1976).

⁶² Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, J. P. Mayer and Max Lerner, eds., George Lawrence, trans. (New York, 1966), 630–32, quote 632.

⁶³ McKittrick, *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction*, 25.

⁶⁴ Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, 90–147.

⁶⁵ Donald, *Liberty and Union*, 121.

thesis—that frustrated courage transformed military morals as the war progressed—may require modification as well. That bitterness and disillusionment were mirrored in incidents such as Chambersburg is evident. The relationship of Civil War soldiers to their society, however, is probably too complex to be encompassed in a single set of values, no matter how persistent they may have been. Scholars will undoubtedly find ample room to disagree over the relative importance of different cultural attributes.

From the Southern perspective, the destruction of Chambersburg was a grave mistake. It only intensified the firestorm of retribution that swept across much of the South in 1864 and 1865. It roused Abraham Lincoln to fury and brought Sheridan to command promising to leave Shenandoah Valley residents with “nothing but their tears.” It doubtless affected Northern actions outside the eastern theater as well. More than a decade after the war, General Sherman claimed it was the South that had instigated a policy of savagery to which he and other Union commanders only reluctantly responded. Sherman cited Lawrence, Kansas, Paducah, Kentucky, and Chambersburg as evidence that “the Rebels were notoriously more cruel than our men. We never could work up our men to the terrible earnestness of the Southern forces.”⁶⁶ Such comments were obviously self-serving. However, by 1864, it was the Union rather than the Confederacy that was capable of dictating the tone of the war and the South that suffered the consequences. In later years, many Confederates recognized their error. The burning “has ever since been condemned by a righteous public opinion,” wrote Colonel William C. Oates, formerly of the 15th Alabama Infantry Regiment, in 1905. Passing judgment on the motives as well as the outcome, he added, “It never pays to do wrong to spite some one else for having acted likewise. This is true of armies as well as individuals.”⁶⁷ But for the Confederacy, this realization came far too late.

⁶⁶ Quoted in John W. Brinsfield, “The Military Ethics of General William T. Sherman: A Reassessment,” *Parameters, Journal of the U.S. Army War College*, 12 (June 1982): 36. Some soldiers in Sherman’s army used Chambersburg as a rallying cry when they burned Atlanta just prior to the March to the Sea. Allen Campbell (1st Michigan Engineers and Mechanics Regiment) to His Father, December 21, 1864, quoted in Glatthaar, *March to the Sea and Beyond*, 139.

⁶⁷ William C. Oates, *The War between the Union and the Confederacy and Its Lost Opportunities* (1905; rpt. edn., Dayton, Ohio, 1974), 390.

Review Article

Freedom Then, Freedom Now:
The Historiography of the Civil Rights Movement

STEVEN F. LAWSON

WHILE THE UNITED STATES tilted in the direction of political conservatism during the past decade, the history of the civil rights movement gained in popular appeal. Martin Luther King's birthday became a national holiday. Hollywood fictionalized the events surrounding the Mississippi Freedom Summer, drawing millions of customers to the box office. The multipart documentary series, *Eyes on the Prize, I and II*, portrayed this history much more accurately and won numerous awards and wide acclaim.¹ Much of this interest can be attributed to the regular cycles of nostalgia that prompt Americans to recall the historical era of their youth. In this instance, memories dredged up turbulent and unsettling times, yet they also harked back to inspirational moments when ordinary people exhibited extraordinary courage. Images of civil rights heroes and heroines making great sacrifices to transform their country and their lives contrasted sharply with the prevailing Reagan-era mentality that glorified the attainment of personal wealth and ignored community health. Returning to civil rights yesteryears made many Americans feel better about themselves and what they might accomplish once again in the future.

This recent popular curiosity about the subject follows on a longer professional concern with charting the course of the civil rights struggle. Scholars who began writing about the movement in the late 1960s and 1970s focused on leaders and events of national significance. They conceived of the civil rights struggle as primarily a political movement that secured legislative and judicial triumphs. The techniques of social history, which were beginning to reconstruct the fields of women's, labor, and African-American history by illuminating the everyday lives of ordinary people, at first left the study of civil rights virtually untouched. Civil rights historians were not oblivious to these new approaches, but the most accessible evidence generally steered them in traditional directions. The documentary sources on which historians customarily drew, located in the archives of presidential administrations and leading civil rights organizations, revealed a political story that highlighted events in Washington, D.C.² Even the oral histories contained in

I wish to thank John Dittmer and Louis Pérez for their assistance and especially Nancy Hewitt for her collaboration.

¹ Sundiata K. Cha-Jua, "Mississippi Burning: The Burning of Black Self-Activity," *Radical History Review*, 45 (1989): 125–36. In addition to *Eyes on the Prize*, a production of Henry Hampton and Blackside, Inc., see also the documentary film by Jo Ann Grant, *Fundi: The Story of Ella Baker* (New York: First Run Films, 1981). For a companion volume to the former, see Juan Williams, *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years, 1954–1965* (New York, 1987).

² Robert L. Zangrando, "Manuscript Sources for Twentieth-Century Civil Rights Research," *Journal of American History*, 74 (1987): 243–51. Carl M. Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction* (New

these depositories, which could have remedied the political and institutional bias in written sources by uncovering the activities of common people at the community level, concentrated instead on civil rights leaders who gained some measure of national prominence.³

A second generation of scholars, writing in the late 1970s and 1980s, sought to reshape civil rights historiography. They questioned whether the civil rights movement could be properly understood as a coalition of national organizations pressuring Washington to correct racial injustices. They suggested that the focal point for investigation should shift to local communities and grass-roots organizations. King and the other well-known players would not disappear from view, but they would take a back seat to women and men who initiated protests in small towns and cities across the South and who acted according to their own needs rather than those of central organizations headquartered in New York, Washington, or Atlanta. Given this reconfiguration of the struggle, the concept of a civil rights movement itself came under scrutiny. Once scholars moved beyond the notion of a protest "orchestrated by national leaders in order to achieve national civil rights legislation" and focused increased attention on grass-roots efforts, Clayborne Carson argued, "black freedom struggle" more fully captured the object of study. More than a matter of semantics, this alternative expression signified that protest activities were not narrowly aimed at obtaining legal victories from the federal government but sprang out of waves of liberationist struggles in black communities. Nothing less was at stake in these battles, Carson asserted, than "to create new social identities for participants and for all Afro-Americans."⁴

In recent years, many researchers have begun pursuing a more interactive model, recognizing the need to connect the local with the national, the social with the political. They are attempting as well to expand these analyses by examining both external influences on the national political struggle, including nongovernmental institutions, such as the media and liberal philanthropic foundations, and the internal dynamics of local movements, including relations between the sexes and the races. In addition, scholars are beginning to reexamine the ideological roots of the freedom struggle, exploring the legal, theological, and political legacies left by leaders and organizations of the 1930s and 1940s. Only by emphasizing the element of struggle—between national institutions and local activists, moderates and radicals, whites and blacks, women and men, predecessors and contemporaries—can we fashion more complete syntheses of the civil rights movement.⁵

The reworkings of civil rights historiography up to the mid-1980s are well illustrated in the eighteen-volume series edited by David J. Garrow. *Martin Luther*

York, 1977); August Meier and Elliot Rudwick, *CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement, 1942–1968* (New York, 1973); Robert Frederick Burk, *The Eisenhower Administration and Civil Rights* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1984); Harris Wofford, *Of Kennedy and Kings: Making Sense of the Sixties* (New York, 1980); Steven F. Lawson, *Black Ballots: Voting Rights in the South, 1944–1969* (New York, 1976); Thomas R. Peake, *Keeping the Dream Alive: A History of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference from King to the 1980s* (New York, 1987); James Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart: An Autobiography of the Civil Rights Movement* (New York, 1985).

³ Kim Lacy Rogers, "Oral History and the History of the Civil Rights Movement," *Journal of American History*, 75 (1988): 567–76. The Civil Rights Documentation Project in the Moreland Spingarn Collection at Howard University was the exception.

⁴ Clayborne Carson, "Civil Rights Reform and the Black Freedom Struggle," in Charles W. Eagles, ed., *The Civil Rights Movement in America* (Jackson, Miss., 1986), 23, 27.

⁵ William E. Leuchtenburg, "The Pertinence of Political History: Reflections on the Significance of the State in America," *Journal of American History*, 73 (December 1986): 585–600.

Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Civil Rights Movement, David J. Garrow, ed. (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson Publishing, 1989). 18 vols. \$1,150.

- Vols. 1–3. *Martin Luther King, Jr.: Civil Rights Leader, Theologian, Orator.*
- Vols. 4–6. *We Shall Overcome: The Civil Rights Movement in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s.*
- Vol. 7. *The Walking City: The Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955–1956.*
- Vol. 8. *Birmingham, Alabama, 1956–1963: The Black Struggle for Civil Rights.*
- Vol. 9. *Atlanta, Georgia, 1960–1961: Sit-Ins and Student Activism.*
- Vol. 10. *St. Augustine, Florida, 1963–1964: Mass Protest and Racial Violence.*
- Vol. 11. *Chicago 1966: Open Housing Marches, Summit Negotiations, and Operation Breadbasket.*
- Vol. 12. *At the River I Stand: Memphis, the 1968 Strike, and Martin Luther King.*
- Vol. 13. *The Highland Folk School: A History of Its Major Programs, 1932–1961.*
- Vol. 14. *Conscience of a Troubled South: The Southern Conference Educational Fund, 1946–1966.*
- Vol. 15. *Direct Action and Desegregation, 1960–1962: Toward a Theory of the Rationalization of Protest.*
- Vol. 16. *The Sit-In Movement of 1960.*
- Vol. 17. *The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee: The Growth of Radicalism in a Civil Rights Organization.*
- Vol. 18. *The Social Vision of Martin Luther King, Jr.*

*King, Jr. and the Civil Rights Movement*⁶ contains a gold mine of both classic and not-so-familiar works on the black freedom struggle. The works range over four decades from the 1950s to the 1980s, with most originating in the last twenty years. Included are published articles, many from journals little used by historians; unpublished doctoral dissertations and master's theses; undergraduate honors essays; and a state investigative agency report. An eclectic series, its contents are spread over the disciplines of history, sociology, political science, journalism, religion, and law. Those familiar with Garrow's own comprehensive trilogy on King will not be surprised by the author's efforts to identify and make readily available many scarcely known but informative sources; indeed, it feels as though the reader

⁶ The volumes in this collection have different titles. Hereafter, the series will be cited as Garrow Series (GS).

is taking a peek into the personal files Garrow used to compile his various works on King.

The collection consists of four volumes on King, three on various aspects of the civil rights movement, six on local communities, two on the sit-ins, two on predominantly white groups that actively supported civil rights, and one on the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Three of the King volumes and the three concerning the movement as a whole mostly reproduce previously published essays in facsimile form. The contents of the remaining volumes have been reset for publication in this series. Eleven of the total consist of collections of sundry items, whereas seven are monographs. Each volume (or set of companion volumes) contains its own index, a very handy guide for a reference work so large.

The material gathered here illuminates the main historiographical themes. Many of the selections, especially the theses and dissertations, furnish observations based on oral histories with local blacks whose contributions have previously received little documentation. As might be expected in a project of this type, some of the essays are redundant, some outdated, and some deservedly overlooked. Fortunately, these are held to a minimum. Garrow briefly introduces each of the volumes and places them in context. Three of the works, those on Montgomery, Birmingham, and St. Augustine, provide insightful introductions by J. Mills Thornton, William D. Barnard, and David R. Colburn, respectively. The dissertations contain updated prefaces by their authors. Of this category, the most deserving of publication by virtue of their style and freshness of interpretation are by Joan Turner Beifuss (the 1968 Memphis sanitation strike), Irwin Klibaner (Southern Conference Education Fund), Emily Stoper (SNCC), and Ira G. Zepp, Jr. (King's philosophical roots).⁷ Experts in the field may offer substitutions and additions, but overall, the series editor has made justifiable selections that should stimulate further research and writing.⁸ For this, scholars and libraries will be appreciative.

YET THE READER MUST BE WARY of the ways that this collection, built as it is on past scholarship, reinforces rather than challenges mainstream themes. Those engaged in key debates for the 1990s, which entail questions of chronology, ideology, community dynamics, gender relations, and leadership, will find sporadic rather than thematic help here.⁹ The theological roots of King's philosophy, for instance, are explored in depth, but the ideological roots of black liberation are barely noted. Beifuss's study of the Memphis sanitation strike in 1968 and the volume on the open housing demonstrations in Chicago during 1966 suggest the intertwining of economic and political agendas in the civil rights struggle, but few of the other works collected here explore this theme. Students of women's role in the movement

⁷ Although they contain useful information and firsthand accounts, James H. Laue, *Direct Action and Desegregation, 1960–1962* (GS 15), and Martin Oppenheimer, *The Sit-In Movement of 1960* (GS 16), both written in the early 1960s, read more like the sociological dissertations they are than polished works of history. Joan Turner Beifuss, *At the River I Stand: Memphis, the 1968 Strike, and Martin Luther King*, was originally self-published by the author in 1985 but did not receive a wide circulation. Aimee Isgrig Horton's study of the Highlander Folk School, originally written in 1971, has been supplanted by John M. Glen, *Highlander: No Ordinary School, 1932–1962* (Lexington, Ky., 1988).

⁸ For a comprehensive bibliography, see Clayborne Carson, *A Guide to Research on Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Modern Black Freedom Struggle* (Stanford, Calif., 1989).

⁹ For some intriguing suggestions regarding future directions for civil rights historiography, see William H. Harris, "Trends and Needs in Afro-American Historiography," in Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *The State of Afro-American History* (Baton Rouge, La., 1986), 152.

or of labor and communist legacies from the 1930s and 1940s will not find many previously hidden gems here. Still, a close reading of these volumes offers more than a trip down memory lane for scholars in the field. By detailing the roads already taken, they can illuminate possible paths toward a new framework for civil rights historiography.

Even Garrow's continued fascination with King, reflected in the title as well as the contents of his collection, inspires some new approaches to the man and the movement. At a time when the nation has apotheosized the Reverend King alongside other revered heroes honored with national holidays, scholars have sought to measure the man and not the icon.¹⁰ The King who emerges from public celebrations is a perennial dreamer, frozen in time at his most famous address during the 1963 March on Washington. Most Americans choose to celebrate and remember King's call for nonviolent, interracial cooperation in the face of festering racial injustices. What has been lost in this popular adulation is the recognition that the most prominent civil rights leader did not remain static in his thinking. Scholars have shown how, late in his career, King himself recognized that "the dream I had in Washington back in 1963 has too often turned into a nightmare," leading to his advocacy of a fundamental restructuring of American society.¹¹

Contributors to these volumes who note the ways in which the persistence of American racism, materialism, and militarism transformed King's vision generally adopt the notion of "two Kings"—the reformer and the revolutionary—to capture the clergyman's shifts in emphases and outlook between the mid-1950s and the late 1960s.¹² Many of the authors included here, however, are more interested in tracing the roots of King's ideology than the trajectory of his politics. Standard accounts of King's intellectual roots have long followed the minister's own discussion of his development in *Stride toward Freedom*, which charted the influence of Henry David Thoreau, Georg Friedrich Hegel, Karl Marx, Walter Rauschenbusch, Reinhold Niebuhr, Mohandas Gandhi, and Edgar Brightman. What this chain of philosophical development omitted was the foundation of King's thinking: the biblical Jesus and the black church. King did not often write about such matters because he aimed his publications mainly at white audiences. But scholars are now highlighting the primary impact of African-American religious experiences on King.¹³

¹⁰ The most significant recent studies include David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York, 1986); Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–1963* (New York, 1988); and "A Round Table: Martin Luther King, Jr.," *Journal of American History*, 74 (1987): 436–81. These authors built on valuable works by Lawrence D. Reddick, *Crusader without Violence: A Biography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York, 1959); Lerone Bennett, Jr., *What Manner of Man: A Biography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Chicago, 1968); David L. Lewis, *King: A Biography* (Urbana, Ill., 1978); Stephen B. Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound: The Life of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York, 1982); and Adam Fairclough, "To Redeem the Soul of America": *The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Athens, Ga., 1987); see also Peter J. Albert and Ronald Hoffman, *We Shall Overcome: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Black Freedom Struggle* (New York, 1990).

¹¹ David J. Garrow, "From Reform to Revolutionary," in David J. Garrow, ed., *Martin Luther King, Jr.: Civil Rights Leader, Theologian, Orator* (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1989), 2: 435 (GS 2).

¹² See Richard Hammer, "The Life and Death of Martin Luther King," in Garrow, *Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 2: 465–78, for an early presentation (1968) of this construction.

¹³ Martin Luther King, Jr., *Stride toward Freedom* (New York, 1958); Stephen B. Oates, "The Intellectual Odyssey of Martin Luther King," in Garrow, *Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 3: 301–20 (GS 3); Ira G. Zepp, Jr., *The Social Vision of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, David J. Garrow, ed. (Brooklyn, 1989) (GS 18); James H. Cone, "Martin Luther King, Jr., Black Theology—Black Church," in Garrow, *Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 1: 203–14 (GS 1). For King's impact on white churches, see James F. Findlay, "Religion and Politics in the Sixties: The Churches and the Civil Rights Act of 1964," *Journal of American History*, 77 (1990): 69–70.

The Garrow collection adds to this approach by offering a number of detailed treatises on King's religious roots. Examples of this revisionism began to appear in the mid-1970s. Paul R. Garber analyzed King primarily as a "Black preacher who saw the modern Black freedom movement as a continuation of an ancient freedom movement in which, according to Exodus, God spoke through Moses, saying, 'Let my people go.'" ¹⁴ Whatever else he became, the Reverend King was foremost a Southern Baptist preacher. College and graduate school exposed him to formal intellectual traditions, but he made sense of them as they related to his upbringing in the home of Baptist ministers and his church-centered community. "The concept of a personal God of infinite love and undiluted power 'who works through history for the salvation of His children,'" Lewis V. Baldwin asserted, "has always been central to the theology of the black Church." ¹⁵ During times of crisis and moments of doubt, King derived strength from his Christian faith and not from schoolbred systematic philosophy. Although Gandhi shaped King's approach to nonviolence, the spirit behind it came from Jesus' Sermon on the Mount. As James H. Cone explained, "black people followed King, because he embodied in word and deed the faith of the black church which has always claimed that oppression and the Gospel of Jesus do not go together." ¹⁶

DIGGING OUT THE ROOTS of King's thinking does not create an either/or proposition that lines up a predominantly Western intellectual tradition against an African-American religious heritage. The Hegelian King might have concluded that it is more likely a both/and situation. As August Meier wrote some twenty-five years ago, King was a master synthesizer who could interpret the African-American struggle for freedom in language that struck responsive chords among blacks and whites. ¹⁷ More recently, scholars have discovered that King liberally borrowed ideas for his sermons and writings from both black and white Protestant ministers, often without attribution, and that his published books were produced with the helping hands of ghostwriters. These findings do not diminish his contribution to the movement, but they do suggest that future researchers will have to look even more carefully to follow the myriad influences on King. ¹⁸

This reappraisal of King's ideological heritage, emphasizing his merger of

¹⁴ Paul R. Garber, "King Was a Black Theologian," in Garrow, *Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 2: 404. For other examples, see Lewis V. Baldwin, "Martin Luther King, Jr., the Black Church, and the Black Messianic Vision," *ibid.*, 1: 1-16; Cone, "Martin Luther King, Jr., Black Theology—Black Church," 1: 203-14; Robert M. Franklin, Jr., "An Ethic of Hope: The Moral Thought of Martin Luther King, Jr.," *ibid.*, 2: 349-59; James P. Hanigan, "Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Images of a Man," *ibid.*, 2: 479-506; C. Eric Lincoln, "Martin Luther King, the Magnificent Intruder," *ibid.*, 3: 611-22; James H. Smylie, "On Jesus, Pharaohs, and the Chosen People: Martin Luther King as Biblical Interpreter and Humanist," *ibid.*, 3: 839-56.

¹⁵ Baldwin, "Martin Luther King, Jr.," 1: 7.

¹⁶ Cone, "Martin Luther King, Jr., Black Theology—Black Church," 1: 207.

¹⁷ August Meier, "On the Role of Martin Luther King," in Garrow, *Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 3: 635-42.

¹⁸ Keith D. Miller, "Martin Luther King, Jr. Borrows a Revolution: Argument, Audience and Implications of a Secondhand Universe," in Garrow, *Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 3: 643-59. Miller viewed King's borrowing of "major themes, literary quotations and other homiletic commonplaces" in a positive light, because it allowed the civil rights leader to communicate with whites in the tried and tested language they understood. Revelations about plagiarism in his doctoral dissertation underscore the problem of disentangling King's ideas from those of his sources. The most promising way of examining this issue appears to be looking at King's writings as derived from the oral traditions of the black church in which, according to Miller, words were not defined as commodities. See David J. Garrow, "Martin Luther King, Jr.: Borrowing Trouble," *Washington Post*, National Weekly Edition (November 26-December 2, 1990): 25.

seemingly disparate legacies, suggests that we might usefully reconsider the concept of “two Kings” that has been employed to explain shifts in his political vision. Even in the late 1960s, King abandoned neither his commitment to nonviolence and integration nor his core religious ideas and humanistic values. The great strength of King was his ability to adapt old ideals to changing situations. As demonstrated by Beifuss in her study of the Memphis sanitation strike, King’s doubts about capitalism did not so much alter as deepen in response to urban revolts that highlighted the persistence of poverty.

As early as his seminary days at Crozer, King “thought the capitalistic system was predicated on exploitation and prejudice, poverty, and that we wouldn’t solve these problems until we got a new social order.”¹⁹ In his first speech to a mass meeting during the Montgomery bus boycott, King signaled the profound changes that would have to sweep through American society. “We the disinherited of this land, we who have been oppressed so long, are tired of going through the long night of captivity,” he thundered, “[a]nd now we are reaching out for the daybreak of freedom and justice and equality.”²⁰

The recognition that King embodied both moderate and militant political possibilities suggests a further recasting of civil rights historiography that has emphasized “two movements.”²¹ Here the Freedom Summer of 1964 and the passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965 have served as the crucial markers. When neither interracial grass-roots activism nor federal legislation ushered in the “beloved community” of black and white together, SNCC militants replaced the slogan of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), “freedom now,” with “black power.” At the same time, rebellions erupted in northern ghettos and for several years became an annual summer event. The failure of nonviolent protest to achieve results among economically depressed blacks in Chicago in 1966, the escalation of the Vietnam War, the assault of the FBI against black militants at home, and the concurrent retreat of the federal government in fighting the War on Poverty split civil rights forces and gave national prominence to the freedom struggle as defined in terms of black consciousness and autonomy.²²

Yet here, as with King, the notion of a bifurcated identity may distort as much as it illuminates. Among those labeled moderate for their pursuit of legal and constitutional efforts in the late 1960s were women and men whose very lives were threatened for advocating the same goals in earlier decades. In the South, moreover, “black power” continued to mean electoral power for many rural blacks long after it took on other connotations in northern cities. And, though eschewing Marxism on both philosophical and religious grounds, many activist black preachers followed King in his move toward a version of democratic socialism rooted in Christianity. Their views presaged the liberationist theology of insurgent Latin American clergy; they spoke out forcefully against the Vietnam War as an immoral and colonialist adventure.²³ By 1968, “moderate” civil rights leaders were prepar-

¹⁹ J. Pious Barber quoted in Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 43.

²⁰ Vincent Gordon Harding, “King and the Future of America,” *Journal of American History*, 74 (1987): 473.

²¹ Winifred Breines, “Whose New Left?” *Journal of American History*, 75 (September 1988): 528–45.

²² In addition to the Garrow Series volume, *Chicago 1966* (GS 11), see Alan B. Anderson and George W. Pickering, *Confronting the Color Line: The Broken Promise of the Civil Rights Movement in Chicago* (Athens, Ga., 1986). On the FBI, see Kenneth O’Reilly, “Racial Matters”: *The FBI’s Secret File on Black America, 1960–1972* (New York, 1989); and David J. Garrow, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.: From “Solo” to Memphis* (New York, 1981).

²³ Adam Fairclough, “Was Martin Luther King a Marxist?” in Garrow, *Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 1: 301–09; J. Mills Thornton, “Commentary,” in Eagles, ed., *Civil Rights Movement*, 150.

ing a new march on Washington—this time on the side of poor people—that promised to increase the scale of civil disobedience and disruption. In addition, if moderates were willing at times to adopt militant methods and goals, it would become apparent by the 1980s that many former SNCC militants—including John Lewis, Julian Bond, and Marion Barry—were willing to step back from the threatening definitions of “black power” and embrace electoral solutions to second-class citizenship.

Once we shift the focus to shared rather than divisive elements in the struggle, two points of convergence are particularly visible. The first is the international concerns of all segments of the movement. Members of SNCC and later the Black Panthers self-consciously embraced a Third World perspective, demonstrated in their attire, hairstyles, names, and music as well as their political agenda. Leaders in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), SCLC, and other civil rights organizations also attended to issues in Africa, Latin America, and Asia; nor was this only a response to their more militant counterparts. King’s critique of the Vietnam War and neocolonialism after 1965 was foreshadowed by a sermon he delivered in the second year of the Montgomery boycott. He predicted “the birth of a new age” for people of color throughout the world who had “lived for years and centuries under the yoke of foreign power.”²⁴

This connection between racial injustice around the globe and in the United States was paralleled by a second shared concern of black activists: the link between discrimination and poverty. The economic issues that gained prominence in King’s efforts after 1965 were long a part of the civil rights agenda. The backbone of the Montgomery boycott, the domestics and seamstresses who daily rode the buses to work, viewed economic woes and political disfranchisement as deeply intertwined. And the woman whose act of defiance initiated the boycott, Rosa Parks, traced her organizational roots not only to the NAACP but also to the Highlander Folk School, where radical labor activists had been training community organizers since the depression decade.²⁵ The man who bailed her out of jail following her arrest, E. D. Nixon, was not only a member of the NAACP but also of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Scholars of African-American history have begun to scrutinize more closely the ways in which the shared economic and political concerns evident in earlier decades, particularly as embodied in the radical wing of the labor movement and Communist party alliances with local black activists, provided ideological inspiration and even personnel to the postwar movement. These issues are largely missing from the Garrow Series but have been explored in recent works by Robin D. G. Kelley, Robert Korstad and Nelson Lichtenstein, and Karen Sacks.²⁶ As Kelley pointed out, when SNCC workers ventured into Lowndes County, Alabama, in 1965 to register voters, they revived, albeit unknowingly, a militant tradition established by Communist organizers thirty years earlier.

²⁴ James H. Cone, “Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Third World,” *Journal of American History*, 74 (1987): 456.

²⁵ Aldon D. Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York, 1984), 51–52, 148–49; Jo Ann Gibson Robinson, *The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Women Who Started It: The Memoir of Jo Ann Gibson Robinson*, David J. Garrow, ed. (Knoxville, Tenn., 1987).

²⁶ Robin D. G. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists during the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990); Robert Korstad and Nelson Lichtenstein, “Opportunities Found and Lost: Labor, Radicals, and the Early Civil Rights Movement,” *Journal of American History*, 75 (December 1988): 786–811; Karen Sacks, *Caring by the Hour: Women, Work, and Organizing at Duke Medical Center* (Urbana, Ill., 1988), chap. 2. See also Gerald Horne, *Communist Front: The Civil Rights Congress, 1946–1956* (East Rutherford, N.J., 1988).

The Garrow Series takes 1954–1955 as the starting point of the struggle, as does most previous scholarship and such powerful visual records as *Eyes on the Prize*. Though made for good reason—the Supreme Court’s landmark *Brown vs. Board of Education* ruling of 1954 and the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955—the decision to locate the beginning of the civil rights struggle in the midst of the McCarthy era may have led scholars to echo the silences imposed by anticommunist crusaders. Given the danger for activists of this era in owning up to previous affiliations with leftist movements, closer investigation of the backgrounds of grass-roots activists will be needed before evidence of links between post-*Brown* civil rights struggles and earlier radical campaigns emerges. Garrow’s inclusion of Irwin Klibaner’s dissertation on the Southern Education Conference Fund (SCEF) is especially welcome because it underscores the radical roots of the civil rights movement and the difficulties in sustaining support against anticommunist attacks orchestrated by state and federal authorities.

BY AIMING THEIR SIGHTS at the grass-roots level, where detailed examination of the culture of black communities is possible, scholars can address not only the legacy of black radicalism but also the larger and equally critical issue of whether the freedom movement of the 1950s and 1960s continued a previous protest tradition or started a new one. In one sense, the steady efforts of the NAACP since its founding in 1909 provide ample evidence of an unbroken line of challenges to racial discrimination in the twentieth century.²⁷ But the distinguishing feature of the freedom struggle emerging in the 1950s was the use of “direct action” techniques in villages, towns, and cities throughout the South. New organizations or rejuvenated chapters of old ones guided these assaults on the racial status quo in their local areas, apparently signaling a distinct break with the past.²⁸

The argument for discontinuity was most forcefully presented by August Meier and Elliot Rudwick in a wide-ranging essay first published in 1976. They concluded that, despite a long and varied tradition of protest throughout African-American history, “the use of [nonviolent] direct-action tactics has been episodic and characterized by sharp discontinuities.”²⁹ Each generation of black dissenters, they claimed, acted in response to current situations without drawing on history for guidance. Indeed, protesters usually initiated their struggles unaware they were repeating tactics that had been used before.³⁰

The case for continuity, however, has received substantial support in recent

²⁷ A comprehensive history of the NAACP remains to be written. In the meantime, see Charles Flint Kellogg, *NAACP* (Baltimore, Md., 1967); Roy Wilkins with Tom Mathews, *Standing Fast* (New York, 1982); Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice* (New York, 1975); Mark V. Tushnet, *The NAACP’s Legal Strategy against Segregated Education, 1925–1950* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1987); B. Joyce Ross, *J. E. Spingarn and the Rise of the NAACP, 1911–1939* (New York, 1972); Gilbert Ware, *William Hastie: Grace under Pressure* (New York, 1984); Genna Rae McNeil, *Groundwork: Charles Hamilton Houston and the Struggle for Civil Rights* (Philadelphia, 1983); and Robert L. Zangrando, *The NAACP Crusade against Lynching, 1909–1950* (Philadelphia, 1980).

²⁸ Charles U. Smith and Lewis M. Killian, “The Tallahassee Bus Protest,” in David J. Garrow, ed., *We Shall Overcome: The Civil Rights Movement in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s* (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1989), 3: 1017–39 (GS 6).

²⁹ August Meier and Elliot Rudwick, “The Origins of Nonviolent Direct Action in Afro-American Protest: A Note on Historical Discontinuities,” in Garrow, *We Shall Overcome*, 3: 908.

³⁰ However, once an innovative tactic appeared, it spread in waves to other nearby locales; see Carl R. Graves, “The Right to Be Served: Oklahoma City’s Lunch Counter Sit-ins, 1958–1964,” in Garrow, *We Shall Overcome*, 1: 283–97 (GS 4).

years, building particularly on William H. Chafe's path-breaking study of Greensboro. Taking a life-cycle approach to local history, Chafe traces several generations of protest in the North Carolina city and finds important linkages from one era to another. An NAACP youth group established in the 1940s furnished participants for the sit-ins of the 1960s. Youngsters educated in black public schools during the 1950s joined the ranks of demonstrators in the 1960s. Two of the original four sit-in protesters attended the church of a clergyman who used his ministry to keep the message of freedom alive throughout the 1950s.

Chafe's approach must be applied to many other locations before we can gauge the various ways that protest movements emerged from the rich cultural heritage of black communities.³¹ Garrow's collection offers studies on Montgomery, Birmingham, Atlanta, St. Augustine, Chicago, and Memphis, in each of which the traces of earlier crusades can be detected, often as faint but significant imprints on later struggles. These studies spotlight the importance of indigenous freedom struggles as well as of individuals whose courage was fired by their earlier participation in radical organizations and grass-roots agitation. Among the civic and religious leaders who propelled the movement day by day, year in and year out, were many whose earliest efforts were linked to racially progressive organizations prior to the *Brown* decision. In Montgomery, this included not only Rosa Parks and E. D. Nixon but also the Reverend Vernon Johns. Even though he was replaced in the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church pulpit by King before the boycott erupted, he had worked vigorously against racial injustice throughout his four-year pastorate.³²

Much the same situation existed elsewhere. In Atlanta in 1960, Lonnie King (no relation to Martin) and Julian Bond, students at Morehouse College, cleverly orchestrated sit-in demonstrations that led to the well-publicized arrest of Dr. King and created a political crisis for candidates during the presidential election campaign. Birmingham produced the fearless Fred Shuttlesworth, whose Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights encountered bombs, bullets, and bricks years before the massive street demonstrations of 1963 led by the SCLC.

The local case histories included here reinforce the claims of sociologists Doug McAdam and Aldon D. Morris that black communities that mobilized their internal resources and marshaled them toward liberationist ends in the late 1950s and early 1960s were not reacting to discrimination either randomly or haphazardly. Rather, they were responding through established organizations and developing lines of communication. Underscoring the importance of black churches, colleges, and civic groups in fostering and maintaining a protest network, Morris concluded that the "sit-ins became a tactical innovation within the movement because they fit into the framework of the existing internal organization."³³ His conclusion is echoed in a recent essay by sociologist Lewis M. Killian demonstrating the ways in which seemingly spontaneous civil rights protests occurred within the context of preexisting organizations.³⁴

³¹ William H. Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom* (New York, 1981); see also Robert J. Norrell, *Reaping the Whirlwind: The Civil Rights Movement in Tuskegee* (New York, 1985).

³² Branch, *Parting the Waters*, chap. 1.

³³ Aldon D. Morris, "Black Southern Sit-In Movement: An Analysis of Internal Organization," in Garrow, *We Shall Overcome*, 3: 953; see also Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*; Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency* (Chicago, 1982).

³⁴ Lewis M. Killian, "Organization, Rationality and Spontaneity in the Civil Rights Movement," in Garrow, *We Shall Overcome*, 2: 513, 514 (GS 5).

Two other monographs in the Garrow Series—Klibaner's on SCEF and Aimee Isgrig Horton's on the Highlander Folk School—also focus on the pre-*Brown* roots of the freedom struggle. Employing an institutional rather than a community-based approach, they too demonstrate that new groups and tactics, which seemed to appear spontaneously, actually emerged out of established organizations. At the same time, older groups and organizations were revitalized and transformed by newer ones as both joined in pursuit of common objectives. Before *Brown* and Montgomery, a tiny band of southern white racial progressives was committed to remaking their region along egalitarian racial and economic lines. Small in number, they were plentiful enough to form SCEF (and its predecessor, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare) and the Highlander Folk School. Their neighbors scorned them, and the authorities Red-baited them with charges of subversion. Despite their travail, liberal white southerners managed to provide valuable support for the movement through fund raising, education, and organizing.³⁵

By focusing on racially progressive whites, these studies highlight the diverse attitudes held by the South's dominant race. The bedsheeted bigotry of the Ku Klux Klan and the tie and jacket prejudice of the White Citizens' Councils have been ably described.³⁶ Yet many white communities were not monolithic. In a perceptive analysis of Montgomery, J. Mills Thornton argued that one cannot chart the ebb and flow of black protest without understanding the racial dynamics of the white community.³⁷ Whites usually lined up behind the banner of racial solidarity, but they also quarreled among themselves about how to respond to political challenges. Fearing that racial violence would interfere with their plans for urban economic redevelopment, the moderate white civic, business, and political leaders preferred to keep the peace through the give and take of biracial negotiation, for which they came under attack from obstructionist hard-liners.

Community histories are especially valuable in uncovering the coalitions and conflicts within and between black and white communities. The communities spotlighted in the Garrow collection display the same matrix of historical roots and contemporary organizations, civic and religious leadership and mass followings, political demands and economic goals. Together, they reveal many unheralded individuals who supplied indispensable leadership in initiating, directing, and keeping alive local protest activities through the network of black church, civic, and business organizations. Their lives demonstrate that blacks were not simply victims of separate and unequal policies; rather, they retained a measure of social, economic, and political autonomy that under the proper conditions could fuel demands for equality and power.³⁸

³⁵ Irwin Klibaner, *Conscience of a Troubled South: The Southern Conference Educational Fund, 1946–1966*, David J. Garrow, ed. (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1989) (GS 14); Aimee Isgrig Horton, *The Highlander Folk School: A History of Its Major Programs, 1932–1961*, David J. Garrow, ed. (Brooklyn, 1989) (GS 12). See also Thomas A. Krweger, *And Promises to Keep: The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 1938–1948* (Nashville, Tenn., 1967).

³⁶ David M. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan* (New York, 1981); Neil McMillen, *The Citizens' Council: Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction, 1944–1964* (Urbana, Ill., 1971); Numan V. Bartley, *The Rise of Massive Resistance* (Baton Rouge, La., 1974).

³⁷ J. Mills Thornton, "Challenge and Response in the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955–1956," in David J. Garrow, ed., *The Walking City: The Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955–1956* (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1989), 323–79 (GS 7); David R. Colburn, *Racial Change and Community Crisis: St. Augustine Florida, 1877–1980* (New York, 1985); Elizabeth Jacoway and David R. Colburn, *Southern Businessmen and Desegregation* (Baton Rouge, La., 1982); Stephen L. Longenecker, *Selma's Peacemaker: Ralph Smeltzer and Civil Rights Mediation* (Philadelphia, 1987).

³⁸ On this theme, see Neil R. McMillen, *Dark Journey: Black Mississippians in the Age of Jim Crow* (Urbana, Ill., 1989).

Nevertheless, blacks' autonomy of action along with the breadth of their political and social agenda ensured that conflict as well as community would emerge within the black freedom movement. Conflicts occurred on several levels. Local blacks hoped to gain national attention by calling in recognized leaders such as King, but disagreements developed between community activists and outside leaders over when and at what cost a settlement should be reached. In campaigns such as those in Birmingham, the SCLC sought mainly to convince national lawmakers to enact legislation eradicating de jure racial discrimination and characteristically left the scene upon accomplishing this mission. Black locals benefited from the legislation thus secured, but they were deprived of vital support for sustaining their own organizations.³⁹

Whatever tensions may have existed, local blacks clearly ignited struggles to which King reacted. In St. Augustine, Dr. Robert Hayling, a dentist and a leader of the local NAACP, mobilized protests against segregation and courageously fought the Klan for a year before calling King for assistance in 1964. When King turned northward to Chicago in 1966, he stepped onto fertile territory already plowed by Al Raby and the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations. In Memphis in 1968, black sanitation workers in alliance with civil rights veterans such as James Lawson precipitated the struggle that brought King to that city to fight his final battle.

Crisis-induced unity did not remove underlying differences over strategy and tactics among black civil rights activists that stemmed from generational, ideological, and economic cleavages. Predictably, they resurfaced after victory was achieved. These splits were not always destructive, however. Jack L. Walker, investigating the Atlanta sit-ins of 1960, concluded that the division of labor between black student activists and more cautious adult negotiators brought about a peaceful and substantial resolution to the conflict.⁴⁰

AS COMMUNITY STUDIES REVEAL THE MASSES of individuals at the heart of the movement, the efforts of women have been recovered alongside those of men. In general, racial solidarity seems to have muted sexual conflict within the freedom struggle. And, where gender differences did emerge, they might have provided some of the same advantages as did the differences between young militants and older moderates outlined by Walker. Yet any definitive analysis of gender relations in the movement awaits basic research on female participants, leaders, and followers.

Reading through the diverse works in the Garrow Series, one finds the names of numerous women who made important contributions to the movement. Jo Ann Robinson, Ella Baker, Diane Nash, Fannie Lou Hamer, Septima Clark, and Rosa

³⁹ Glenn T. Eschew, "The Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights and the Birmingham Struggle for Civil Rights, 1956–1963"; and Lee E. Bains, Jr., "Birmingham 1963: Confrontation over Civil Rights," both in David J. Garrow, ed., *Birmingham, Alabama, 1956–1963: The Black Struggle for Civil Rights* (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1989), 3–114 and 151–289 (GS 8) respectively.

⁴⁰ Jack L. Walker, "The Functions of Disunity: Negro Leadership in a Southern City," in David J. Garrow, ed., *Atlanta, Georgia, 1960–1961: Sit-Ins and Student Activism* (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1989), 17–29 (GS 9). On cleavages in Mississippi, see John Dittmer, "The Politics of the Mississippi Movement," in Eagles, *Civil Rights Movement*, 65–93; and John R. Salter, Jr., *Jackson, Mississippi: An American Chronicle of Struggle and Schism* (Hicksville, N.Y., 1979). For contrasting views about cooperation and conflict in the movement, see Nancy J. Weiss, "Creative Tensions in the Leadership of the Civil Rights Movement," and David J. Garrow, "Commentary," in Eagles, *Civil Rights Movement*, 39–64.

Parks are some of the more prominent figures whose efforts are recorded here. Nevertheless, we need systematic studies of how ordinary women, in their roles as mothers, wives, workers, churchgoers, and professionals affected the nature of the movement.⁴¹ Indeed, there are important connections to be made between the black church as the institutional bedrock of civil rights protest and the significant place of women inside it.

When *Eyes on the Prize* broadcast an episode on the Montgomery bus boycott, film footage revealed the extensive presence of women at mass meetings and on the streets walking to work. However, the narration, as in most scholarly studies, failed to analyze the sexual politics of racial struggle. A doctoral dissertation by Steven M. Millner in 1981 suggests that the heavy involvement of women stemmed, in part, from the fact that black females outnumbered black males in Montgomery's population and rode the bus much more frequently than did men. Moreover, the rude behavior black women suffered from white male drivers was doubly insulting by virtue of their sex and race. Rosa Parks's arrest galvanized the black community, in part, because she had a reputation as both an activist and a "lady." Yet, on occasion, Montgomery's female activists chose "unladylike" behavior to exhibit their passion for equality. When black male leaders were arrested for violating an anti-boycott law, for instance, a group of older women came to the courthouse, "wearing men's hats and dresses rolled up," and warned a gun-toting policeman who tried to disperse them: "[We] don't care what you got. If you hit one of us, you'll not leave here alive." It will take further research to uncover the multiplicity of roles women played in Montgomery alone.⁴²

The most notable controversy concerning women in the larger freedom struggle focuses on SNCC. Sara Evans has argued that many of the white women who worked with SNCC in the Deep South later became instrumental in developing the women's liberation movement. She attributed the awakening of their feminist consciousness to a variety of factors: the egalitarian ethos of SNCC, the inspiration of black women in local communities who provided the movement with strong female role models, and the revolt against male chauvinist attitudes that relegated women to conventional female tasks. Only the third argument has produced disagreement. Mary King, a SNCC staffer who along with Casey Hayden drew up a feminist manifesto in 1965 critical of sexism within the organization, has recently claimed that Evans misinterpreted the meaning of this protest. King insists that she and Hayden were not complaining about their role as women in SNCC but were questioning whether the civil rights movement could tolerate "differing political and social concerns, as various groups and, in our case, women defined them."⁴³ Reconciling King's contemporaneous and retrospective statements remains problematic, but scholars are beginning to measure the impact of SNCC on the lives of

⁴¹ One important contribution in this area is Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *Black Women in the United States*, vol. 16 of Vicki L. Crawford, Jacqueline Rouse, and Barbara Woods, eds., *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers* (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1990).

⁴² Steven M. Millner, "The Montgomery Bus Boycott: A Case Study in the Emergence and Career of a Social Movement," in Garrow, *Walking City*, 485, 579; Robinson, *Montgomery Bus Boycott*. For studies of women in other locales, see Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (New York, 1984); Charles Payne, "Ella Baker and Models of Social Change," *Signs*, 14 (1989): 885–99; Daisy Bates, *The Long Shadow of Little Rock: A Memoir* (Fayetteville, Ark., 1987); Anne Moody, *Coming of Age in Mississippi* (New York, 1968); and Cynthia Stokes Brown, ed., *Ready from Within: Septima Clark and the Civil Rights Movement* (Navarro, Calif., 1986).

⁴³ King, *Freedom Song*, 460. Sara Evans's arguments appear in her *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (New York, 1980).

black and white women in order to determine just how much conflict grew out of gender as distinct from race differences.⁴⁴

One fruitful approach to the controversy over women's treatment within SNCC may be to focus on the way in which women helped forge the unique character of the organization and then worked to sustain their place within it. Ella Baker is widely acclaimed for her critical role in bridging generational divides and in shaping the structure and style of SNCC. Still, no full biography of Baker exists. Such a work might usefully draw on Karen Sacks's study of union organizing among both black and white hospital workers at Duke Medical Center. Sacks argued that, in large part, it was women's and men's different definitions of leadership that led to their particular roles in community struggles. Women in the Duke struggle focused on creating and sustaining support networks; men on drafting statements, controlling the highest organizational offices, and serving as public spokesmen. Because men's definition more closely fit that of the media, they were perceived by outsiders as the preeminent leaders of the movement.⁴⁵

The emphasis in SNCC on establishing and sustaining community networks and encouraging grass-roots leadership supplied a ready arena in which women could flourish. And it is not surprising that Baker should have served as the midwife at the moment of SNCC's birth. Other women also felt at home with SNCC's style of activism and organization. But tensions could be expected to surface nonetheless because, even with all the important positions held by women, men most often spoke to the public and controlled the majority of formal leadership positions. Moreover, the turn toward "black power" after 1965 enhanced the status of masculine forms of militancy as it muted feminine elements of organizing within SNCC, particularly as black power moved north.

Clearly, most women thrived in SNCC, as did many men, during those years when a female style of activism and leadership prevailed. Indeed, it was perhaps the combination of a feminine model of organizing—at which men like Bob Moses excelled—with a masculine model of leadership—which women like Fannie Lou Hamer learned to use—that lent SNCC its uniqueness and force. SNCC was, after all, the civil rights group with the shortest life span but the greatest transformative power.

From its beginnings in 1960, the group recognized the truth of Baker's advice to fight for "more than a hamburger" and attacked the very structure of racial subordination. SNCC fieldworkers encountered brutal forms of white repression in remote sections of the Deep South. They experienced firsthand the abject poverty that kept rural blacks in virtual bondage. The iconoclastic group considered the NAACP too stodgy, criticized the SCLC's charismatic leadership style, and snickered at Dr. King as "de lawd."⁴⁶ SNCC also clashed with sympathetic northern white liberals and national government officials who tried to compromise their political objectives. Starting out idealistically committed to nonviolence and an

⁴⁴ Evans herself suggested that black and white women in SNCC had different perceptions of their roles and situations within the organization. She quoted Jean Wiley, a black member: "If white women had a problem in SNCC it was not just a male/woman problem . . . it was also a black woman/white woman problem. It was a race problem rather than a woman's problem"; Evans, *Personal Politics*, 81. See also Martha Norman, "Brightly Shining Lights: SNCC and the Woman Question," paper presented at Southern Historical Association meeting, Lexington, Kentucky, November 10, 1989.

⁴⁵ Sacks, *Caring by the Hour*, 119–21, 138–41. See also Charles Payne, "Men Led, But Women Organized: Movement Participation of Women in the Mississippi Delta," in Crawford, Rouse, and Woods, *Women in the Civil Rights Movement*, 1–11. Barbara Ransby is currently working on Ella Baker.

⁴⁶ John A. Ricks, "'De Lawd' Descends and Is Crucified: Martin Luther King, Jr. in Albany, Georgia," in Garrow, *We Shall Overcome*, 3: 985–96.

interracial beloved community, by the late 1960s SNCC's battle-toughened troops endorsed retaliatory self-defense, black nationalism, and the overthrow of capitalism. The group's rising identification with Third World anticolonial struggles made it an early, outspoken critic of the Vietnam War.

Like King, SNCC has attracted many thoughtful chroniclers. Howard Zinn, Clayborne Carson, James Forman, Cleveland Sellers, and Mary King have written noteworthy accounts charting SNCC's trajectory from reform to revolution over the course of the 1960s.⁴⁷ To this list, the Garrow Series adds political scientist Emily Stoper. Her work helps explain why SNCC's strength also made the group vulnerable to collapse during the late 1960s. She categorizes SNCC as a "redemptive organization," whose members exhibited a "moral ethos" of righteous anger forged from mutually shared experiences of struggle and persecution. Having undergone ordeals by fire in harsh southern battlefields, SNCC staffers regarded each other as a "band of brothers [and sisters], a circle of trust." Wary of outsiders and alienated from the mainstream, SNCC members were not equipped to deal with the bottom line of American politics—compromise. Moreover, the tightly knit organization could not withstand an influx of newcomers, however well-meaning. Thus the appearance of large numbers of white volunteers as participants in the Mississippi Freedom Summer campaign of 1964, though invited by SNCC, "brought to the surface a great deal of the pathology of black-white relations."⁴⁸ While Stoper charts the organizational strains within SNCC, many of the group's troubles must also be attributed to the federal government, first for its hesitancy in providing adequate protection and then for waging a repressive counterintelligence program against militant blacks.

Stoper's work, based largely on interviews with SNCC adherents, offers valuable hints for further research. In focusing on the political culture of SNCC and that of the larger society, she suggests we look more carefully at the way values, symbols, and language shaped the freedom struggle. In many instances, civil rights activists succeeded in conveying images of struggle reflecting the democratic and egalitarian ideals that Americans celebrate, at least in theory. This was certainly true with SNCC's early history. Yet the group's communitarian ethic ultimately conflicted with the competitive, individualistic values of those who controlled political discourse, including government officials and representatives of the media.⁴⁹ Furthermore, in examining how organizations such as SNCC operated within the broader, predominantly white society, one must not fail to evaluate how civil rights

⁴⁷ Howard Zinn, *SNCC: The New Abolitionists* (Boston, 1964); Clayborne Carson, *SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981); James Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries* (New York, 1972); Cleveland Sellers with Robert Terrell, *The River of No Return: The Autobiography of a Black Militant and the Life and Death of SNCC* (New York, 1973); Mary King, *Freedom Song: A Personal Story of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement* (New York, 1987); and Doug McAdam, *Freedom Summer* (New York, 1988).

⁴⁸ Emily Stoper, *The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee: The Growth of Radicalism in a Civil Rights Organization*, David J. Garrow, ed. (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1989), 100 (GS 17). The inability of SNCC to handle new recruits who did not share its early experiences and camaraderie resembles the problems of the Students for a Democratic Society, as discussed by Jim Miller, "Democracy Is in the Streets": *From Port Huron to the Siege of Chicago* (New York, 1987).

⁴⁹ Oppenheimer, *Sit-In Movement*, 15; David Goldfield, *Black, White, and Southern: Race Relations and Southern Culture 1940 to the Present* (Baton Rouge, La., 1990), discusses those elements of black and white southern culture that he found made the resolution of civil rights demands possible. William H. Chafe, "The End of One Struggle, the Beginning of Another," and J. Mills Thornton, "Commentary," both in Eagles, *Civil Rights Movement in America*, 127–55, contrast the communitarian and individualistic values in American political culture. King was a master at shaping his oratory to conform to the language of American values; see James H. Cone, "The Theology of Martin Luther King, Jr.," in Garrow, *Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 1: 215–33.

groups conformed to and transformed southern black conceptions of freedom. Local black southerners were instrumental in shaping SNCC's definition of liberation and black power, but they did not necessarily interpret these terms in the same ways.⁵⁰

REDIRECTION OF SCHOLARLY STUDIES TO THE LOCAL LEVEL, which Garrow and others have called for, should not obscure the need to move from the particular to the general, from case study to synthesis. Clayborne Carson characterized the movement "as a series of concentric circles, with liberal supporters on the outside and fulltime activists at the center."⁵¹ This assessment appropriately emphasizes grass-roots efforts, yet it is crucial to acknowledge that the federal government could both strengthen and limit possibilities for change. Indeed, it ultimately required the power of Washington to break the segregationist stranglehold on first-class citizenship in towns across the country. Moreover, although the aims of national and local groups sometimes differed, in many instances they coincided. Often, local groups called for outside assistance at the same time national organizations sought test cases or local showplaces. Rather than concentric circles, the image of overlapping spheres sharing a common segment might more accurately reflect the shape of the struggle. The shared zone of cooperation expanded or contracted according to pressures from below and political considerations from above.⁵²

Differences of interpretation are as evident among civil rights scholars as they were among civil rights activists. In part, this explains why interest in civil rights history shows little sign of abating. Scholarly texts are still rolling off the presses along with autobiographical accounts of individual activists to expand our view of the movement against racism.⁵³ If the studies of the next thirty years are as rich as those of the previous three decades, as sampled in the Garrow collection, we all have something to look forward to. Among forthcoming works are the volumes from the Martin Luther King Papers Project and studies on women, the international dimensions of the freedom struggle, and its pre-1954 antecedents found in the labor movement and in black nationalist and racially progressive interracial groups. In addition, more in-depth explorations of the movement in Mississippi and other southern states will soon appear.⁵⁴ These promise to add a critical edge and greater complexity to the portraits of protest presented here.

⁵⁰ Joyce Ladner, "What Black Power Means to Negroes in Mississippi," in August Meier, ed., *The Transformation of Activism* (Chicago, 1970), 131–54.

⁵¹ Carson, "Civil Rights Reform and the Black Freedom Struggle," 28.

⁵² For two recent syntheses on the movement, see Robert Weisbrot, *Freedom Bound: A History of America's Civil Rights Movement* (New York, 1989); and Steven F. Lawson, *Running for Freedom: Civil Rights and Black Politics since 1941* (New York, 1991). See also Harvard Sitkoff, *The Struggle for Black Equality 1954–1980* (New York, 1981); and Manning Marable, *Race, Reform and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction in Black America, 1945–1982* (Jackson, Miss., 1984).

⁵³ J. L. Chestnut, Jr., and Julia Cass, *Black in Selma* (New York, 1990); Ralph David Abernathy, *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down* (New York, 1989); Denton L. Watson, *Lion in the Lobby: Clarence Mitchell, Jr.'s Struggle for the Passage of Civil Rights Laws* (New York, 1990); Frank R. Parker, *Black Votes Count: Political Empowerment in Mississippi after 1965* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990); Hugh Davis Graham, *The Civil Rights Era: Origins and Development of National Policy* (New York, 1989); Nancy J. Weiss, *Whitney M. Young, Jr. and the Struggle for Civil Rights* (Princeton, N.J., 1989); Stephen J. Whitfield, *A Death in the Delta: The Story of Emmett Till* (New York, 1988).

⁵⁴ John Dittmer is working on Mississippi, Adam Fairclough on Louisiana, and Raymond Gavins on North Carolina. Robert Korstad is finishing a study on the labor antecedents of the civil rights movement in North Carolina. Robert L. Harris, Jr., is completing a study on the United Nations and the black freedom struggle.

Reviews of Books

GENERAL

VICTOR FARIAS. *Heidegger and Nazism*. Edited by JOSEPH MARGOLIS and TOM ROCKMORE. French materials translated by PAUL BURRELL and DOMINIC DI BERNARDI. German materials translated by GABRIEL R. RICCI. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1989. Pp. xxi, 349. \$29.95.

Søren Kierkegaard once said that we live our lives forward but understand them backward. No one's life better expresses the truth of this insight than that of the German philosopher Martin Heidegger. On May 29, 1933, Heidegger was appointed rector of Albert Ludwigs Universität in Freiburg-im-Breisgau. He resigned that position on April 23, 1934. Because he held this official post under the Nazis and because of various lectures that he gave during those and subsequent years, the question of Heidegger's relation to the Nazis has been appropriately raised.

Victor Farias's book, a work that is part history, part philosophy, and part yellow journalism, intends to correct the distortions of Heidegger's own autobiographical defense in the famous interview in *Der Spiegel*, published posthumously on May 31, 1976.

Farias's attack on Heidegger has three different targets: Heidegger's life until 1933, the period of his rectorship and afterward, and the supposed relation between Heidegger's work and Nazi ideology. In launching his attack, Farias ignores Heidegger's warning that it is difficult to "evaluate the beginning of the National Socialist movement from the perspective of its end" (p. 284). In this regard, Farias, in effect, ignores the wisdom of Kierkegaard's aphorism, expecting Heidegger to have known in 1933 what was only clear in 1945.

In general, and especially with respect to Heidegger's early years, Farias argues that the significant facts are that Heidegger was originally a Catholic, always a nationalist, a life-long celebrant of his *Heimat*, and something of a romantic in his preoccupation with "heroism," "leadership," and "resolve." According to Farias, these factors alone demonstrate Heidegger's inevitable Nazi sympathies. Farias's attack in this regard, however, is so broad that it catches in its sweep a great many European intellectuals of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. So broad an indictment

is useless—before either historical or legal courts. Indeed, this part of Farias's charge is so stereotypical and overinclusive that it amounts to an anti-Europeanism in general and an anti-Catholicism and anti-Germanism in particular.

Throughout his attack on the pre-rectorate phase of Heidegger's professional career, Farias is deeply suspicious of Heidegger's celebration of the virtues of localism and tradition, free associating from such celebrations to indict Heidegger for anti-Semitism. In such discussions, Farias frequently employs the practice of quoting from Adolf Hitler, among others, to indicate the state of Heidegger's mind. This is an especially strange procedure, given that Heidegger was himself so good at telling us what he thought. In order to buttress his frequently weak argument, Farias or his American editors liberally sprinkle the word "Führer" throughout the text as if it were a hex sign that could take the place of evidence.

Farias's suspicions begin with Heidegger's early main work, *Sein und Zeit*, a book that he says indicates Heidegger's "later turn to National Socialism" (p. 59). In arguing for similarities between *Sein und Zeit* and Nazism, however, Farias never explicitly identifies a Nazi text or concept with which he then explicitly compares Heidegger's early main work. Instead, an amorphous something that Farias at one point calls "Nazi Fascism" haunts his study so utterly—and in a sense properly so—that any concept once touched by the Nazis (for example, *Heimat* or "hero") is forever tainted. At one point Farias treats *Heimat*, *Vaterland*, and *Reich* as if they were synonyms, but this identification is a product of ideology rather than rational analysis.

Farias's treatment of Heidegger's various popular and ceremonial lectures, lectures given both before and during his rectorship, is flawed by an unwillingness to distinguish German nationalism from the racial and anti-Semitic doctrines of Nazism. The nationalism one can understand as a product of the harsh reparations imposed on Germany after World War I by the Treaty of Versailles. After the Holocaust, it is difficult to view any German patriotic act in 1933 in anything but a negative light. Nonetheless, if understanding is what one seeks, one must make the effort. Otherwise, one

writes only propaganda, which is too often the case with Fariás.

The periods both during and after Heidegger's rectorship were, of course, extraordinarily confusing. By way of illustration, at one point Fariás points out that an unnamed Jewish thinker feared Heidegger because of his Nazi connections, whereas Walter Jaenisch, a Nazi academic, denounced Heidegger's work as a form of "schizophrenic babbling" leading to a "mass psychosis" that would bring a lot of "descendants of Jews" into the university (p. 204). Fariás apparently wants it both ways—wants to assume the Nazi objection to attack Heidegger's philosophy and the Jewish objection to attack Heidegger himself.

The general question of the link between Heidegger's philosophical work and the ideology of Nazism is, it seems to me, easily disposed of. The places throughout the book where Fariás makes the argument for this link are clearly the weakest part of his case against Heidegger. Indeed, the denazification report on Heidegger found, as Fariás notes, "a radical incompatibility between Nazism and Heidegger's philosophy" (p. 279). Fariás himself nonetheless insists, in a wide variety of ways, that Heidegger's work is suffused with elements of Nazi philosophy, finding these elements at the beginning in *Sein und Zeit* and at the end in the interview in *Der Spiegel*.

At one point in his diatribe against Heidegger's philosophy, Fariás singles out the concept of *polemos* as especially suspect. But this is a concept that Heidegger developed out of Heraclitus and Nietzsche, and even a cursory examination of Heidegger's work establishes that what Heidegger means by *polemos* is not what Hitler meant by *Kampf* (as in *Mein Kampf*). For Heidegger, as for Nietzsche and Heraclitus, the concept of *polemos* is a deep metaphor in terms of which important spiritual and conceptual tensions are elaborated. In this sense, the notion is clearly Hegelian rather than Hitlerian, encompassing such oppositions as truth and untruth, death and birth, dwelling and the loss of dwelling.

In terms of the element of Heidegger's thought that Fariás condemns as "populist," what Heidegger sought to establish was an essential link between intellectual and manual work, grounding the former in the latter. But this "populist" element is also Deweyian, also Marxist, and, in a sense, also Aristotelian. Indeed, a good part of the intellectual tradition since the middle of the nineteenth century has been devoted to establishing a connection between praxis and theory, between doing and thinking. Is the forging of this link forever poisoned because Hitler once commented on it? Must thinkers abjure the concept of *polemos* because Hitler took *Kampf* in its literal, military sense? I think the answer to all of these questions is unequivocally no.

In the final analysis, the texts of Heidegger—his thinking through of such complex themes as historicity, logic, community, and the nature of art, as well as his deep and often-troubling meditation on the nature of being human—will survive and empower philosophy

long after Fariás's book is forgotten. We must no more condemn Heidegger's work because of his failure to oppose Nazism than we must refuse to read Sartre because of his myopic endorsement of Maoism. Fariás's line of argument—in even its serious phases—would lead to the rejection of the *Republic* and the *Parmenides* on the grounds that Plato was once the mentor of the tyrant Dionysus. But it is as impossible to deduce Auschwitz from *Sein und Zeit* (as Fariás himself acknowledges) as it is to deduce it from Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*.

The one thing that Fariás's book does succeed in doing is gathering all of the available evidence concerning Heidegger's early and highly compromised relationship with the Nazis. But Heidegger's philosophical work remains untouched by that political compromise—just as does the physics of Heisenberg.

HAROLD ALDERMAN
Sonoma State University

A. BELDEN FIELDS. *Trotskyism and Maoism: Theory and Practice in France and the United States*. New York: Praeger. 1988. Pp. xv, 363. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$10.95.

A. Belden Fields has produced an impressively researched and compellingly argued inquiry into the ideological and organizational dynamics of dissident Marxist-Leninist movements in the West. His study of the applications of Trotskyist and Maoist strategies in the United States and France is the first that is comparative both by nation and by political tendency. A dramatic step forward in the historiography of the far Left, this volume is uniquely rigorous in its interrogation of the relationship between theory and practice.

The book is meticulously planned and neatly organized. The heart of the analysis consists of chapters on Trotskyism and Maoism in France and the United States. Certain aspects of the method display a subtlety and sophistication that can only come from experience with the movements and genuine concern about the stakes for committed activists. Fields combines a study of the major theorists and influential party documents with interviews of leaders and militants. He skillfully divides his model of "political practice" into three levels: the objective of transforming state power, the task of building mass support, and the problem of survival during unpropitious times.

Fields argues that the two-nation comparison helps determine which features in the respective political strategies might be linked to national peculiarities and which to inherent contradictions in their rival theoretical apparatuses. Such searching and modulated scholarship outdistances most previous works on these subjects, which by comparison appear fragmented, tendentious, and eclectic.

Nevertheless, there are ways in which this volume is "premature." For example, although the book jacket features photographs and names of famous individuals influenced by these theories and movements (such as

Jean-Paul Sartre, Jean-Luc Godard, Amiri Baraka, and Sidney Hook) and the introduction imputes significant roles to Trotskyist and Maoist organizations in the radicalization of young people in the 1960s and 1970s, such claims are unsubstantiated with meaningful documentation or elaboration. Therefore, it is hard to imagine any but the most self-motivated readers wading through what seems an astonishing mass of arcane names, theories, organizations, and other references. I also suspect that the wide range of ideological and organizational histories in the book will be daunting even for committed Left militants.

Nevertheless, the influence of Trotskyist and Maoist ideas and movements is certainly as great and probably even greater than Fields suggests, which would be more obvious if the details of the political background of many prominent scholars and public figures were known. Unfortunately, the identification of such background associations raises the specter of "naming names," which continues to obstruct accurate scholarly work in an anticommunist culture such as the United States, where political victimization is still feared by former and current leftists.

Moreover, Fields was required in his research to cover dozens of organizations and historical episodes not previously the object of independent study, and he understandably makes occasional judgments that seem too sweeping and insensitive to nuances of experience and interpretation. In the area of U.S. Trotskyism and international debates in the Trotskyist movement, where I also have conducted primary research, I have minor disagreements with a number of his characterizations of different splits, his membership figures at different points, his judgments of certain strategies, and so on.

Perhaps his most serious error is the absence of any reference to the impact of the West Indian C. L. R. James, who lived in the United States from 1938 to 1953. James, famous as the author of *The Black Jacobins* (1938), initiated a faction within the Trotskyist movement that resulted in a variety of organizations as well as influential writings by various collaborators and disciples such as Raya Dunayevskaya, James Boggs, Martin Glaberman, and Paul Buhle.

My major methodological criticism is that, although Fields takes into account the diverse applications not only in countries and between theories but among rival groups claiming to adhere to the same Trotskyist or Maoist doctrine, he never comes to grips with crucial aspects of the problem of assessing the impact of "vanguard" organizations. For example, his work is relatively innocent of the argument of the new historians of American Communism such as Maurice Isserman, Mark Naison, and Robin Kelley.

These younger scholars, influenced by the New Left, have demonstrated the importance of recognizing dramatic gaps between the articulation of theory in the documents and leading committees of an organization and the interpretation, appropriation, and sometimes transformation of those theories in the practical reality

of rank-and-file activism in specific communities and subcultures. Belden's focus on national features leaves little room for attention to matters such as the specificities of the milieux in which Trotskyist and Maoist cadres functioned.

Moreover, too little is said about the talents and personalities of political leaders who gave "life" to the theories through their styles of leadership. Perhaps more attention to this area might help our understanding of two important problems not addressed by Fields. One is the discrepancy between the exceptional intelligence of many of these activists and the vulgarity of much of their writing and speech, as evidenced in numerous party newspapers and pamphlets. Another is the development by some of these groups, especially the Maoists, of authoritarian, cult-like, destructive, and occasionally violent behavior (more often against other leftists than against the state).

Virtually all dimensions of "culture" are missing from Fields's portraits of movements, except for one somewhat cryptic sentence about surrealism. He tells the stories of Trotskyism and Maoism as if there were no creative literature, music, art, humor, and wit. Unintentionally, this somewhat desiccated history adds fuel to the dominant culture's depiction of such movements as the mad fantasies of power-crazed, two-dimensional, driven fanatics rather than, in many cases, the heroic efforts of rich, warm, and sensitive human beings.

Nevertheless, I believe that Fields's conclusions will stand as a plausible foundation for further research, as well as some needed inquiry into areas on which he has touched but that require amplification. The four central chapters document with admirable clarity the ways in which Maoism and Trotskyism fragmented in France and the United States because of disagreements over matters such as hierarchical party structures, feminism, theories of the USSR and China, electoralism, repression, and race.

ALAN WALD
University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor

PETRA WEBER. *Sozialismus als Kulturbewegung: Frühsozialistische Arbeiterbewegung und das Entstehen zweier feindlicher Brüder Marxismus und Anarchismus*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, number 86.) Düsseldorf: Droste. 1989. Pp. 545.

A key contention of this work is that the intimacy of the relationship between anarchism and Marxism, the "enemy brothers" of socialism, has been inadequately appreciated. Petra Weber further argues that "a systematic consideration of the connection between early socialism and anarchism and their connection to Marxism means to rethink the socialist tradition, its inner connections and self-image, in the light of the emerging working class movement" (p. 25). She is particularly

concerned to show how anarchism has been unfairly dismissed; historians who have written of its "failure" have not adequately recognized that the anarchists were concerned mostly with cultural, not economic, matters. Similarly, most historians have been inclined to accept the Marxists' condescension about anarchism as irrational, theoretically unsophisticated, and ultimately anachronistic.

Insofar as these contentions are accepted as justified, this volume can be considered a useful contribution, for Weber has brought together much information in an engaging framework. The title only inadequately suggests the scope of the work. It is a wide-ranging exploration of nineteenth-century socialism as a whole. Weber demonstrates an intimate familiarity with the abundant secondary literature on the subject and offers some provocative criticism of it. She has also explored much of the primary material with admirable thoroughness and intelligence.

Scholars familiar with the history of socialism, however, may feel that Weber is kicking an open door or, at least, making points that will encounter little opposition beyond a few Marxist circles. The volume might thus be deemed of greater interest and value to a general readership than to scholars. It has, however, obviously been conceived with an extremely narrow audience in mind. Its readers must be ready to persevere through over five hundred pages of slow-moving academic prose, many sentences of which are weighted down by footnotes that contain further text and copious quotations from the sources. Those who are not multilingual and not familiar with the sometimes arcane monographic literature will be frustrated, because Weber does not translate her quotations and explicitly neglects such important subjects as the Babouvists and Owenites, with the questionable rationale that detailed monographs have already been devoted to them. A further oddity of this study, as of so many lumbering scholarly tomes from Europe, is the wholly inadequate index of names at the end. Why thematic indexes cannot be provided in works of otherwise prodigious scholarship is puzzling.

The work is elaborately organized in parts, chapters, numbered subheadings, and an array of further sub-subheadings—appropriate, perhaps, when trying to lend order to such a sprawling subject but adding to a sense of woodenness and repetitiveness. Part 1 opens with an exploration, concentrating on Charles Fourier and Claude de Saint-Simon, of a central theme of the book reflected in its title: early socialism was a "culture movement," one that posed fundamental questions about the human condition and the Judeo-Christian traditions of the West. Part 2 explores the conflict between a socialism based on the idea of limitless industrial productivity as contrasted to one drawing from the static, communitarian values of a preindustrial "moral economy." Part 3 focuses on the debate among socialists about centralization, especially under the state, and forms of decentralization, especially municipal socialism. Part 4 deals with the divisive issues

of constantly postponed revolution as expounded by the social democrats and the opposing revolutionary "impatience" of the anarchists.

The rethinking of the socialist tradition that this work calls for is, of course, occurring in dimensions and at a tempo that the author would not have guessed in initially conceiving it. The distinction between the economic and cultural realms is essential, for the failures of socialism in economic terms are now beyond serious debate. The jury is still out, however, concerning whether the moral message, or messages, of the socialist tradition has any relevance to the contemporary world.

ALBERT S. LINDEMANN
University of California,
Santa Barbara

MARK POSTER. *Critical Theory and Poststructuralism: In Search of a Context*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1989. Pp. viii, 172. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$10.95.

This book is not the self-reflective, historically contextualized synthesis of German critical theory and French poststructuralism that readers of Mark Poster's previous work may have been expecting but a collection of eight essays (five previously published) that refine, clarify, and elaborate a number of issues in the ambitious theoretical project formulated in his *Foucault, Marxism, and History* (1984). None of the essays are directly focused on the starting point of Poster's project—his affirmations of the emancipatory engagement and the totalizing or generalizing aims of historical understanding that mark the tradition of German critical theory from Kant, through Hegel and Marx, to Jürgen Habermas. But these affirmations do operate as an assumed background commitment throughout the book. Critical theory sustains "the best of what is left of the Left" (p. 3), and Poster's aim is to rescue, revitalize, and reconstruct this remnant through a creative absorption of the positions of poststructuralist theory (especially the work of Michel Foucault) and a comprehensive and up-to-date conceptualization of the current historical context. Although Poster does discern some mutual recognition of the interdependence of the two theoretical traditions and an occasional implicit acknowledgment of the new historical contexts of the emancipatory project in the texts that he analyzes, his aim is not exegesis of existing theory but theoretical construction and innovation. The historical mantle he seeks is not that of the interpreter of Habermas and Foucault but that of their legitimate heir.

Four essays that grapple with Foucault's apparently devastating critique of the assumptions of critical theory constitute the substantive core of the book. Poster embraces the poststructuralist analysis of the contingent historical status and hegemonial implications of the logocentrism (the implicit assumption of a real or possible, universal, rational, self-constituting, ultimately contextless human subject) that grounded crit-

ical theory's emancipatory hopes and totalizing historical teleologies. Historical subjects, he insists, must be comprehended as contingently and thus diversely constituted in shifting relations of domination and resistance, inclusion and exclusion. The theorist cannot speak for the universal but simply out of specific, historically situated engagements.

Poster also accepts the poststructuralist assumption that the primary site for, or at least contemporary form of, the processes of self-constitution is in language, in the play and struggle of competing discourses. Poster is, however, unwilling to give up the goal of generalizable self-knowledge and emancipation and thus of a politically efficacious critique of domination in the face of these theoretical and practical realities. Instead, he proposes a redefinition of historical totalization in terms of generalizable patterns in the forms of contingent self-constitution within specific historical situations. Recognizing the specific context of Foucault's perspective as a generalizable context tied to discernable, systematic shifts in the conditions of self-constitution, he claims, permits a regeneration of the collective, persuasive force of critical theory.

The construction of this generalizable context represents the third component of Poster's project. The new historical situation of critical theory is described as the relative dominance (in relation to the continuing "regional" importance of the modes of production, bureaucratic domination, and so forth) of the "mode of information." This claim has two aspects. First, it asserts the prominence of linguistic experience in twentieth-century forms of self-constitution. Second, it suggests that the self-constituting power of language itself has been drastically transformed through the permeation of everyday life by a multiplicity of electronically mediated language experiences, from television advertising to computerized surveillance and teleconferencing. A problem arises in Poster's attempt to present the mode of information both as the formal structure, the "medium," within which self-constitution occurs and as a substantive area of self-constitution alongside familial, economic, political, sexual, ethnic, and other "practical" determinants. It is not clear exactly how the mode of information can provide a generalizable but historically specific context in which the cacophony of cultural perspectives based on a heterogeneity of self-constituting practices might be organized in a shared critique of common structures of domination. Do formal homologues in the modes of self-formation create shared contents bridging gender or ethnic difference?

There is a mesmerizing logic to the general structure of Poster's project, but it remains speculative, and more suggestive than convincing, because of its lack of specific mediations between historical context and theoretical constructions and the very broad and schematic fashion in which theories and contexts are defined. A short concluding essay on middle-class families in Orange County, California, reinforces rather than miti-

gates the impression that Poster's project has become stuck at a programmatic stage.

JOHN E. TOEWS

University of Washington

BRIAN STOCK. *Listening for the Text: On the Uses of the Past.* (Parallax Re-visions of Culture and Society.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1990. Pp. x, 197. \$24.95.

This book contains nine essays, all but one recycling material previously published and, with two exceptions, all exploring concerns that animated Brian Stock in his *Implications of Literacy* (1983), reviewed with enthusiasm by me in the *American Historical Review* (February 1984). These themes are the interplay of orality and literacy, seen not as stages of culture viewed in an evolutionary way but as a shifting series of interrelations in which each mode has its own significance and addresses particular social needs and priorities; the idea that reading, as oral performance, makes untenable a rigid distinction between the literate and nonliterate groups in medieval societies; the role of texts—with "text" understood broadly—in the formation and affirmation of textual communities; and the composing of history—individual, dynastic, communal—as the act of inventing a past. Whereas in *Implications of Literacy*, Stock grounded his views on these subjects in rich erudition, keen sensitivity to the medieval realities studied, and an imagination and originality that combined to shed abundant light on a range of aspects of medieval culture, from literary to legal to church history, in the present book the cable binding interpretation to the facts that it exists to interpret has grown much longer and more gossamer. Stock's goal here is to articulate the theoretical considerations underpinning his project in *Implications of Literacy*.

As Stock sees it, historiography has moved beyond the stark opposition between the *Annaliste* quest for demotic mentalités through number crunching and the naive hyperpositivism of the *Ecole des Chartes*. Literary theory has also exhausted the solipsisms of the deconstructionists and has rediscovered the existence of the real world along the lines of the "new historicism." Omitting to note that his description of the lay of the land is more than a little simplistic, Stock argues that the historians' rediscovery of narrative and the literary critics' rediscovery of history can fruitfully meet on his chosen terrain of orality, literacy, and related subjects. This, it now turns out, is why he chose to investigate the topics treated in his earlier book. Aside from a chapter sketching how Judaism and Christianity, as religions of the Book, serve as good examples of the continuing interaction of literate and oral culture in those traditions and a chapter on Max Weber, noting that his failure to consider the issue of literacy as an index of rationality is a sin of omission to be added to the other deficiencies in his knowledge and use of history, theory reigns supreme in this book.

Stock does not draw on the primary sources of medieval history but on recent semioticians, anthropologists who have studied Paleolithic societies in the South Seas, and historians and critics who have drawn on their work for conceptual models. Stock's desire to clarify concepts and to bare his own theoretical knuckles means that this book confines itself to discourse about discourse. He is aware of the fact that the proponents of the modern theories that he discusses often write as a liturgical exercise rather than to add to our store of knowledge about the past and that hermeneutical analysis of the themes of interest to him cannot, in itself, explain the causes, or the timing, of documentable shifts in medieval tastes and tolerances. After this long seven-year sabbatical, and with his analytical equipment now shined up and out in the open, it is devoutly to be hoped that Stock will turn once again to the clearing and cultivating of more of the arable of medieval history, as he has done with such outstanding results in his earlier work. The proof of the theory, after all, is not its conceptual elegance or the acuteness of its address to problems culturally specific to the late twentieth century but the harvest of understanding of medieval culture that it can garner.

MARCIA L. COLISH
Oberlin College

JOHN LOSEE. *Philosophy of Science and Historical Enquiry*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1987. Pp. viii, 153. \$32.00.

What relationship obtains between historical and philosophical analyses of science? In many institutions these enterprises are administratively joined, but their union is largely a marriage of convenience. Historians and philosophers of science may occasionally share students, but they usually pursue their inquiries in intellectual isolation from one another. This book represents an effort to draw the two fields closer together, but it does not appeal equally to historians and philosophers. John Losee's argument is expounded in philosophical fashion, which most historians are likely to find uncongenial. Moreover, historians are occupationally committed to Losee's fundamental thesis: the practice of science has changed significantly over time, and therefore it is inappropriate for philosophers to appraise various episodes in science according to a single normative standard.

This is not to say that Losee's book is devoid of interest for the historian. Surveying the development of the philosophy of science from ancient times to the present, it presents ideas that have been influential outside the realm of philosophy. Historians—and others—who imagine that they have reached a definitive understanding of the processes of scientific reasoning and the dynamics of scientific change by reading the popular work of Thomas Kuhn, for example, will profit from Losee's summary of philosophers' objections to it.

The historian who reads Losee's book is likely to treat it as material for analysis, however, rather than to be engaged by its argument. That is, it illustrates philosophers' sustained substantive focus: their prescriptive schemes for the operation of pure rationality in scientific work have nearly always been documented with material drawn from the physical sciences rather than the life sciences. When we look at the relatively recent history of the physical sciences, the philosophers' focus is understandable, for men such as Niels Bohr, Werner Heisenberg, and Albert Einstein were themselves concerned about the epistemological implications of their theories. But philosophers have cause to turn away from physics, in particular, as their model science. Contemporary theoretical physicists do not engage in philosophical speculation and generally find the arguments of philosophers irrelevant to their work. And not all sciences operate as physics does.

If philosophers of science turn to contemplation of the life sciences, as they have lately been increasingly likely to do, they encounter theories cast in historical terms. They may retain their commitment to defining their discipline as a normative one, concerned to set evaluative standards for scientific work, but they may more readily recognize that evaluative criteria are contingent on specific historical circumstances (and apply this insight to their analysis of physics as well). Indeed, the theories of evolutionary biology have been transmuted into an explanation of scientific change by one recent philosophical model that appeals to (and has been formulated independently by) students of science outside the philosophic community; this model is the scheme of Stephen Toulmin, who has described the process of scientific change as a consequence of conceptual variation, circumstantial adaptation, and natural selection.

Philosophers such as Losee greet these developments with mixed emotions. On the one hand, they see them as intellectually defensible, arguing that philosophers' normative prescriptions must be tempered by historical sensibilities. On the other hand, they fear for their profession's future: a philosophy of science that does not insist on absolute normative criteria is in danger of becoming but a species of historical inquiry. Only time will tell if this fear is justified.

HENRIKA KUKLICK
University of Pennsylvania

JED Z. BUCHWALD. *The Rise of the Wave Theory of Light: Optical Theory and Experiment in the Early Nineteenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1989. Pp. xxiv, 474. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$24.95.

The characters in this drama are mostly French with a few English, and the plot unfolds during a period of French preeminence in science. The outcome is the overthrow of the emission, or corpuscular, by the wave, or undulatory, theory of light. In the emission theory, light was conceived, following Isaac Newton, as consist-

ing of minute, rapidly moving particles; in the wave theory, as regular disturbances, or waves, in a universally present ether. The story has been told before, but here it is related from a novel perspective.

Jed Z. Buchwald argues that, concurrently with the replacement of particles by waves, another and "deeper" process occurred in optics, namely, the replacement of rays by wave fronts as tools of analysis (p. xiv). Many scientists found this second change as difficult to accept as the first. Its occurrence is seen particularly in connection with attempts to understand the phenomenon of the polarization of light, discovered in 1808 by Etienne Louis Malus and the principal topic of optical experimentation and theorization during the 1810s. Buchwald accordingly devotes as much attention to polarization as he does to the diffraction of traditional accounts, in which wave is seen to triumph over particle after Augustin Jean Fresnel, the French civil engineer, in 1819 won the prize offered by the Académie des Sciences for a paper that successfully quantified the phenomena of diffraction. One of the examiners and an adherent of the emission theory, Siméon-Denis Poisson, deduced from Fresnel's formulas the "singular" prediction that "the center of the shadow of a circular screen must be as illuminated as if the screen did not exist" (p. 373). Although a second examiner and ally of Fresnel, Dominique-François Arago, experimentally demonstrated the prediction to be true, Poisson did not convert to the wave theory—in part, Buchwald argues, because he was unable to break away completely from thinking of light rays as objects (in the wave theory, rays are considered as mere lines). Poisson was not alone.

In emphasizing this second change, Buchwald sees himself as providing not only a more complete account of the ascent of the wave theory but also an example of the kind of theoretical difference that he believes has been common in physics. "Over time one way of thinking becomes pervasive and the other becomes perhaps not incorrect, but certainly irrelevant. Ray theory . . . became irrelevant well before it became incorrect" (p. xxii).

The book is in three parts. The first focuses on ray optics, including the development of polarization theory. The second deals almost exclusively with Fresnel's work, first in diffraction theory and then on polarization. The third examines the conflict between ray and wave theorists and the eventual spread of the wave theory. The genre is that of internal history of science, and, even though the book is well illustrated and has useful appendixes, it assumes a high level of sophistication in both optics and mathematics.

Although his work is technical, Buchwald does not ignore the personalities, ambitions, rivalries, and quarrels of the scientists involved or the politics of French science. Thus, we learn, for example, that Fresnel was "extremely eager to make a discovery of almost any kind" (p. 113); that the printing, over Jean-Baptiste Biot's explicit and public objections, of Fresnel's account of chromatic polarization was "a stunning per-

sonal victory for Arago and a stinging public defeat for Biot" (p. 238); and that Arago was appointed to the Institut de France over Poisson "primarily for reasons of politics and sectional self-image. He had himself done almost nothing of consequence" (p. 80). The core of this fine book is nevertheless the development of optics itself.

WILLIAM MCGUCKEN
University of Akron

ANDREW SCULL. *Social Order/Mental Disorder: Anglo-American Psychiatry in Historical Perspective*. (Medicine and Society, number 3.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 360. \$25.00.

This volume is a valuable collection of essays written by the historical sociologist Andrew Scull over the last two decades. Scull's status as a disciplinary "outsider" has not prevented him from becoming one of the most influential historians of psychiatry working today. This volume includes his most often cited pieces plus several less familiar articles; with one exception, all have been previously published and are reprinted here with new introductory sections by Scull.

In the first chapter, "Reflections on the Historical Sociology of Psychiatry," which was written especially for this volume, Scull assesses the strengths of his own work quite accurately: "The extent to which my own contributions to the history of psychiatry are distinctive is, I like to think, a result of my attempt to marry the traditional concerns of the historian and the sociologist: a willingness to do my historical homework, coupled with a concern with implicit or explicit comparison, with the more general significance of a given set of phenomena, and with issues that transcend the particularities of person and place" (p. 5). Scull's ability to combine sophisticated archival research with an interesting set of theoretical questions about professional authority and the cultural definition of madness has placed his work squarely in the mainstream of the social history of medicine. His work is probably better respected in history than it is in sociology, where the urge "either to cram the complexities of the past into a Procrustean bed of transhistorical 'theory' or to reduce social reality to the banalities of lower mathematics," as Scull puts it, often dominates (p. 3).

Scull's earliest and most cited article on the subject, "From Madness to Mental Illness: Medical Men as Moral Entrepreneurs," first published in 1975, still reads very well as an introduction to psychiatry's drive to expand the boundaries of mental illness in the nineteenth century. More recent articles, including "The Domestication of Madness" (1983) and "John Conolly: A Victorian Psychiatric Career" (1984), are finely drawn portrayals of nineteenth-century English asylum medicine. To be sure, not all scholars of psychiatric history agree with his conclusions; for example, Roy Porter has argued against Scull's characterization of the rise of moral treatment in the early nineteenth

century as a "distinct rupture or shift in English responses to insanity." Other scholars have lodged against him the usual criticism of social historians of medicine, that is, a tendency to give scientific developments short shrift. But historians have always done Scull the honor of taking his arguments seriously, precisely because the weight of his archival research and interpretive judgment cannot be ignored.

Scull is also an accomplished historiographer, and the several review essays included in this collection could be used as models to instruct history graduate students in this difficult art. His extended commentaries on the work of Gerald Grob, David Rothman, and Elaine Showalter concisely lay out the chief points of argument in the field. In the process, Scull makes his own theoretical point of view quite clear. Although certainly a strict "social constructionist" who believes that the definition of mental illness and the practice of psychiatry are deeply influenced by cultural values, Scull takes a jaundiced view of deinstitutionalization and concludes that "the mental hospital is sometimes a defensible—indeed preferable—solution to the problems posed by mental disorder" (p. 299).

Scull may be a "card-carrying" sociologist, but, as this collection of essays demonstrates, he has won the right to be regarded as a serious historian of psychiatry.

NANCY TOMES
State University of New York,
Stony Brook

ALBERT BOIME. *A Social History of Modern Art. Volume 1, Art in an Age of Revolution, 1750–1800*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1987. Pp. xxvii, 521. \$35.00.

Readers of this book, the first installment of a projected multivolume social history of modern art by one author, are likely to be impressed with Albert Boime's knowledge of a variety of objects produced in Britain and France during the second half of the eighteenth century. They may also share his pleasure in telling—in detail—the life stories of famous and forgotten male and female artists of the period. Boime not only gives attention to acknowledged great works (such as Jacques-Louis David's *Oath of the Horatii*) but also considers "lesser" forms of artistic production (Josiah Wedgwood's neoclassical pottery, for example). With copious illustrations in black and white, and an excellent design by the University of Chicago Press, the text might be assigned to able undergraduates in art history. Indeed, the inspiration to write it originally came from a survey course on modern art that Boime taught. This volume is a valuable source of information and ideas for history teachers looking to add visual evidence to their courses on eighteenth-century England or the French revolution. Before assigning it, however, I would caution my students to be aware of three things. First, Boime is not the sort to linger over works of art, looking closely, always searching for the precise words to describe and capture their visual qualities. He

prides himself on being iconoclastic in a discipline dominated by icon worshipers. "My dream," the author writes, "would be to culminate a book on twentieth century art with an analysis of my ex-next-door neighbor in Binghamton, New York, a retired electrician who painted in his garage. His life and work would tell us more about ourselves than a library full of traditional art criticism" (p. xxv). Second, the book is heavily dependent on secondary works for its sense of the economic and political transformations going on in the years that extended from Benjamin West's massive "machines" to William Blake's small drawings, from Boucher's bagatelles for Louis XV to David's grand apotheosis of Bonaparte. Sweeping terms such as "the Dual Revolution" are no substitute for the absence of reference to important recent scholarship in social history. Finally, because Boime burdens his prose with a highly reductionist approach to the question of the relationship between class and creativity ("David . . . identified with the advancing bourgeoisie in France who possessed a real program based on enlightenment principles" [p. 398]), his work stands at a considerable distance from the cutting edge of contemporary cultural analysis.

ROBERT J. BEZUCHA
Amherst College

ANDRÉ JARDIN. *Tocqueville: A Biography*. Translated by LYDIA DAVIS and ROBERT HEMENWAY. London: Peter Halban. 1988. Pp. 550. £18.00.

In many ways André Jardin's study is the most satisfactory life of Alexis de Tocqueville yet to appear. Based on a great command of existing secondary works and access to unpublished notes and letters, Jardin's book will remain a valuable resource for the many theorists and scholars presently engaged in a revival of Tocquevillian thought.

The principal strength of Jardin's book is his situation of Tocqueville's theoretical achievement in a distinct intellectual and political context. His detailed treatment of Tocqueville's public career provides materials for rethinking some of the perennial questions asked by students of Tocqueville. For example, Jardin makes clear that the central conundrum of Tocqueville's thought—that is, that his intellect pulled him toward the principles of 1789, while his heart yearned for the noble past—did not mean that Tocqueville's political will was indecisive. Although his family and caste feelings were undeniable, these do not really amount to "divided loyalties." In fact, Jardin's depiction of Tocqueville's ambitions and choices within the left-liberal "milieu" under the July Monarchy reveals that Tocqueville's hopes always lay with liberalization—and hence a certain equalization—of the regime. Jardin is also perceptive on the impact of the Revolution of 1848. He explains why Tocqueville could not cast his lot with the Orleanists and why his natural sympathies were republican. Moreover, in Jardin's portrait,

Tocqueville emerges as less consumed by "reaction" than he appears in his own *Souvenirs*.

Another recurring theme in the literature illuminated by Jardin's study is the question of the place of the idea of national character in Tocquevillian "sociology." By analyzing Tocqueville's fascination with the different fates of French settlers in Canada, New Orleans, and Algeria, Jardin reveals an unresolved tension in Tocqueville's mind between the idea of a national character and the more variable concept of political culture.

The virtues of Jardin's life of Tocqueville, then, are the virtues of good academic biography. His study is historically acute and succeeds in re-creating the public world that Tocqueville faced. The reader who wants psychological insight, however, or even a vivid sense of Tocqueville's personality and persona, will be disappointed. Although Tocqueville's relationship to his father and his deliberate *mésalliance* with the Englishwoman Mary Mottley were clearly of the utmost importance in his life, we get little sense of how these formed (or expressed) his character. In general, there seems to be a veil of discretion decently shrouding the more intimate details of Tocqueville's relationships. Because part of Tocqueville's appeal lies in his deliberate and artful use of paradox and his particularly self-conscious sensibility, this reticence to explore the paradoxes of his own life is to be regretted.

CHERYL B. WELCH
Harvard University

JOHN RODDEN. *The Politics of Literary Reputation: The Making and Claiming of "St. George" Orwell*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. xiii, 478. \$27.50.

One of the most intriguing phenomena of modern Anglo-American culture is that George Orwell has been elevated to heroic stature by all stripes in the political spectrum except the Marxist Left. John Rodden explains in rich detail how this sanctification by both progressives and anticommunists happened, and he also reveals the processes by which Orwell's multifaceted reputation has been constructed on three cultural levels—literary intellectual circles, academic life, and the mass media. He even shows how images of Orwell have penetrated the publications of trade and business associations as well as school curricula. Hence, Rodden has written not a biography but a subtle analysis of the complex and often-contradictory paths by which a key literary reputation evolved and worked its effects on the modern mind.

Rodden's ambitious goal involves him in many of the most controversial issues in cultural studies, including the sociology of literature, reader-response theory, and the formation of literary canon. His handling of these issues is sophisticated but sensible. He argues that reputations are not the result of the intrinsic merit of the writings but a consequence of the interplay among the author's work, his or her life, the political and

cultural arena, and the institutional setting in which the work is read. Thus, Rodden rejects both the pure "literary influence" and the "ideal reader" approaches to the history of reputation in favor of an immensely well informed empirical analysis of the sociological and personal contexts of reading.

Rodden focuses on the years from 1945 to 1984, when Orwell (who died in 1950) became the most widely read serious writer in the English-speaking world. Rodden does not follow strict chronology but groups the responses to Orwell according to four primary images: rebel, common man, prophet, and saint. Starkly opposed sets of people claiming to be Orwell's disciples appear in each category—liberals and conservatives, socialists and anticommunists, freethinkers and Christians. Rodden is especially interesting in his discussion of the responses of the New York intellectuals (such as Lionel Trilling and Norman Podhoretz) and the British New Left (such as Raymond Williams and E. P. Thompson), all of whom experienced Orwell's work as a major formative influence. Although Rodden does not analyze as deeply as he might have the intrinsic qualities of Orwell's work—the honesty, clarity, and compassion—that attracted so much devotion among his readers, he succeeds in revealing the way that different readers magnified particular aspects of his work and personality for their own purposes. Many of Orwell's disciples constructed images of him as the heroic intellectual that were in fact their own ideal self-images.

Rodden treads a fine line between postmodernist literary theory and outright relativism. He refuses to lay out his own interpretation as a standard by which to measure others, yet he does believe that there is a difference between a portrait of Orwell and a caricature, and he firmly rejects interpretations that are plainly wrong. For instance, he refutes the view taken by some English Catholics of Orwell as "St. George the Tory Radical" (p. 368). Rodden disavows the purpose of judging whether the Left or the Right is correct in claiming Orwell, but the view that emerges in his judgments is that Orwell was genuinely a democratic and antitotalitarian socialist.

This interpretation of Orwell is not original, nor is Rodden's belief that the elevation of Orwell into a hero by both the Left and the Right "was the outcome of a complicated conjunction of the Cold War, two powerful satires, and an ailing writer's (perhaps understandable) carelessness with regard to the possibilities for ideological and commercial exploitation of his work" (p. 22). The great value of this book lies not in these conclusions, reasonable as they are, but in the richness of Rodden's reconstruction of the various individual and group responses to Orwell and his writings. Although the book is longer than necessary, it gives a superb insight into intellectual life in Britain and the United States since the 1920s, and it offers analytical techniques that promise to solve many old problems having to do with the influence of thinkers and their

ideas. This work ought to be read by all intellectual historians.

THOMAS WILLIAM HEYCK
Northwestern University

THOMAS M. TRUXES. *Irish-American Trade, 1660–1783*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 448. \$39.50.

This is unquestionably a pioneering study. It complements the work of Louis Cullen in Irish social and economic history, and in its style and structure it resembles the earlier Caribbean studies of Richard Pares and Lowell J. Ragatz. The eighteenth-century British-American colonies included the British Caribbean islands, and this book does, too. It has fifty pages of useful statistics on Irish imports and exports, including figures for European as well as American goods, and there are a number of useful tables in the text. There is a comprehensive bibliography, and the twelve chapters have over one hundred pages of endnotes. The monograph is marked by extensive and careful scholarship throughout. The Thomas Allen referred to on page 139 is, however, Thomas Allan, M. P. for Killybegs, 1768–76, and for Naas, 1776–83, whom the Irish government employed as a semi-official agent to lobby the North administration on Irish affairs. He reported to the chief secretary in this capacity and not, as stated, as a representative of the London-Irish house of Allen and Marlar.

Most commercial ventures in eighteenth-century Ireland were small. Enterprises were shared, and merchandise was often mixed to spread the risks. Many merchants preferred the less profitable commission business to trading directly on their own accounts. Moreover, much trade—for example, flaxseed—was seasonal. Commercial links were personal and usually based on a network of family and religious ties. The financial market was still fairly primitive, and barter played an important part in the balance of payments, particularly in direct trade between America and Ireland. Major financial transactions were facilitated by being cleared through the London-Irish houses.

In chapters 1 and 2, Thomas M. Truxes describes Irish trade before and after 1731. Although the Navigation Acts were continually being adjusted, major changes affecting the operation of both the American and the Irish trade within the British mercantilist system were made in the early 1730s. From 1696 to 1731, direct imports of colonial goods into Ireland had been prohibited; after 1731, Irish ports were opened to all nonenumerated goods. Chapter 3 discusses the financial infrastructure of the trade; chapters 4, 5, and 6 look at the merchant communities centered on the ports in Ireland, the West Indies, and North America, whereas Irish trade was mainly centered on New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore.

Dublin's dominant position in the Irish economy was reflected in all sections of the American trade. Cork

was the only other major port, and its importance lay in provision trade, particularly with the West Indies and the southern colonies. Despite embargoes, Cork often supplied provisions in wartime to both contestants. Indentured servants, linen, and salt herring made up most of the trade from the north. Trade in servants was particularly significant. Not only did indentured servants satisfy a demand for labor that might otherwise have encouraged the spread of slavery, but they also brought with them intellectual, political, and social attitudes that made an enduring contribution to American life.

Flaxseed and rum provided a return cargo. Sugar, legally imported through England, fed an important local sugar-baking industry in Ireland. Other imports included hardwood for furniture and timber for commercial purposes, and American-built ships were occasionally sold in Ireland. In the five chapters devoted to goods traded—namely, the emigrant trade, provisions, linen, flaxseed, and other colonial exports—Truxes gives an illuminating picture of eighteenth-century North Atlantic commerce as it operated under the British mercantilist system. The final chapter looks at the impact of revolution on trade.

EDITH MARY JOHNSTON-LIHK
Macquarie University

RONALD CREAGH. *Nos cousins d'Amérique: Histoire des français aux Etats-Unis*. Paris: Payot. 1988. Pp. 512. 160 fr.

France is now sufficiently removed from its traumatic postwar colonial experiences to look back nostalgically on its former colonies. The first tentative steps in this direction were taken in the 1970s, when the nation began to rediscover the French-speaking vestiges of its once-extensive North American empire. Indeed, Quebec, the Canadian Maritimes, and southern Louisiana have become enduring sources of fascination to the French, in no small part because of the perceived success of their efforts to resist assimilation by France's modern nemesis: encroaching Anglo-American culture. French interest in these French-speaking areas is seen not only in their heightened exposure in the popular media but also in the inordinate number of recent award-winning literary works dealing with these regions. Popular interest in these North American communities has also spawned a number of French histories of the regions, the most recent being Ronald Creagh's book.

Creagh's work offers a sweeping overview of the French experience in the United States, ranging from the ill-starred Huguenot attempt to colonize Florida in the 1560s to the size and geographic distribution of persons of French descent in the United States during the 1980s. Creagh also examines the work of French missionaries in Canada and the Mississippi Valley, the creation and early evolution of Quebec society, Franco-Indian relations, Robert La Salle's peregrinations, the

founding and peopling of Louisiana, the Huguenot migration to North America, France's contribution to America's war of independence, Louisiana's late eighteenth-century development, the royalist and Bonapartist influxes, the *gens de couleur libre* in antebellum Louisiana, the California gold rush and its role in attracting French immigrants, French utopian experiments in the United States, and the fate of America's French-speaking communities during the twentieth century. Most of the work, however, is devoted to the French experience in the Mississippi Valley and along the Gulf Coast.

Although commendably broad in focus, the work is regrettably shallow in content, reflecting the author's limited reading and specialized background. This deficiency is seen perhaps most clearly in the author's extensive coverage of the failed Icarian experiment, a mere footnote to the French experience in the United States, while he almost completely ignores the Acadian influx and the subsequent birth of the Cajun culture that has clung to its traditions and mother tongue more tenaciously than any other French immigrants to the present United States. Like Liliane Crete's *La Vie quotidienne en Louisiane, 1815–1830* (1978), this book's lengthy section on Louisiana focuses on New Orleans at the expense of the French-speaking rural parishes and forgets the Saint-Domingue refugees who were instrumental in preserving the Crescent City's French character in the early nineteenth century.

The foregoing problems are compounded by major organizational difficulties. For example, Creagh's discussion of the Huguenot diaspora that gave impetus to French colonization of North America begins on page 153, following the conclusion of a chapter on the disastrous Seven Years' War and the resultant dismantling of France's North American empire.

The author's lack of objectivity is also disconcerting, with French chauvinism emerging between outbursts of hostility toward America. Indeed, the author's poorly veiled personal biases tarnish the work's scholarly integrity.

But Creagh's work is not without merit. It does bring together some new material, especially on French immigration into the United States during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Yet the reader should exercise caution, even in these chapters, because of the very narrow bibliographies on which they are constructed.

CARL A. BRASSEAU
University of Southwestern Louisiana

CHRISTOPHER HARRISON. *France and Islam in West Africa, 1860–1960*. (African Studies Series, number 60.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 242. \$42.50.

This book is scholarly yet readable—Christopher Harrison's "dry humor" resembles that which he finds in Paul Marty, his most important single source—and not

too long. Footnotes (nearly seven hundred, three or four per page on average) are exiled to the back: either they or coherent reading must be abandoned. There is a single, rather general map and a useful index, although I noticed that half of the references to "*mahdism*" (an awkward printing) are missed. Here and there a French passage appears untranslated, or a word (such as *apprivoisement*, especially signaled on page 106). Occasionally "false friends" slip through into English translation: secretive Muslim brotherhoods misconstruing French legislation as attacking "their secular traditions" (p. 60); our old ideas "upturned" by some new development (p. 131); amulets "confected" by marabouts (p. 85). And was the Franco-Arabic *médessa* really designed to "diffuse the Islamic threat" (p. 64)? Typography is good, but see alms collected from disciplines on page 41.

There are four parts. The first, 1850–98, considers the nineteenth-century origins of French Islamic policy. At this stage, there were many unanswered—and, in the state of French knowledge then, often unanswerable—questions about the transferability of Algerian models to West Africa, about the contrast between Muslim resisters and cooperators, about the Sufi brotherhoods' role, about the relationship between slavery and Muslim society. Part 2, 1898–1912, discusses French fears of Islam, early experiments with Franco-Arabic education, and the Goumba affair of 1911 in Guinea, which cost hundreds of lives and marked a crisis of French Islamic policy. Conventional wisdom in this prewar period recommended a divide-and-rule encouragement of religious and ethnic particularism. Part 3, roughly the World War I period, introduces three outstanding "scholar-administrators," François Clozel, Maurice Delafosse, and Paul Marty, whose inclinations and approach, coupled with their quite extraordinary scholarly literary output, provided both data and contextual analysis for a more informed Islamic policy. New understanding of, and respect for, traditional African civilizations was qualified by Marty's detailed studies demonstrating both the particularity of West African Islam and the possibility of the French working with its representatives. Part 4, finally, "The French Stake in *Islam noir*," describes increasingly close interwar collaboration between the French and various leaders of West African Islam.

Among many interesting dimensions of the discussion are the impact of French domestic politics (such as anticlericalism in France, even the Dreyfus affair [pp. 22–23]), the broader international setting, and the persistence of French stereotypes about Islam even when more sophisticated information was ready at hand. Harrison's picture, balanced and nuanced, of French attitudes toward Islam very occasionally seems too dismissive. French concern, for example, over the eleven-bead Hamallist rosary, and the twelve-bead Tijani one, was not, I think, "superstitious and mysterious" (p. 172) but pragmatic, a recognition of the immense symbolic impact of even tiny deviations in

prayer (an impact Harrison recognizes in the shortened prayer in time of fear [pp. 177–78]).

This book is a study of French attitudes and policy toward Islam: French administrators stand out from the pages. Their Muslim counterparts—Sheikh Sidia; Ahmadu Bamba; Hamallah; Seydou Nourou Tall, “the jetsetting grandson of al-Hajj Umar Tall”; and others—do not, or at least are less deeply sculpted. In this sense, the even-handed title is a little misleading. Harrison points to future French archival research for the last two colonial decades, 1940–60. Still more interesting would be an inside study of West African Muslim attitudes and policy toward the French. Do such data exist? Is the material recoverable, and, amid present pressures of nationalism, ethnicity, and religion, is a dispassionate balanced analysis a practicable proposition? Who would have the necessary dry humor?

HUMPHREY J. FISHER

*School of Oriental and African Studies
University of London*

REINHARD R. DOERRIES. *Imperial Challenge: Ambassador Count Bernstorff and German-American Relations, 1908–1917*. Translated by CHRISTA D. SHANNON. (Supplementary Volumes to the Papers of Woodrow Wilson.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1989. Pp. xix, 442. \$45.00.

This volume is a translation of Reinhard R. Doerries's *Washington-Berlin, 1908–1917* (1975), supplemented by extensive new research. *Washington-Berlin* is a painstaking and thorough study of U.S.-German relations largely based on the files of the German Foreign Office and relying almost exclusively on published American sources on the U.S. side. The present translation is a detailed study of the troubled diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany prior to their break in 1917, expanded and greatly enriched, particularly in the notes, by a careful study of *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, the files of the Department of State in the National Archives, relevant files of the British Foreign and War offices in the Public Record Office, and private manuscript collections.

Doerries focuses on the tenure of Johann Heinrich Count von Bernstorff, a seasoned diplomat, who was the German ambassador in Washington from December 1908 to 1917. A liberal at heart, and fully at home in Anglo-American politics and society, Bernstorff was a strange representative of the hard-line military leadership and conservative landed gentry steering Germany to the ultimate abyss. Doerries devotes his introduction to a sympathetic biographical account of Bernstorff and one chapter to the prewar years. The rest of his book concentrates on the crucial years from 1914 to 1917. Here he deals primarily with three major issues: German propaganda, espionage, and sabotage activities in the United States; the submarine question; and Wilson's efforts to secure a negotiated peace.

Doerries documents far better than any one ever has

the illegal actions of a host of German agents and their volunteer assistants. He details the massive campaign of intrigue, espionage, and sabotage in the United States, unprecedented in modern times by one allegedly friendly power against another. These activities revealed that the true attitude of the German leaders toward the United States was one of hostility and contempt. He argues convincingly that Bernstorff was aware of their activities but probably not actually involved in them. The author produces massive amounts of evidence, some of it new, to show that Bernstorff genuinely sought to avoid war between the United States and Germany, that after 1915 he was convinced that Wilson's proposal for a negotiated “peace without victory” would serve Germany's interest best, and that he did everything in his power—indeed, overstepped his instructions—to pacify America in the face of such blunders as the torpedoing of the *Lusitania*. Efforts to work in these directions, however, were progressively undercut by developments in Berlin.

Bernstorff knew the United States well. He knew that it had immense economic and manpower resources, which could be rapidly mobilized, and that American entry into the war on the side of the Allies could result only in the defeat of Germany. He was also convinced that Wilson was genuinely neutral and sincerely wanted to end the war through his personal mediation and to bring into being a new postwar community dedicated to the prevention of future wars. But Bernstorff's conciliatory recommendations fell on deaf ears in Berlin, where ignorance of the realities of international relations and an overestimation of German power reigned supreme. Berlin responded to Wilson's efforts to mediate the conflict by inviting Mexico to join Germany in declaring war on the United States. Despite an anti-German bias, Doerries has written the most definitive analysis of German-American relations in the crucial period prior to U.S. entry into World War I.

BETTY MILLER UNTERBERGER
Texas A&M University

ARTHUR L. SMITH, JR. *Hitler's Gold: The Story of the Nazi War Loot*. New York: Berg; distributed by St. Martin's. 1989. Pp. xvii, 174. \$34.00.

Nazi gold seizures have long been the stuff of suspense fiction, but novels and films are not always accurate about historical detail. Arthur L. Smith, Jr., seeks to make good this deficiency with a scholarly study of the Nazi seizure of over \$621 million in monetary gold from occupied countries. (Germany already held \$150 million in gold before the war.) He relates the amounts of government gold and gold coins stolen from each victim, the often bizarre routes the gold traveled, the Nazi's use of the gold to finance imports from neutral countries, the American hunt for German gold in 1945, and the politics of distributing recovered gold after the war.

Smith asserts that the gold was economically vital to the German war effort. But the approximately \$350 million in stolen gold Germany transferred to neutrals from 1939 to 1945 paid for less than 4 percent of its imports (albeit, a higher percentage of imports from neutrals). To make his case, Smith would have to show that Germany could not have obtained war-related imports without the gold and that its war effort would have suffered substantially without those imports; he does neither.

Smith is critical (perhaps justifiably) of Swiss willingness to take obviously stolen gold. But he never systematically assesses Swiss options and seems less disturbed that the Turks, Swedes, Spanish, and Portuguese also willingly accepted looted gold. He dwells on Swiss reluctance to provide restitution after Germany's defeat and their agreement finally to partial recompense. But he offers less information on the other neutrals' repayments, particularly on Sweden's readiness to repay in full. A table showing clearly how much gold the Nazis transferred to each neutral country and how much each recipient paid the Allies in restitution (absolutely and as a percentage of the looted gold the country had accepted) also would have been informative.

The Americans, British, and French established an arbitration commission to distribute among the claimants the \$330 million in recovered and restituted gold they had accumulated; they promised that each victimized country would receive a share of the remaining gold proportionate to its losses. But cold war politics seem to have influenced the gold's distribution: Western nations received recompense relatively quickly, but Communist nations had to wait, often decades. Unfortunately, Smith does not thoroughly discuss how, and especially when, East-West tensions influenced the process. He asserts that the gold was important to its former owners, but, again, he does not systematically analyze what proportion of each country's postwar imports recovered gold might have financed. He also does not discuss the ways various other American, British, and French postwar concerns (such as Britain's efforts to promote European economic recovery and France's desire to punish and weaken Germany) might have influenced their varying policies on gold restitution.

Smith fills a gap in our knowledge, but he could have done so more succinctly and then explored some of the issues suggested above.

MICHAEL L. HUGHES
Wake Forest University

JON V. KOFAS. *Intervention and Underdevelopment: Greece during the Cold War*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 215. \$24.95.

Greece's role in the cold war was meteoric. It burst on the scene illuminated by the bold rhetoric of the Truman Doctrine only to fade quickly, outshone by

more dramatic episodes. Greece revealed the simple logic and ideological burden of the policy of containment, underscored the decline of Britain's power, and engaged the United States in efforts to defeat a Communist-led insurgency and rescue a shaky and unpopular regime in the interest of American security. The Greek crisis of the 1940s offers useful clues to Washington's early attempts to confront what was perceived as a case of Soviet aggression. It also illustrates the limits of Moscow's control over Communist regimes in the Balkans as well as the political strategy and insurgency tactics of the Greek Communists. For many revisionists, the United States assisted the Greek government to defeat the forces of reform and social change that challenged America's hegemonic ambitions, thereby setting the stage for interventionist adventures elsewhere.

In this volume, Jon V. Kofas has elevated revisionism to incredible new heights. Kofas's central theme is simple enough. In the aftermath of World War II, first Britain and then the United States employed economic and political leverage to assert their domination over Greece and harness that small but strategically located state to their imperial pursuits. To attain their objectives, London and Washington obstructed plans for the country's industrialization, prevented social change, and frustrated its social revolutionary forces, as the United States would later do throughout the Third World. Specifically, American intervention in Greece, as elsewhere, was motivated by concern for petroleum and strategic minerals and to benefit the "American-based transnational corporations which supported the institutionalization of President Truman's Cold War interventionist policies." Thus, "Greece was the testing ground for the implementation of the policy of containment militarism" (p. 66). Shifting arguments but still traveling in the same direction, Kofas castigates American officials for not forcing the oppressive and reactionary Greek regime to accept needed radical reforms, because, after all, they possessed the power to do so. Parenthetically, Secretary George Marshall is said to have been "personally engrossed . . . in the politics of counterrevolution" as a result of his recent mission to China (p. 96).

The author finds no Soviet involvement, direct or indirect, in the Greek crisis, dismisses the role of Greece's Communist neighbors as too small to be worthy of attention, and implies that all of this was clear to American officials at the time. The Greek Communists, according to Kofas, mostly acted in self-defense, hoping to receive the political recognition they had earned as the main wartime resistance movement; once in a while they seemed to be yearning to launch a revolution. The result of U.S. actions was that Greece remained underdeveloped and dependent until 1981, when Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou took the first steps to "free the country from preponderate United States entanglement" (p. 169).

Sober revisionism has contributed much to the understanding of those turbulent and complex events. In

particular, revisionists have documented an "arrogance of power" in much of Washington's Greek policy as well as a quixotic disposition toward unstable, impoverished, and internally divided clients. Scholars have shown that, despite many benefits, the American intervention was a mixed blessing for Greece, whose undemocratic system continued to resist pressures for change long after the American missions had been withdrawn.

It is not, therefore, Kofas's extreme revisionist claims that are particularly new or disturbing but the incongruous arguments and improper use of sources on which they are based. On the one hand, for example, the Greek Communists are described as "inept and adventurist," planning an insurrection long before the Truman Doctrine (p. 75) and finally opting for armed rebellion "as the only means of destroying Anglo-American imperialism" (p. 96). On the other, Kofas asserts that civil war could have been avoided if only the United States had not insisted on a "military solution" (pp. 96–98). George Kennan is first recognized (p. 65) as having "dispelled the myth that the Kremlin had a foreign policy based on interminable expansion." (What of his "long telegram"?) Later he is portrayed as dreading the damage to American security interests that would result from a Communist victory in Greece (p. 80). Following the often-repeated argument that the Soviet Union was not responsible for the Greek insurrection, an American diplomat is quoted as saying that such movements were "directed by Moscow" (p. 85). The source for the claim that Greek newspapers "of all political affiliations" strongly objected to the American assistance program is one Greek Communist pamphlet (pp. 91–92). Sources cited in the endnotes do not always corroborate what the text claims they do; often the reader must guess which of half a dozen sources in a given note may be relevant to a particular point. On the central question of the Greek Communist party's strategy and tactics, its relations with Moscow and the Balkan regimes, and its gradual slip toward civil war, Kofas ignores the most important sources, including party documents and the writings of key Communist leaders. The same is true for the equally important question of U.S.-British relations during 1944–47 and for the role of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in Greece.

In short, the book is based on research that is seriously flawed, and many of its arguments are awkwardly developed. Anyone who can maintain that, in the postwar years and unlike Greece, which was being held back by the British and the Americans, the Communist regimes in the Balkans were "building dynamic fiscal state structures" is not writing history but making an ideological statement (p. 30).

JOHN O. IATRIDES

Southern Connecticut State University

ROLF STEININGER. *Wiederbewaffnung: Die Entscheidung für einen westdeutschen Verteidigungsbeitrag: Adenauer und die Westmächte, 1950*. Erlangen: Straube. 1989. Pp. 429.

When the Federal Republic of Germany was established in 1949, it had no military forces, and the Western powers presiding over its creation vowed that the state would remain "demilitarized" for the foreseeable future, a commitment that most West Germans, glad to be rid of things military, readily accepted. Germans, most people seemed to agree, simply could not be trusted with weapons. Roughly six years later, on Gerhard von Scharnhorst's two-hundredth birthday (November 12, 1955), the first 101 officers of West Germany's new Bundeswehr were awarded their commissions. Within another half-decade the Bundeswehr, fully integrated into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, had become the largest land army on the European continent.

Rolf Steininger's new book examines in minute detail the decision by the Western powers and the Adenauer government to embark on the rearmament of the Federal Republic. (Actually, "rearmament" is something of a misnomer, because West Germany had not been armed.) This decision was formally reached in late 1950 largely in response to developments on the other side of the globe in Korea, where the Communist invasion struck many in the West as a possible precursor to attacks on West Germany by the East German Volkspolizei or even by the Russians themselves. Western military and political officials, particularly in the United States and Great Britain, ultimately concluded that Central Europe simply could not be defended without the assistance of German troops. "Germans to the Front" became the word of the day. Steininger's book takes us through the myriad of diplomatic maneuvers that produced the decision in principle to get the Federal Republic integrated into the Western defense framework, but Steininger does not look at the even more tortured political maneuvers that were required to translate this decision into reality. Had he undertaken this larger task, and done so with the same painstaking detail that he expends on his more limited topic, he would have produced a multivolume tome intimidating probably even to the most zealous of *Fachidioten*.

Be that as it may, one might legitimately ask whether there is truly a need for a book that devotes almost four hundred pages to the diplomacy of German rearmament in a single, albeit crucial, year. This question would be less compelling if the rearmament decision of 1950 had not been extensively examined in previous studies, most recently in the first volume of the Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt's voluminous *Anfänge westdeutscher Sicherheitspolitik* (1982). Steininger justifies his project by making use of some newly available documents, principally in British and American archives. (Most of the relevant French files remain closed to scholars, and opening of the Russian archives depends on a fuller flowering of Mikhail Gorbachev's

fragile *perestroika*.) On the basis of this new material, Steininger is able to provide a more fulsome and nuanced account than was heretofore possible and one that gives more weight to the British as "pioneer thinkers" in the rearmament debate. Yet in the end the book does not offer any dramatically new interpretations or significantly alter our understanding of the decision to exact a "defense contribution" from the Federal Republic.

By taking the reader "hour by hour, almost minute by minute" through the diplomatic negotiations surrounding the rearmament debate in 1950, Steininger hoped to make his work more "gripping and readable" (p. 12). One suspects that most readers are not held spellbound by the minutiae of diplomatic negotiation. Scholars of postwar European security policy, on the other hand, may welcome the thoroughness with which Steininger has investigated his topic. This is an issue, after all, that though "solved" in the 1950s continues to have relevance in contemporary calculations regarding the "German Question" in the broader sense. Those familiar with the rearmament debate in the early 1950s can only have had a sense of déjà vu when they observed the discussions over German reunification and the role that a reunified Germany might play in enhancing European security and political tranquility.

DAVID CLAY LARGE
Montana State University

PETER COLEMAN. *The Liberal Conspiracy: The Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Struggle for the Mind of Postwar Europe*. New York: Free Press. 1989. Pp. xiii, 333. \$22.95.

Peter Coleman, an Australian, has served since 1967 as editor of *Quadrant*, a journal published in Sydney and founded in 1956 by the Congress for Cultural Freedom. *Quadrant* was supported until 1971 by the congress and its successor, the International Association for Cultural Freedom, which was set up in 1967 when disclosure of connections with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) forced the congress to reorganize under the auspices of the Ford Foundation.

It is hardly surprising that Coleman has written a highly sympathetic account of the congress's activities. His subtitle conveys his point of view. He accepts the reality of a "struggle for the mind of postwar Europe," a struggle the Communists might well have won except for the vigorous opposition mounted by the Congress for Cultural Freedom. "The achievement of the Congress," he writes, "was . . . to have placed some severe limits on the advantages of Stalinist Russia." Now that "the Congress's once lonely assessment of Soviet totalitarianism" has been universally accepted, the congress can be pronounced a "historic success" (p. 247).

Such a conclusion can be defended only by taking a very narrow view of "cultural freedom." If cultural freedom means freedom from censorship and persecution, it clearly had a better chance of flourishing in

the West than in Stalinist Russia. To the extent to which the European and American Left denied the fact of Stalin's police state, apologized for it on the grounds that "bourgeois civil liberties" had to be sacrificed to the cause of socialism, or claimed that capitalism represented a more insidious form of "totalitarianism," organizations like the Congress for Cultural Freedom served a useful purpose in the 1950s. Even here, however, the necessary struggle against Stalinist liberalism in the West was compromised by the congress's secret dependence on the CIA and by its not-so-secret support of American foreign policies in which the interests of democracy were again and again sacrificed to the need to fight communism with any means available.

The worst effect of the cold war was to deflect criticism of the West, the shortcomings of which could always be minimized as long as the Soviet Union appeared to provide the only relevant comparison. An organization devoted to cultural freedom might have been expected to ask what it required, in the way of social and political preconditions, beyond constitutional guarantees of free speech and civil liberties. Could it flourish in societies where most workers, denied participation in management, took little interest in their work and sought relief in the purely private satisfactions of consumerism? Could it flourish in the absence of a common purpose and a clearly articulated public philosophy?

To their credit, a few members of the congress saw the need to raise such questions. "Worker participation" was discussed at a conference in Vienna in 1958, although it did not become a "major Congress theme," as Coleman admits (p. 117). In the late 1950s, Raymond Aron suggested that the West could not be "content with a science concerned only with the manipulation of natural forces and social beings" (p. 119). George Kennan criticized the West's obsession with economic growth and its indifference to the environmental effects of this "arrogant and hopeless attitude." In 1959, he urged a "public philosophy" that would recognize the "obligation to pass this planet on to future generations in a state no poorer . . . than that in which we found it" (p. 121).

But such issues could not be addressed in any sustained way within the context of the cold war. The congress's commitment to the underlying premise of the cold war—that the struggle between the USSR and the West took precedence over everything else—made it an inappropriate forum in which to ask deeper questions about the meaning of cultural freedom. Insofar as it contributed to the impoverishment of public debate—and Coleman's book, sympathetic but by no means uncritical, provides plenty of evidence for the view that it did—the Congress for Cultural Freedom has to be judged (to reverse Coleman's own conclusion) as a historic failure.

CHRISTOPHER LASCH
University of Rochester

ANCIENT

ROBERT W. WALLACE. *The Areopagos Council to 307 B.C.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1989. Pp. xvii, 294. \$35.00.

The role of the Areopagus Council in history and in ideology has been a subject of debate. Robert W. Wallace undertakes to clear the air. In the late twentieth century, cleaning up the air is a difficult and dirty job; Wallace succeeds admirably. His book will now be the starting point for any further treatment of many issues. Perhaps more important, this detailed and balanced examination should help put an end to a number of longstanding disputes that are pointless or irresolvable or, not infrequently, both. This brief review can in no way do justice to the density of Wallace's work.

Wallace's book is divided into two parts: the first considers the role of the Areopagus in Athenian government from earliest times to 322 B.C. Here Wallace concludes that the Areopagus served at least from the eighth century on as a site for homicide trials and remained chiefly a homicide court until Solon. Solon's reforms granted it broader powers, but these were virtually unexercised. The Areopagus may have assumed a somewhat greater role early in the fifth century, but Ephialtes' reforms again reduced its powers. From that time until 322 B.C., the Areopagus continued as a homicide court with assorted other duties related to ritual matters such as sacred trees, tombs, and religious secrets.

Part 2 examines the Areopagus as a topic in ideology and politics from 411 to 307 B.C. Chapter 5 begins with the place of the Areopagus in the events of 411–403 B.C. and concludes that the Thirty Tyrants did, in 404, have a program based on claims about Athens's ancestral constitution and that the Areopagus was a part of this policy. Furthermore, Theramenes and his treaty with Sparta in 404 are associated with this program. Chapter 6 finds no evidence for Areopagite ideology from 404 to 358. In this connection the chapter treats Isocrates' *Areopagiticus* in detail. The conclusion of chapter 7 is that from 358 to 307, "discussion of the Areopagus and its early competence was affected by politics, and . . . conservative political ideology had a role in the Areopagus' increased activities" (p. 175). There are appendixes on etymologies of "Areios Pagos," the meeting places of the Areopagus Council, and the fifth-century texts on early Athenian history.

The great virtue of this book is the fairness and energy with which each piece of evidence and each scholarly position is treated. Wallace, however, faces the difficulty that has confronted everyone since Aristotle: for many periods there is virtually no evidence for the Areopagus, and often the pathetic pieces of information are contradictory. An honest scholar like Wallace, then, must produce long, complicated discussions that come to the most tentative conclusions—or to no conclusions at all. Entire chapters may be almost totally negative, but even this is a service. Wallace rejects P. J. Rhodes's view that the Aristotelian *Ath-*

enion Politeia is essentially correct for the period before Solon. Unfortunately, as Wallace notes, between Solon and 480 B.C., the ancient sources mention the Areopagus only once. Wallace makes a complicated case for a theoretically empowered but practically inactive Areopagus in this period, but work in such a vacuum makes for depressingly qualified assertions such as the following: "It is also possible—and quite consistent with the (non-existent) evidence—that we simply do not know what role the archons played in Athenian politics in this period" (p. 71). Indeed, what possibility of lack of knowledge could ever be inconsistent with nonexistent evidence?

Nevertheless, Wallace is excellent on the difficulty of using *Eumenides* as evidence, on Isocrates' position in Athens and the place of the *Areopagiticus* in his work, and especially on Theramenes and the Thirty. This book, the contributions of which are so largely negative, must have been partly as depressing to write as it can be to read. But Wallace has performed a much-needed service with clarity and thoroughness. All students of Greek history will be grateful.

RICHARD GARNER
Yale University

PAUL CARTLEDGE and ANTONY SPAWFORTH. *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: A Tale of Two Cities.* (States and Cities of Ancient Greece.) New York: Routledge. 1989. Pp. xiii, 304.

The main purpose of this book is to provide a detailed study of Sparta in the postclassical period, that is, the Hellenistic and Roman ages, and to show that Sparta's history does not (and should not) end at Leuctra in 371 or in the 360s. The authors are well-established scholars in this field: Paul Cartledge has already published two books dealing with archaic and classical Sparta; and Antony Spawforth has made numerous contributions on Roman Sparta in articles. The chief arguments of part 1, "Hellenistic Sparta" (by Cartledge), are that Sparta resisted Rome as it had Macedon, right up to the end, and that the attempts at "reform" or "revolution" under the kings called "tyrants" (Agis, Cleomenes, Nabis) make this story important. In part 2, "Roman Sparta" (by Spawforth), the arguments are that Sparta survived cohesively, in the Roman period, as a Greek province that should be viewed in the broader perspective of the Roman empire. Sparta's "archaism" in the Roman period is reexamined, and its development into a center of tourism, intellectual activity, and agonistic contests is treated in full. The authors conclude that Sparta in both periods of study remained vibrant and important and that study of the state sheds valuable light on both the Macedonian and the Roman dominations of Greece generally. This argument is an important contribution, because there exists no recent full discussion of the Roman era especially, and the continuity between these two rather neglected periods is well established. The good use made, particularly, of

epigraphical evidence for the Roman era is important, and the collection of evidence in the appendixes ("Monuments," "Catalogues of Magistrates," and "Hereditary Tendencies in the Curial Class") is a novel and useful contribution. Although perhaps there is less to be said that is new about Sparta from 362 to 146, in light of the numerous articles and books devoted to this period (so that this part is much shorter than part 2), a good deal of insight is provided by the emphasis on the Roman period. In particular, both authors take pains to set the Spartan story in a wider context: in part 1, that of the Peloponnesus after 362 and the Hellenistic world more generally; and, in part 2, that of the eastern provinces of the Roman empire. Such a setting results in broader perspectives than are usually found for late Sparta.

There are abundant citations of the ancient evidence, both literary and, of especial value, epigraphic, as well as good discussions of relevant modern literature. The lengthy bibliography is a useful contribution for those who would look further into special problems or aspects covered by the book. A background in ancient history is necessary to follow most of the arguments and to situate the material in context. Specialists may well consult individual chapters rather than read the book through from start to finish. The only other major work recently to have attempted something like this is L. Piper's *Spartan Twilight* (see my review in *AHR*, 92 [1987], p. 1184), and Piper gives more emphasis to Hellenistic than to Roman Sparta. Thus, it is hardly a direct competitor to this work with its extensive coverage of the Roman material and particularly with its good analysis of the social and economic basis for Roman Sparta.

CHARLES D. HAMILTON
San Diego State University

RAMSAY MACMULLEN. *Corruption and the Decline of Rome*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 319. \$25.00.

Corruption ruined the Roman empire. Ramsay MacMullen proves this in three well-orchestrated chapters. The first of these shows how the empire worked when it still worked well. Compliance with what the emperors really wanted was achieved through a strong network of obligations in a code of ethics upheld by hereditary holders of power. The next chapter traces the fundamental change by which money replaced these obligations, money taken by those in power before they would do anything. For money they would indeed do anything, thereby thwarting the intentions of the government. The final chapter assesses the price the empire paid for this: decline, measured by the collapse of security. Greedy, corrupt officers and their resulting armies of ill-supplied, untrained cowards and absentees gave way, often without a blow, to the invading enemies. This is a likely thesis, and it is sprightly dished

up with many happy phrases and startlingly fresh views.

Something, however, is missing: the reason for this change. MacMullen goes for lively description rather than abstract reasoning, a wise thing to do, particularly in the huge tangle of reasons given so far for the decline of Rome. Still, his gripping tale comes so near to the proximate cause that one wonders what keeps him from spelling it out. Greed, venality, corruption, and contempt for civilians were from the beginning widespread among the lower ranks of the army. During the first two centuries of our era, these men, recruited from the lowest classes, never rose above the rank of centurion. All through the third and fourth centuries, however, they became high officers and even emperors, bringing along their way of doing things, but now they had a much greater impact. This explains the surge of massive corruption and venality in the highest levels, a thesis commended by the fact that it was the Romans' own (it is enough to read Dio Cassius's last books with their never-ending complaints over riffraff risen to high rank). In a way, it is also Michael Rostovtzeff's thesis: handing civilization over to the lower classes ruins it.

The introductory chapter exhibits a lusty belief in statistics and fairly bristles with graphs. Thereafter they are found no more, yet emphasis on class, supported by graphs, might have greatly strengthened the line of reasoning, might have borne out the stated belief in the usefulness of the new quantitative methods, and thus satisfied the *Zeitgeist*.

The notes are vintage MacMullen and a gold mine: heaps of citations of vastly unequal value but, more often than not, rewarding with splendid nuggets. They show the author's vast erudition, enjoyable through his wit and thrusting argument. This book is powerful, original, and highly stimulating, presenting a savory slice of Roman reality that is much worth reading.

MICHAEL P. SPEIDEL
University of Hawaii,
Manoa

MEDIEVAL

WILLIAM ADLER. *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and Its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus*. (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, number 26.) Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. 1989. Pp. vi, 263.

This highly specialized work on Christian chronography will excite anyone whose interest in that subject has been thwarted by the lack of an authoritative guide. William Adler's book makes a major contribution to this subject.

Adler's attention focuses on several Byzantine universal historians, but his major concern is with the Byzantine chronicler George Syncellus. Syncellus wrote his *Ecloga Chronographica* early in the ninth century. Like most authors of his day, Syncellus championed

orthodoxy and asserted that he found little to praise in the work of those who preceded him. Curiously, Syncellus even had little use for Eusebius, the grandfather of Christian chronographers, and apparently did not directly consult his work.

On the other hand, Syncellus used a variety of sources, especially within the corpus of Jewish apocrypha, which he adapted to fit the framework that he erected for his study. Adler, along with other modern critics, finds Syncellus's work not so valuable in itself. It is important because of Syncellus's generous quotations from earlier authors, whom he often disparaged but nevertheless used to his own advantage. Without the *Ecloga* these works might well have been lost.

Syncellus and other Christian authors were insistent that history begins with creation and that Genesis records that event in a literal sense. Great efforts were made to explain what was meant by a day or a year in biblical terms. Christian authors grappled with questions of history before the Flood. How old was Methuselah when the deluge came? How long did Adam live in the Garden of Eden before he and Eve were ejected from it? Because both the Egyptians and the Chaldeans had kings' lists that reached far back over thousands of years, it was necessary to grapple with the concept of time among these people.

The audience for this volume, because of its subject matter, will be small. For those whose scholarly work lies in early Christian concepts of prehistory and the cataloging of time, Adler's work provides an exemplary study. It says something about the continuing viability of the subject that this book has been published.

CHARLES FRAZEE
California State University,
Fullerton

CHRISTOPHER N. L. BROOKE. *The Medieval Idea of Marriage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. xviii, 325. \$29.95.

Christopher N. L. Brooke's study serves as a fine complement and counterpoint to Georges Duby's *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest: The Making of Marriage in Medieval France* (1983). Duby's innovative study looked at aristocratic marriage in medieval France within both a political and a religious and social and economic framework. Brooke, who has had a long career as a medievalist, has produced a more personal statement about his research into the meaning of marriage in the Middle Ages. There are two recurrent questions in Brooke's study: what is marriage, and is Christian marriage something different in its nature from other relationships?

The purpose of the book is to synthesize experts' studies in a variety of disciplines. Brooke addresses the work of scholars who do social history, theology, and legal history as well as the work of literary critics and art and architectural historians. Brooke is also properly cautious about the complete validity of various sources.

He suggests that the mark of a true historian is a sufficient but not excessively skeptical attitude in handling evidence. He points out that one cannot necessarily trust that what people reported in tax records, diaries, and the like was accurate. People may have had reasons to falsify.

Brooke chooses to focus on some specific people and texts. He deftly uses the writings of St. Augustine to discuss early Christian attitudes. He also devotes several chapters to Peter Abelard and especially H  lo  se. In contrast to Duby, who only mentions Abelard and H  lo  se briefly and suggests that their correspondence is spurious, Brooke carefully traces the arguments for and against the authenticity of the correspondence and argues convincingly that we might accept it as authentic. He then uses the letters to provide a powerful illumination of twelfth-century values and the nature of H  lo  se's character.

Other particularly useful sections include a commentary on Margaret Beaufort, the mother of Henry VII, and a comparison of the marital arrangements and problems of twelfth-century Capetian monarchs and Henry VIII. Brooke also makes a strong case for what the historian can learn from the literary critic and devotes several chapters to medieval literature, including an analysis of the works of the German poet Wolfram von Eschenbach and Geoffrey Chaucer. Brooke also provides a sort of epilogue to the literary section by discussing romantic relationships in a number of William Shakespeare's plays of the 1590s.

Brooke ends his study with an analysis of the painting of the Arnolfini Marriage by Jan van Eck. He demonstrates how this painting is not merely an exchange of wedding vows in a nuptial chamber. It represents not only their wedding day but also their marriage as a whole and the institution of marriage itself.

Brooke uses a personal voice in this work. It is a meditation on medieval ideas about marriage and the interior aspects of marriage and human relationships. He claims that "we cannot study the history of marriage without imagination and insight—without infusing into our scholarship our knowledge of ourselves and of human nature" (p. 258). Brooke's study is an elegantly written evocative essay that uses a wide variety of sources and focuses on some perhaps idiosyncratic people and texts as examples of a larger construct of what the medieval idea of marriage really was. Experts in the field will probably not learn too much here that is new to them, but Brooke has provided a useful, gracefully written, and highly scholarly synthesis that will be particularly valuable to scholars and students of the period.

CAROLE LEVIN
State University of New York,
New Paltz

A. L. BROWN. *The Governance of Late Medieval England, 1272–1461*. (The Governance of England, number 3.)

Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1989. Pp. viii, 248. \$32.50.

A. L. Brown's work completes the series of three volumes surveying medieval English government: H. R. Loyn's *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England, 500–1087* (1984) and W. L. Warren's *The Governance of Norman and Angevin England* (1987). Brown's contribution is perhaps the least satisfactory of the three, largely because government was changing more rapidly in the late Middle Ages than in earlier centuries and because government was generating much greater stacks of documents, far more of which survive. As a result, scholars have turned out innumerable studies on specialized and regional topics for this later period, and Brown was required to sift through far more articles and books than his fellow authors in the series.

Brown's work serves an extremely useful purpose in making available recent research on all aspects of late medieval English government in one manageable book: the king and his officials, the council, royal finance and taxation, the army, the system of courts, local government, and Parliament. Brown gives references to recent scholarship in footnotes at the beginning of each section. To be useful, a book such as this must provide a careful balance between the general and the particular, and sometimes Brown seems incapable of sifting out detail for the reader. For example, lengthy discussions of the work of several Parliaments in the 1330s (pp. 209–11) are necessary to point out that the *grantz* and the *commune* had come customarily to sit separately by 1340.

Brown finds certain themes in his survey of late medieval government. He stresses the continuing personal role of the king, even though administration was becoming more professional and bureaucratic and cannot accurately be called household government. He recognizes that the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw almost continuous warfare that could only be financed by taxation: "War and the cost of war were the substance of much of the business of parliament" (p. 99). He is impressed with how "governable" England had become and takes a more benign view of the aristocracy's domination of the countryside than some scholars have, although he does admit that the king exercised little coercive power over the localities. Perhaps an imbalance results from the attention given Parliament, which is a third of the book. For the earliest Parliaments, Brown largely follows F. W. Maitland's, H. G. Richardson's, and G. O. Sayles's conciliar views, but he sees the institution taking on clear attributes of a representative and legislative assembly by the mid-fourteenth century.

This book is crammed with useful information otherwise available to scholars and students only in scattered books and obscure journals. Yet the material is not even easily digestible here. Admittedly, it is not easy to make an account of the division of labor among different royal writing offices sparkle, yet the author could have made things a bit easier for the reader by

skipping slightly on detail. Brown's approach is so impersonal that any impact by individuals on institutions is lacking; evidence of this is the index, which consists of terms only and no personal names. His style does not help either. He places no punctuation between long coordinate clauses in complex sentences, and he runs into overlong paragraphs. One paragraph is two pages long (pp. 226–27).

Despite its difficulties, Brown's book will prove invaluable to students who desire an up-to-date account of late medieval English government, and it draws together the most recent scholarship in one modest-sized volume.

RALPH V. TURNER
Florida State University

R. N. SWANSON. *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*. New York: Basil Blackwell. 1989. Pp. xii, 427. \$75.00.

This valuable synthesis explores the changing role of the church in English society during the turbulent period from the Black Death to the Henrician Reformation, that is, from circa 1350 to 1540. R. N. Swanson begins by making it clear that any dichotomy between "church" and "society" before the evolution of a denominationally pluralistic society is completely anachronistic. He does stress the important distinction between the institutional church, with its vast landed endowment, wealth, system of courts, economic activities, political powers and responsibilities, and its spiritual message and moral force.

Three broad problems are discussed. The opening chapters treat the structure of the church, clerical personnel, and the clergy in the wider society. The number of parishes, which bore no relation to population concentration, reflected a fossilization of ancient organization. The evidence suggests that economic background usually determined clerical "vocation": most priests seem to have come from richer peasant families or from those controlling the more profitable crafts in the towns. Character, rather than intellectual qualification, determined suitability for ordination. Because there were never enough benefices for all ordained clerics, and those who received them usually had to wait a long time, most priests led insecure lives and depended for survival on the small fees paid by chaplaincies or relied on parochial duties for assistance. The widespread evidence of sexual misdemeanors and clerical paternity extending from bishops to parish priests (themselves frequently the sons of priests) suggests that many could not observe their vows.

A second theme focuses on the relationship between church and state, on the continuing conflict between the royal administration and the courts, and the claims of the ecclesiastical courts. Although the universal church through the Roman curia asserted a theoretical sovereignty over the church in England as elsewhere, the English monarchy, in practice, exercised broad

jurisdiction over the appointment and activities of spiritual authorities. The fifteenth century witnessed a steady increase in the number of lay bureaucrats, but, because of financial limitations, royal governments continued to appoint ecclesiastics to the highest positions in the administration: such was the crown's method of promotion and payment. Considerable attention is devoted to the church's economic activities, to the commercial consequences of its position as landholder, employer, and consumer. Gradually churchmen came to terms with the mechanics of the money market and accepted lending at interest as a normal part of economic life; an acceptable rate of interest was not exploitative, which is, of course, a debatable test.

The third problem that Swanson addresses concerns sources (sermons, stained glass) and the manifestations (religious fraternities, benefactions to the church, processions, pilgrimages) of popular piety. The current state of the scholarly literature is reflected in the pages dealing with heresy, the Lollards, and the prehistory of England's Reformation. The beautifully nuanced pages on the complexity of clerical and doctrinal reform are probably the most valuable in the book.

Many of Swanson's conclusions are not new. The value of this excellent book rests on his thorough research, his control of a vast amount of material, his balanced and sound judgment, and his lucid prose style. One might have hoped for a fuller treatment of the nuns, given the avalanche of recent publications on them; for a fuller discussion of the political activities of such prelates as Henry Beaufort, probably the most important ecclesiastical politician of the fifteenth century; and for a fuller analysis of the educational and architectural achievements of William of Wykeham. But these are small reservations, and, as the author acknowledges, the limitations of publication required compression.

Students of medieval social history, ecclesiastical history, and popular piety will want to consult this book. Graduate students will appreciate the bibliography with its almost one thousand items.

BENNETT D. HILL
Georgetown University

JENNY SWANSON. *John of Wales: A Study of the Works and Ideas of a Thirteenth-Century Friar*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, fourth series, number 10.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 307. \$49.50.

Born between 1210 and 1230, lector at Oxford between 1259 and 1262, regent master of theology at Paris early in the 1280s, and, from 1283 until his death in 1285, member of the commission to investigate the writings of Peter Olivi, John of Wales kept most distinguished company. Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, John's Franciscan confreres Bonaventure, John Pecham, and Roger Bacon, and perhaps even Robert Grosseteste all numbered among his teachers, col-

leagues, and peers. Yet we remember and know considerably less of John than of these others, scholar, homilist, antiquarian, and prolific writer though he was. Perhaps this is so because John's scholarly achievement lay primarily in the compilation of handbooks for Christian preachers—a contribution less glamorous than the *summae* of his fellow Parisian masters but, as Jenny Swanson here argues, no less reflective of the spirit and culture of the age.

After briefly summarizing our meager knowledge of John's career, Swanson devotes her book to a painstaking treatment of John's four earliest preaching aids, evidently written in Oxford and Paris between 1265 and 1275. In his relatively short *Breviloquium de virtutibus antiquorum principum et philosophorum*, John sought to provide for the instruction of secular princes by focusing on the intersection of three popular subjects: the virtues, the exemplary behavior of the ancients, and philosophy. Enumerating, grouping, and analyzing the various virtues pertinent to justice, prudence, temperance, and fortitude, John adduced a host of classical *exempla* to instruct and inspire the contemporary Christian ruler. John's *Communiloquium*, subject of Swanson's analysis in three of her eight chapters, comprises an exhaustive taxonomy, similarly replete with edifying *exempla*, of a Christian world in its various dimensions: the state, its members, its regulation and governance; the classifications of individuals and relationships that constitute secular society; and the clerics, religious, and scholars of the *respublica ecclesiastica*. In the *Compendiloquium*, John returned to ancient philosophers, their ideas, and their legacies. And, in his far less popular *Breviloquium de sapientia sanctorum*, he dutifully considered the virtues and pious works of exemplary Christians.

Swanson methodically summarizes and reviews each of these works, analyzing their inner logic and structure, investigating their classical and Christian sources, and following their respective histories in manuscript and in print. John's familiarity with the classics was extensive and itself sheds light on the availability of ancient texts at thirteenth-century universities. More noteworthy still was John's conviction that these texts might contribute directly to the proper constitution and edification of Christendom, not only via inclusion in the academic curriculum but also in the homiletic value of their *exempla*. If this conviction made John's works at all controversial, it also undoubtedly underlay their popularity, which extended throughout the later Middle Ages and even beyond.

Rereading my comments thus far, I am struck by the number of lists and grammatical series that they contain, yet their flavor accurately reflects that of the work under review. Lists, summaries, outlines, tabulations, comparisons, and classifications of John's ideas abound in this book; indeed, they are its essence. To observe that Swanson's research has been meticulous would not do it justice. She has counted and categorized each and every one of John's references in the four books here treated. She has tracked and counted the surviving

manuscripts (453), editions, and translations. She has reckoned the numbers of known manuscript copies (926) that circulated in the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, with all of this and more, something is still missing—something that must have explained the popularity of John's works themselves. One wants to learn more of the mentality that directed Friar John in his journey through classical literature. One wishes that his books might offer an integrated picture of his thirteenth-century world view. One wonders what John's ancient stories of the adulterous stork sniffed out by his fellows, of the Roman general stranded in an apple tree who refrained from tasting its fruit, and of Diogenes who lived in a barrel and discarded his only drinking cup reveal of their medieval storyteller. Swanson herself subordinates John's ideas and subjects to the structure and organization of his books. For instance, "Virtue was important in John's world. What role does it play in *Breviloquium*? Perhaps its most significant function is the provision of a developed structure, of a sequence of topics within which John can deploy his ancient *exempla* and his comments to rulers" (p. 55). I would be disappointed if this were the extent of virtue's importance in John's thought. A work of scholarship and erudition, this book left me hungry for a more thorough understanding of John of Wales and his world.

JEREMY COHEN
Ohio State University
Tel Aviv University

DIANA WOOD. *Clement VI: The Pontificate and Ideas of an Avignon Pope*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, fourth series, number 13.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. xviii, 255. \$49.50.

In this book, the first English-language study of an Avignon pope, Diana Wood attempts to integrate the various representations of Clement VI fashioned by scholars over the last century. It is a formidable task, especially the reconciliation of Clement's cultural image as a progressive, proto-Renaissance papal patron with his political image as a thoroughly conventional medieval pontiff. To understand Clement's motivations, Wood makes resourceful use of his sermons, many of which have been preserved because of his reputation as a preacher.

Wood builds her assessment of Clement on his theoretical conception of the papal office. Because Clement never wrote a systematic work on the papacy, she draws what she can from his sermons. She finds his views typical of extreme papalists of the mid-fourteenth century and sees them as the key to Clement's various cultural and architectural enterprises at Avignon. His exalted vision of the papacy drove him to make Avignon the equal of Rome, not least to answer the attacks of critics who questioned the authority of a papacy geographically separated from Rome. The scale of Clement's patronage anticipated the Renaissance popes and made Avignon the most brilliant court in

Europe. Yet behind it was no humanist but a pope with an overwhelming concern to maintain the papal see as "the theoretical nucleus of the Christian world" (p. 95).

Wood gives well-articulated, subtle accounts of Clement's complex and stormy relationship with his cardinals, his struggles to end the Hundred Years' War, and his efforts to establish papal control of the German kingship. There are briefer considerations of his policies toward Byzantines, Jews, heretics, and infidels.

Although the book has many merits, it also has some problems. One is a tendency to questionable generalizations. Another is Wood's occasional misreading of sources (for example, p. 23). But most significant is the skewed conception of fourteenth-century papalist ideology outlined in the first chapter and echoed throughout the book. Wood depicts Clement's doctrine of papal authority as rooted in the canonistic phrase *vices veri Dei in terris*, which she takes as an assertion that the pope was a "terrestrial God" (p. 20). She argues that Clement and other extreme papalists claimed that all of the other powers of the papacy were "logical" consequences of the pope's terrestrial divinity. This is a strikingly literal interpretation of what to canonists was no more than a rhetorical analogy describing the pope's extraordinary authority in certain legal cases. Moreover, it oversimplifies and obscures papalist teaching. Late medieval theories of papal power developed not from the logical elaboration of a single principle but from many sources. This complex evolution produced some variety of interpretation, even among extremists. Wood's treatment gives little sense of this variety and so places Clement's political theory in a kind of historical vacuum. She cites many contemporary papalists, to be sure, but in most cases only to demonstrate their agreement with Clement. This conveys a false sense of unanimity and simplicity in papalist ideology and leaves unclear whether Clement's views were innovative or conventional.

Despite this drawback, however, Wood's book remains valuable. Her command of Clement's letters and her resourceful approach to the subject make it a useful tool for understanding a puzzling personality and a difficult period in ecclesiastical history.

THOMAS TURLEY
Santa Clara University

HERVE MARTIN. *Le Métier de prédicateur en France septentrionale à la fin du Moyen Age, 1350–1520*. (Histoire.) Paris: Cerf. 1988. Pp. 720. 292 fr.

Sermons are possibly the most extensive and certainly the most neglected of late medieval sources. Hervé Martin has based this study of preaching in northern France between the Black Death and the Protestant Reformation on a sample of about two thousand preachers and a detailed consideration of nearly eight hundred of their sermons, which represents only a fraction of the material that he has read, chiefly in manuscript, in order to make this selection. The work

involved in his research has been truly formidable, but, as a result, he can write with assurance about facts, not hypotheses, and what he has discovered is important.

Between 1350 and 1520, a large and steadily increasing number of sermons were preached in the urban areas of northern France. The total number must have been huge, for Martin leaves aside the work of ordinary parish priests who preached occasionally and deals only with the work of trained and qualified preachers, the greater number of whom were drawn from the mendicant orders. Some preached as a routine part of their religious duties, but others were engaged by civic authorities to give courses of sermons, usually during Lent, and were paid for their services, which is an indication of how seriously preaching was taken by society at large.

The sermons that Martin analyzes were designed to give instruction in Christian belief, ethics, and practice. The preachers made no attempt to avoid difficult issues such as the doctrines of the Trinity or of eucharistic sacrifice, nor did they attempt to simplify their message to suit the needs of lay audiences, many of whose members would have had little or no formal education. They based their teaching on the Old and New Testaments, which they expounded in the tradition of the fourfold interpretation of scripture, and used all branches of human knowledge to explain the multifaceted truths contained in the Christian revelation. This was the method of biblical exegesis taught in the medieval universities, and Martin's analysis of these sermons shows that the line between the learned understanding of the faith held by the higher clergy and the "folk" religion of uneducated lay people was far less precise in the later Middle Ages than some modern historians would have us suppose. Clearly the people who heard the sermons came to share some of the preachers' more sophisticated understanding of the Christian religion.

Preachers often complained that they were not attracting the right audiences, that regular churchgoers, particularly middle-class women, made up the bulk of their congregations and were those least in need of their ministry. Nevertheless, preachers did sometimes succeed in reaching a wider public: thus, on one occasion, as the result of an unusually affecting sermon, the brothels of Dijon were closed down for the whole of Lent, although normal business was resumed during Eastertide. Most preaching, of course, had less spectacular results. But it seems reasonable to suggest that the sheer number and quality of sermons over so long a period did help form a better-instructed and more devout minority of lay people, drawn from among those who regularly heard them.

This book makes an important contribution, therefore, to our understanding of the religious history of early modern Europe. It provides yet more evidence that the reform movements of the sixteenth century marked a less sudden break with the medieval past than traditionally thought. The importance of preaching had long been recognized when the Protestant

Reformation began. And the extremely long sermon, lasting for several hours, was already an established feature of northern French Catholic life. Indeed, the sermon arguably came to occupy so central a place in both the Catholic and the Protestant reformed traditions in France because a devout laity already existed, and they were used to the high standard of preaching provided by those clergy whom Martin describes in this admirable book.

BERNARD HAMILTON
University of Nottingham

WALTER STEPHENS. *Giants in Those Days: Folklore, Ancient History, and Nationalism*. (Regents Studies in Medieval Culture.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 456. \$35.00.

Concealed behind this somewhat uncommunicative title is a study of giants in the works of François Rabelais. Although Walter Stephens opens with a sharply critical assessment of the efforts of nineteenth-century French folklorists to derive the gigantic heroes of *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel* from an ancient oral tradition of the French people, his principal target is Mikhail Bakhtin's class analysis of Rabelais's works as expressions of the common people's opposition to the culture of the elites. The book's central thesis is that the genuine popular tradition about giants, not only in late medieval France but also in antiquity, regarded them as thoroughly evil characters and that the benign giants of Rabelais's works were a deliberate creation of Renaissance pseudoscholarship. Although a transformation of the giant into a more friendly character did occur, Stephens argues that most of this took place after the time of Rabelais.

The original background for Rabelais's presentation of friendly giants, according to Stephens, is the collection of pseudoantique forgeries first published in 1498 by the Tuscan writer Annius of Viterbo (Giovanni Nanni), who sought through his widely accepted forged histories of preclassical times to glorify the Tuscan people as descendants of an ancient Etruscan civilization that preserved a high culture originally founded by Noah and his descendants after the Flood. These forgeries were deliberately anti-Greek, tracing true civilization from the Noachites to the Etruscans and slighting the Greeks and Romans. Pseudo-Berosus, one of the forgeries, presents Noah as a virtuous giant, and here is a crucial step in the transformation of giants from malevolent to virtuous beings. A few years later, in a distortion as brazen as Annius's original forgeries, the Belgian author Jean Lemaire de Belges adapted the pseudo-Berosian forgeries into a work of propaganda that used the history of the giant Noah to glorify not the Tuscans but the French, especially the kings of France, whose descent he traced directly from Noah through legendary Gallic and Frankish kings, culminating in Charlemagne. By use of judicious omissions and arrant distortions, Lemaire made France, not

Italy, the heir of the true ancient civilization founded by Noah. One of the many distortions of both forgers was the reshaping of the giants from malevolent foes into noble ancestors. Lemaire's blatant distortion of Annius was very appealing to his French contemporaries, and a host of disciples from the time of Louis XII to Louis XIII promoted a fantastic pseudohistory of French greatness and antiquity that made the new, positive image of ancestral giants an integral part of national identity. This fraudulent and deliberately anti-Italian and antihumanistic pseudohistory, then, is the immediate background for Rabelais's *Pantagruel* and *Gargantua*. Stephens contends that Rabelais adopted this framework, including the giants, in order to ridicule and undermine it and to replace it with his own ideal of a reformed evangelical French monarchy that would rest on the humanists' appropriation of both true classical culture and true biblical learning. Rabelais parodied both the themes and the mode of discourse of Lemaire and his disciples. His narrator in the first two books, Alcofrybas, personifies the intellectual nullity of this pseudohistory, and his virtual disappearance from center stage after the early chapters of *Gargantua* reflects Rabelais's repudiation not only of Alcofrybas but also of the blasphemous, antihumanistic, and philologically ridiculous pseudomyths that he personifies. The giants of Rabelais, much more than those of his fraudulent sources, created the popular (but relatively recent) image of the giant as moral hero. Although at times the argumentation is intricate and the documentation dense, this book convincingly relates both Rabelais and his giants to the ideals of the humanistic and evangelical elite whose learning and values he both shared and greatly advanced.

CHARLES G. NAUERT, JR.
University of Missouri,
Columbia

SABINA FLANAGAN. *Hildegard of Bingen, 1098–1179: A Visionary Life*. New York: Routledge. 1989. Pp. xiv, 230. \$29.95.

Sabina Flanagan straightforwardly announces her intention to provide a "general introduction to Hildegard . . . an account of what she wrote and how she did it" (p. xiii). In addition to biographical data, Flanagan summarizes Hildegard's work with a pertinent survey of the social and political background of her life. Discussion of her scientific treatises doubles as an ecological background. The book concludes with some modest speculations regarding Hildegard's neurophysiological profile. It is based almost entirely on the primary sources written by and about Hildegard. More bibliographical information appears in the rather sparse notes. This is not to imply that the book rests on a shaky foundation. It does not. But it is intended as a survey, and that is its strength. It will fill a hole on many a scholar's bookshelf and ought to find a place on student reading lists for years to come. Flanagan com-

plements but does not pretend to displace such works of analysis as Barbara Newman's *Sister of Wisdom* (1987).

Flanagan's book centers on Hildegard's writing, which was firmly rooted in her vision—thus, the title of the work. Flanagan argues persuasively that Hildegard was not a mystic in the ordinary sense. Primarily she was an intellectual interested in the nature of the universe, but she was also a reformer actively seeking to restore the lost harmony of the cosmos. Her visions helped her express an integrated system that informed her scientific, theological, and pastoral activities. As opposed to the trances of Elizabeth of Schönau, Hildegard's visions came to her when she was conscious, a condition that Flanagan relates to the hallucinatory and emotional effects of migraine pathology. The migraine experience of attack, crisis, and resolution fits Hildegard's work patterns and explains her strategic uses of illness at crisis points. This pathology is intended to account not for Hildegard's achievements as a writer and as a prophet but only for their visionary framework.

There is no question in Flanagan's mind that Hildegard's prophetic persona was not a literary device or even an instrument of power. It was her psychological underpinning. When Hildegard was confronted with opposition, her decisions were invariably guided by nonmystical factors. She relied on her prophetic stance to reinforce her own self-confidence. Her sense of authority depended on her ability to consult her visions and to interpret them favorably. In this spirit, Flanagan interprets Hildegard's behavior as a writer: she did not write or preach without a formative vision to give shape to knowledge she had otherwise accumulated. Her own concerns acted formatively on her visions, which in turn provided her with the information and inspiration that she required. It was thus a visionary talent, possibly growing out of a pathological condition, that enabled Hildegard to make effective use of her learning at a time when the monastic pursuit of knowledge was becoming increasingly marginalized by the development of the schools. Flanagan has thus provided a sensible context for the "supernatural" element in Hildegard's thought, while safeguarding her legitimate and enduring place in the human intellectual heritage.

JO ANN MCNAMARA
Hunter College

ROGER COLLINS. *The Arab Conquest of Spain, 710–797*. (A History of Spain.) Cambridge: Basil Blackwell. 1989. Pp. xii, 239. \$49.95.

This book is part of a proposed fifteen-volume series on the history of Spain from the prehistoric to the modern periods. In addition to the work reviewed here, Roger Collins is scheduled to produce the next two components, which will cover the ninth through the early eleventh centuries. Taken together, the three will constitute a more detailed treatment of the last half

of the period covered in his *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400–1000* (1983). As in the case of this earlier book, *The Arab Conquest of Spain* not only gives the nonspecialist in the English-speaking world access to a detailed study of early medieval Iberia but also provides arguably one of the best treatments of the subject in any language.

The Arab Conquest of Spain sets the stage for the invasion of 711 by assessing the Visigothic kingdom on the eve of its fall and laying to rest the sterile hypotheses about the “decadence” that led to its sudden demise. Collins then makes his way through the historiographical jungle surrounding the conquest itself by skillfully cutting away the legendary undergrowth. The rest of the work, with the exception of a chapter on the birth of the kingdom of Asturias, is devoted to the perennial struggles of the Cordobán governors and emirs to exert their authority over al-Andalus, from the suppression of the Berber revolt to the pacification of the Ebro region. The choice of 797 as a terminus is not as “clean” as that of 710, but the resulting open-endedness of the book is excusable in light of the promised sequels.

The real strength of the volume lies in its highly self-conscious attention to the sources and to the opinions of previous historians. The most notable example of this is the author’s reappraisal of the relative value of the Latin and Arabic documentation pertaining to the conquest of 711. As Collins points out, historians have traditionally slighted the almost contemporary *Chronicle of 754*, written by a Christian living under the new Muslim regime, placing all of their trust on Arabic histories that, although purporting to be based on lost early accounts, nonetheless in their present form date from centuries after the invasion. His approach—which seems so logical that it is hard to believe that it has not been followed before—is to use the *Chronicle of 754* as the foundation of his account, carefully supplementing it with information from the later sources. Collins demonstrates the same precision and acuity with regard to source criticism when reconstructing the events that led to the rise of the kingdom of Asturias as well as those pertaining to the establishment of the Umayyad emirate in Córdoba.

The result of his tight interweaving of narrative and source criticism is a book that promises to serve the needs not only of the novice concerned with “what happened” in eighth-century Spain but of the specialist who is more interested in where the ideas fit in terms of the primary and secondary materials related to the subject.

KENNETH BAXTER WOLF
Pomona College

MODERN EUROPE

DILWYN KNOX. *Ironia: Medieval and Renaissance Ideas on Irony*. (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, number 16.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1989. Pp. xviii, 237. \$43.00.

This brief but learned study will give aid and comfort both to intellectual historians and literary scholars who accent continuities between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance and to those who see a new departure in the rhetorical sensibility of the Renaissance, although the work is too narrowly conceived to do full justice to the theme of irony. In the first part of his book, Dilwyn Knox organizes his discussion of medieval and Renaissance theories of irony thematically, not chronologically, to emphasize the point that, as a rhetorical figure or trope, irony received the same kinds of definitions in both periods. Distinctions between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance here are quantitative, based on the wider range of classical treatments of the subject available in the Renaissance, rather than qualitative. In rhetorical handbooks, grammatical and rhetorical commentaries, epistolographies, treatises on humor, lexicons and glossaries, works written in Latin and in the vernaculars, theorists in both periods saw irony, whether as a trope embedded in a single sentence or as a more extended literary device, as a rhetorical embellishment in which the speaker states the opposite of what he means, for humorous or ridiculous effect. They applied it, similarly, to illustrating the Aristotelian modes of logical opposition; to pretense, concealment, and sometimes to lying; and to mockery, satire, and invective. And, whether classical, medieval, or Renaissance, all authors commenting on irony in oral discourse made the same points about the importance of pronunciation, tone of voice, and manual and facial gestures in enabling irony to work or in unmasking it.

The chief, indeed the only, innovation that Knox sees in Renaissance irony theory is the rediscovery of Socratic irony, which medieval thinkers had by-passed or misinterpreted, despite references to it in Cicero’s *De officiis* and Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*. In Knox’s view, Renaissance authors understood Socratic irony primarily as a literary tactic. Socrates’s wit and urbanity, his modesty and self-deprecation, were seen as entertaining and disarming pedagogical devices, at times read as an oblique praise of the virtue of magnanimity but more typically confined to educating knowledge from his interlocutors and exposing the fallacies of the sophists. Thus far, Knox uses his materials with erudition and persuasiveness. But he casts his net too narrowly by emphasizing theory at the expense of practice. For his account of Socratic irony in the Renaissance omits its philosophical and theological uses in works such as Nicholas of Cusa’s *De docta ignorantia* and Erasmus’s *Encomium moriae*. Although he acknowledges that irony often kept company with other rhetorical tropes in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, this omission prevents Knox from exploring its epistemological and moral associations with paradox in some of the most important works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. So only part of the terrain of irony is mapped in this otherwise finely crafted book.

MARCIA L. COLISH
Oberlin College

JOHANNES HELMRATH. *Das Basler Konzil, 1431–1449: Forschungsstand und Probleme*. (Kölner Historische Abhandlungen, number 32.) Cologne: Böhlau. 1987. Pp. 656. DM 164.

Ever since John Neville Figgis published in 1900 his "Studies of Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius, 1414–1625," conciliarism has been understood as anticipating John Locke and the resistance theories of the Glorious Revolution of 1688, while concomitantly presenting Pope Eugene IV as forerunner of the absolutism of King Louis XIV. Though deemphasizing the significance of the Council of Basel as a "dismal" aftermath, Brian Tiernay succeeded in extending the line backward to Gratian by recovering the canonistic foundations of conciliar theory. Francis Oakley and Joachim Stieber, in a massive and painstaking monograph on Basel (1978), were the chief American historians to clarify the road from Basel to 1688. Notwithstanding numerous corrections and reinterpretations in details, Figgis's original vision still stands: conciliarism in general and Basel in particular form a major factor in the bifurcation of political theory in the two directions of constitutionalism and absolute monarchism. Against this backdrop the significance of Johannes Helmrath's book can be articulated in two respects.

In the first place he liberates Basel from the preoccupation and limited concern with political theory by carefully reporting on the five other equally important dimensions, namely, the emerging organization of the council, its changing constellation of participants, its function as subject and object of European national power politics, the interpretation and articulation of concrete reform goals in church and society, and, finally, its treatment of such sensitive theological issues as the ecclesiological debate with the Hussites, the negotiations with the Greeks, mariology, and the contested reception of Augustine's doctrine of justification. Unhampered by historiographical orthodoxies, the author draws even-handedly on prosopographical contributions, institutional investigations, and the most refined exercises in intellectual history. As impressive is the way in which Helmrath has overcome the second limiting factor that heretofore restricted full access to Basel as an eminently pan-European event: the author has such an excellent command of the several "national" languages that he can report and relate with as much ease and precision on studies in English, French, Spanish, and Dutch (although *gezaag* is the opposite of *gezag*, p. 584) as on works published in his native tongue. The concluding bibliography is more than one hundred closely printed pages and provides for the fifty years from 1935 to 1985 a precious and comprehensive tool that will also prove to be of essential help to scholars who work on any other aspects of late medieval and early modern history.

The structural weakness of the book is part and parcel of the fact that this comprehensive survey and *bibliographie raisonnée* had to double as a dissertation.

Admittedly, the most obvious problem is avoided; the direction given by Erich Meuthen, the incisive Cusanus interpreter who discovered the minutes of the last stages of the council in a Copenhagen manuscript, has nowhere interfered with the independent judgment of the author and may well explain the marginal but even-handed treatment of the contributions of contemporary conciliarists such as Hans Küng. The problem is rather that, whereas ideally a dissertation presents first the state of research before advancing a re-construction, here the view of the author is too often merged with the description of pertinent secondary works. Because Helmrath does not have the space to develop and argue his point of view, his critical comments are usually mere asides in the text or loosely attached to "objective" footnotes packed with bibliographical data. All too often his views are reduced to the typical comments of a German schoolmaster, such as *richtig* or *wohl unhaltbar*; once a significant scholar—in this case Stieber—is even told how to write a proper footnote. Throughout the author feels called upon to adjudicate important and complex issues, which are so diverse that no single scholar can be expected to have formed a final view of the matter.

Apart from these at times irritating dissonances, Helmrath has provided us with an intelligent analysis of the present state of research concerning the Council of Basel. Even more, both approach and execution succeed in transcending the stubborn national historiographical traditions, providing future research with a precious tool for studying Basel as a pan-European event, which held all territorial regions and all societal classes in its spell for over a decade and set the scene for the political realignments of the sixteenth century.

HEIKO A. OBERMAN
University of Arizona

Jan Hus und die Hussiten in europäischen Aspekten. (Proceedings of a Karl-Marx-Haus Colloquium, 1986; Schriften aus dem Karl-Marx-Haus, number 36.) Trier: Karl-Marx-Haus. 1987. Pp. 189.

This publication is the result of a scholarly colloquium held at the Karl-Marx-Haus study center in Trier in September 1986. Specialists from Czechoslovakia, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Switzerland presented state-of-the-art papers on the Hussite movement of the fifteenth century and the development of a Hussite tradition in the nineteenth. The revised papers are published here, together with a documentary appendix, summaries of the papers in German, Czech, English, and French, and sixteen pages of photographs of materials from the Museum of the Hussite Revolutionary Movement in Tábor and the Museum Hus-Haus in Constance, which were on exhibit during the colloquium.

In "The Hussite Commune of Tábor, 1420–1422," František Šmahel details the origin, growth, and ultimate splintering of the turbulent center of Hussite

radicalism among the rural population in southern Bohemia. Riven by chiliasm, utopianism, communitarianism, and sharp ideological controversy, Tabor was transformed after two years into a more conventional republican municipality. Ferdinand Seibt ("The Hussite Revolution as a European Model") delineates the religious, social, and national aspects of the Hussite Reformation to buttress his familiar thesis that it was a fully developed "revolution" with a universal structure that served as a model for subsequent European revolutions, particularly the earlier ones with religious roots, culminating in the English revolution of the late seventeenth century.

Jiří Kořalka and Peter Heumos concern themselves with Hussitism as it was viewed in the nineteenth century under the influence of the new scientific historiography, nationalism, and international socialism. Kořalka ("National and International Components of the Hus-Hussite Tradition of the Nineteenth Century"), an authority on the Czechs in the nineteenth century and their relations with the rest of Europe, shows the changing image of Hus and the Hussite movement as it evolved through the work of scholars (Czech, German, and French), popular writers, and even painters. While Czech liberal nationalists such as František Palacký enshrined Hus as a national hero, spokesmen for the international labor and social democratic movements such as Georg Lommel and Karl Kautsky lauded Hussitism, especially the Taborite variety, as an early attempt at basic social reform. Heumos ("The Hussite Tradition and Popular Culture in Bohemia in the Nineteenth Century") painstakingly analyzes the intricate process by which the "Hus cult," nurtured by the Czech "national awakeners" and other ideologues, spread among the masses, especially the agrarian populace. Finally, Michael Müller ("The Hus Tradition in Constance") gives a brief sketch of the growth of a Hus tradition since 1835 in the city where Hus was martyred, a tradition fueled by native Swiss liberals, Czech pilgrimages, and, in more recent times, collaboration between Swiss and Czechoslovak institutions.

Particularly useful is the "Summa hussitica" prepared by Šmahel and Kořalka to accompany the museum exhibits and reprinted here. In thirty-four capsule summaries, they capture the chronological stages of the development of Hussitism and its later interpretations, from the European forerunners of Hus to the Hussite tradition in present-day Czechoslovakia. Far less useful is the lengthy appendix (the longest selection in this volume) prepared by Hans Pelger on the controversy surrounding the publication of Georg Lommel's widely read biography of Hus in 1839–40. In some sixty pages, Pelger presents us with a heavily detailed, exhaustively footnoted partial biography (to 1840) of Lommel (secretary of the Bavarian State Archive in Munich, who employed Hus as a republican weapon to attack the Catholic hierarchy and monarchical regime in the Bavarian *Vormärz*) and seven annotated documents bearing on the controversy. In gen-

eral, though, this is a very valuable reference work not only for specialists in Czech history but also for scholars concerned with other currents of European reform and revolution.

JOSEPH FREDERICK ZACEK
State University of New York,
Albany

A. J. HOOVER. *God, Germany, and Britain in the Great War: A Study in Clerical Nationalism*. New York: Praeger. 1989. Pp. xii, 156. \$39.95.

The role of preachers and churches in promoting nationalistic fervor during World War I has attracted much scholarly interest. Ray Abrams showed in *Preachers Present Arms* (1967) how conservative American clerics threw themselves with abandon into the war effort, although John Piper in *The American Churches in World War I* (1985) cautioned that the response of mainline leaders was more measured. Charles E. Bailey surveyed the French Protestant reaction in an issue of *Church History* (March 1989), and A. J. Hoover acknowledges the presence of numerous scholarly laborers in the British and German ecclesiastical vineyards. Given the extensive studies by Albert Marrin on the Church of England, Gerhard Besier on the Protestant churches of Europe, and Gottfried Mehnert, Wilhelm Pressel, Karl Hammer, Gunter Brakelmann, and Charles Bailey on various aspects of German Protestant involvement in World War I, one may justifiably ask why yet another book is necessary. The chief contribution of this study, however, is its comparative approach: how the British and German clergy responded to the challenges of the war and debated with each other in a continuing polemic that resembled two ships passing in the night.

Hoover has spent many years studying clerical nationalism, and he brings a wealth of expertise to the topic. His presentation of the stances of the British and German clerics is lucid, concise, and well organized. The emotional charges and countercharges hurled by idealistic preachers showed little insight into the real causes, implications, and brutal realities of war, and we are provided with a dismal picture of men of God who abrogated their spiritual responsibility and sold their souls to a new god. For the worship of Yahweh, the ethic of Jesus, and the equality of all humans before the transcendent God, they substituted a simplistic but total commitment to the nation-state and the god of war. Nationalism had become a surrogate religion, and in this situation pacifism essentially was the "sin against the Holy Ghost" (p. 110), as Hoover so poignantly observes. Seldom has the Gospel of Christ become so distorted and corrupted as it was at the hands of the war preachers, although an analysis of the contents of sermons at the time of the Spanish-American War and of German clerical pronouncements when Hitler came to power would reveal a similar pattern of inane exultation.

One could quarrel with some of Hoover's personal comments on the war sermons, and editorial assistance would have helped him avoid such difficulties as repetitiousness (the same quote on pages 27 and 36), a wrong date for the Boxer rebellion (p. 28), and the confusion between Fritz Fischer and H. A. L. Fisher (pp. 36, 82). I would have preferred to see him do more with the role of missionary leaders, and he would have aided scholars of clerical nationalism if he had indexed the notes. Nevertheless, this book is a useful study, and certainly it should be "must reading" for the current crop of religious right-wingers in the United States who glorify America as God's chosen nation.

RICHARD V. PIERARD
Indiana State University

STEPHEN WHITE. *The Origins of Detente: The Genoa Conference and Soviet-Western Relations, 1921-1922*. (Soviet and East European Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1985. Pp. xv, 255. \$39.50.

In April 1922, Lloyd George convened in Genoa the last and most ostentatious of the postwar conferences. This was a bold attempt to resuscitate the European economy, devastated by war, through a reconciliation of Germany and Russia. Perhaps the most significant feature of the conference was the presence of a Bolshevik delegation on an equal footing in an international gathering. The protracted negotiations ended in fiasco, a result of Raymond Poincaré's unbending opposition and the failure of British and Soviet negotiators to agree on the issue of Soviet debts and liabilities. Oddly enough the stalemate led to the only tangible achievement of the conference, namely, the "Rapallo" treaty concluded by Germany and the Soviet Union, which provided for a mutual renunciation of financial claims and the unconditional establishment of full diplomatic relations.

Stephen White has set out to investigate an event that has received only perfunctory appraisal by historians and that, he argues, has shaped the modern pattern for Soviet-Western relations. The book is a painstaking, solid, "basically chronological" (p. x) survey of the conference, employing an impressive array of archival sources.

But White's claim that his book is distinguished by its thorough study of Soviet-Western relations is debatable, as Carole Fink's *Genoa Conference*, published in 1984, seems to cover almost identical ground. If anything, the parochial Soviet perspective of the conference as seen by White detracts from the uniqueness of this multinational event. The subject certainly deserves a thorough comparative study of the blend of the domestic and foreign policies of the major powers. Fink masterfully disentangled the intricate web of contradicting national interests and strategies, the encounter between the fading old-fashioned diplomacy and the ascending revolutionary one, and personal

squabbles, and she vividly captured the spirit of the time.

A pitfall of White's study is a disregard of the ideological dimension of the dual Soviet foreign policy, which posed a threat to the unstable Western regimes. One is led to assume that from 1922 the Soviet Union shed its revolutionary aspirations and happily joined the international community. Only the technical issue of Soviet "propaganda" marred relations for a while. No wonder, therefore, that this study is essentially a straightforward traditional diplomatic history laden with repetitious exchanges of barren memoranda and tedious, futile negotiations.

Because he is oblivious to the extent of the ideological dimension of Soviet foreign policy, White plays down the reaction to it in the West. He seems to share Lloyd George's belief that revolutions were "periodic but essentially transient convulsions in the course of history" (p. 97). White thus highlights the consensus and continuity in British foreign policy: "There was little serious disagreement, among politicians or among the public more generally, about the broad lines of British policy" (pp. 13, 102). But the meticulous chronological survey often exposes the diverging views of key figures such as Churchill, Curzon, Montagu, and other members of the cabinet, reminding White that "divisions within governments ran almost as deep as divisions between them" (p. 44).

In evaluating the outcome of the conference, White argues that the "conventional verdict that the conference simply 'failed'" is a "simplistic and unduly hasty one" (p. viii). Although the declared aim of the conference may have not been achieved, its ultimate goal—"a collaborative relationship between East and West, respecting sovereignty of all parties, while stimulating trade and strengthening political stability and peace"—has arguably remained at the center of international politics from that time up to the present" (p. 211). Fink's impeccable and mature study sustains the more traditional conclusion that the Genoa conference was indeed a failure. It marked the end of an epoch, demonstrating the "limits of a daring diplomatic enterprise: a collective effort to revise the peace and strengthen the European order," while the Rapallo treaty inaugurated an entirely new course, the "overturning of the decisions of 1918 by force" (Fink, *Genoa Conference*, pp. 305, 276).

The clandestine path of Soviet collaboration with the Germans led to Rapallo and converged with the main show in Genoa. The fusion laid the foundations for a coherent Soviet foreign policy. The lessons that the Russians drew from the Genoa-Rapallo conference, rather than foreshadowing détente, reconciliation, and "peaceful coexistence," as argued by White, justified the need to drive a wedge between the capitalist countries while relying on the weakest element. The outcasts' "community of fate," which culminated in the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, was a wry early warning to the West. White's treatment of this alternative path is naturally subdued. In order to magnify the significance

of Genoa, White assumes that the Rapallo treaty "probably disappointed both the hopes of its supporters and the fears of its opponents" (p. 167).

The eye-catching title of this book hardly befits the subject under discussion. The origins of détente lie in the emergence of the Soviet Union as a major power after World War II, under the shadow of the horrifying threat of a nuclear war. The Rapallo treaty at best set up a model for the development of relations with the West on a largely fragile and limited bilateral basis. The recognitions accorded to the Soviet Union in 1924 were not based on the solution of either the outstanding economic liabilities or the ideological confrontation. It will suffice to recall the "Zinoviev letter" affair, which led to the collapse of the Labour government in 1924, the Soviet involvement in the British General Strike of 1926, and the ensuing severance of relations, as well as the failure to erect an effective common barrier against Hitler's expansionism in the 1930s.

GABRIEL GORODETSKY
Tel Aviv University

ANDREW J. WILLIAMS. *Labour and Russia: The Attitude of the Labour Party to the USSR, 1924-34*. New York: Manchester University Press. 1989. Pp. vi, 264. \$59.95.

By the conventional wisdom, Communist conspirators brought down Britain's first Labour government in 1924. The machinations of Muscovite Reds like Grigori Zinoviev and such home-grown surrogates as J. R. Campbell drove Ramsay MacDonald out of office in less than a year. The question of how to order future relations with the Kremlin preoccupied the Labour party's leadership for at least a decade thereafter.

Andrew J. Williams's study recounts that story, especially for the years after 1927 (over 80 percent of the book) and with particular attention to the 1929-34 period (more than two-thirds). Williams missed few English-language sources, published or unpublished, and his twelve-page bibliography is an admirable guide to that literature.

The book is, nevertheless, significantly flawed because of the author's inattention to, or disinterest in, the Soviet side of the relationship. The Labour party did indeed have to come to terms with Soviet realities during this era, but those realities changed fundamentally over the decade, as did Moscow's interest in cultivating sympathizers it could locate in the Labour establishment. Williams's failure to explore those matters limits the usefulness of his book.

The author's lack of familiarity with Soviet materials is evident not only in his idiosyncratic transliterations from the Cyrillic alphabet (such as "colhos" for *kolkhoz*) but also in a number of factual lapses. Mikhail Tomsy was not deprived of his trade union post "temporarily" in 1926 (p. 28). By 1927, Leon Trotsky and Zinoviev had long since lost their status as "commanders of the Third International" (p. 33). And Otto Kuusinen was never "head of the Comintern" (p. 230).

The problem is especially evident when the author tries to evaluate "eye-witness" accounts of life in the USSR recorded by Labour leaders visiting the workers' fatherland. Such appraisals demand that the author have some grasp of what was really going on in Moscow. G. R. Mitchison's estimates of Russian living standards, for example (pp. 174-75), were hopelessly ill informed. It would have been helpful if Williams had been able to say so. And it is simply palpably untrue that John Morgan's account of Russian village life was "probably the best and truest" report to appear prior to 1934 (p. 169). Surely Maurice Hindus (*Red Bread* [1931]) could make a far better claim to that honor.

Williams's book also needs more careful editing. His publishers served him badly by failing to catch more than thirty egregious typographical errors. They should also have sent back some of the manuscript for rewriting. When we are informed that "Dalton therefore felt that Russia had the possibility for civilised behaviour as did many of his colleagues of the Labour Party centre" (p. 55), the confusion amuses us. When we read that "the world seemed quite literally to be falling apart" (p. 183), it astonishes us. When, however, we read that any Western effort to isolate the USSR or slander it "merits sorrow, for who knows what might have been if the narrow door opened up by a welcoming of the USSR as a (nearly) normal state might have achieved in the long run" (p. 243), we have to conclude that the author is sometimes his own worst enemy.

DANIEL F. CALHOUN
College of Wooster

LORÁNT TILKOVSKY. *Teufelskreis: Die Minderheitenfrage in den deutsch-ungarischen Beziehungen, 1933-1938*. Translated from the Hungarian by JOHANNA TILL. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1989. Pp. 309. \$29.00.

This meticulously detailed monograph focuses on the German-Hungarian-Swabian relationship between 1933 and 1938, when a radical wing of Hungary's Swabian (German) minority began flirting with National Socialism. This transfer of loyalties from the Hungarian state to an aggressive alien ideology represented by the expansionist Third Reich precipitated a crisis in Hungarian-Swabian relations and threatened to undermine German-Hungarian friendship.

The Swabians were a predominantly rural people who composed less than 6 percent of Trianon Hungary's total population of fewer than nine million. Many Swabians were concentrated in ethnic enclaves along Hungary's strategically vulnerable western and southern frontier regions. The Swabians were thus perceived as a security risk, despite their humble stations in life and their relatively small numbers. In the 1930s, Hungary became further concerned when nationalistic Swabians gained powerful champions in the Third Reich's ruling circles. Under National Socialism, Germany dominated Danubian Europe and not only de-

manded economic and political cooperation but also expected the region's small countries to grant their German minorities special ethnic privileges.

Although Trianon Hungary's leaders feared that a German-Swabian entente might threaten Magyar domination, they recognized that a benevolent Germany could become the country's economic savior, as well as assist Hungary to recover its lost territories. Hungary thus had to choose between becoming economically and politically subservient to Germany and accommodating Swabian ethnic demands or creating a homogeneous Magyar society at the expense of alienating the Swabians and offending Nazi Germany.

Loránt Tilkovszky traces the course of these deteriorating German-Hungarian relations, as National Socialist power and influence intensified in the Danubian region. He only hints at the emergence of a Hungarian-German foreign diplomacy linked with a domestic Swabian minority policy. Hungary pledged to respect Swabian ethnic and cultural aspirations and cooperate with Germany economically but refused to tolerate the Swabian autonomy demanded by nationalistic domestic Germans and their supporters in the Third Reich. For a time, Hungary persuaded Germany's Nazis that their country had much more to gain by supporting an eager Hungarian ally than by undermining Hungary's stability through Swabian secessionism.

By 1937, however, Adolf Hitler had befriended Italy, Romania, and Yugoslavia. The next year Germany annexed Austria and crippled Czechoslovakia. Hungary's value as a German strategic and economic outpost thereupon vanished, and so did the Third Reich's grudging toleration of unfulfilled Hungarian promises. By 1938, Germany demanded unflinching economic cooperation from Hungary and insisted on autonomy for Hungary's Swabians. At the end of that year, a new noncompromising phase began in German-Hungarian-Swabian relations. Hungary was gradually forced to join the Nazi camp, and the Swabians eventually gained their virtual independence within Hungary.

The author has mustered an impressive array of information regarding the Swabians and presents a detailed record concerning German and Hungarian reactions and counterreactions pertaining to that minority. The huge volume of material offered in this book frequently overwhelms the reader. At the same time, Tilkovszky provides almost no information on the course of events elsewhere in Europe that clearly affected the behavior of Germany, Hungary, and the Swabians. For example, he has not explored the attempts of Hungary's leaders to defy German pressures by launching vigorous, and temporarily effective, diplomatic offensives that embroiled Austria, Poland, Italy, and the Little Entente countries. Nor does Tilkovszky explain the important fact that, throughout this period, Hungary consistently rejected German economic demands that sought to reduce Hungary to satellite status.

The author had access to various Hungarian state archives, and he used other primary repositories, most of them located in Austria and Germany. Tilkovszky consulted nearly all of the secondary works in Hungarian, some in German, but almost none of the considerable secondary literature in English. The German translation of the original Magyar text is first-rate, and the author's expertise in all aspects of the history of the Swabian minority, perceived from strictly Swabian, Hungarian, and German perspectives, is undeniable. The book fails, however, to treat its subject matter as an integral part of the larger pre-World War II international political, economic, and cultural structure.

THOMAS SPIRA

University of Prince Edward Island

DON LEPAN. *The Cognitive Revolution in Western Culture. Volume 1, The Birth of Expectation*. London: Macmillan; distributed by Broadview, Lewiston, N.Y. 1989. Pp. xi, 370. \$29.95.

Historians are likely to find this book both intriguing and exasperating. The main argument is quite broad: "between the twelfth and mid-seventeenth century, the English mind discovered within itself a whole new set, not of thoughts, but of ways of thinking; in particular, of thinking in terms of time, causation and probability" (p. x). Don LePan takes the distinction between thoughts and ways of thinking from Jean Piaget and still more from anthropologist C. R. Hallpike's *Foundations of Primitive Thought* (1979). The subjects that he discusses to develop his point include conceptions of time, especially of the year; ways of thinking about the past and the future; and reasoning about causation and probability. One of the more attractive aspects of the book is the freedom with which LePan can bring in anthropological data. This is not just a matter of book learning; the final draft of the book was completed during a two-year stint in Zimbabwe.

The weakness of LePan's argument lies in his handling of the Middle Ages, to which he devotes the middle third of the book. This coverage is either too much or too little, because most of his information about the Middle Ages comes from secondary works rather than from a broad reading in primary sources, and most of the sources that he does mention are chronicles. Historians who know the Middle Ages are certain to think of material that he should have discussed, if his claim about general cultural developments is to be taken seriously. And he is not always careful to distinguish between periods within the Middle Ages. As a result, medievalists are likely to find themselves wondering whether his generalizations apply as broadly as he himself believes.

The excessive comprehensiveness of LePan's claims unfortunately obscures interesting and original material about Shakespeare's relationship to earlier English writers, which takes up the last 130 pages of the book. Simply stated, LePan's argument is that Shakespeare

was the first English author to devise plots that systematically developed dramatic tension—the “expectation” of the title—by having his characters reveal their intentions to the audience in advance of the action. Shakespeare thus employed himself, and expected his audience to employ, ways of thinking that anticipated future events on the basis of causes of intentions in present circumstances. Medieval plots, in comparison, tended to be episodic, presenting events one after the other without much effort to establish causal connections between them or to encourage the audience to anticipate what was to come next. According to LePan, Shakespeare’s plotting was so original that audiences had to learn how to watch his plays, and he offers as evidence the journal of Simon Forman, a seventeenth-century theatergoer.

The discussion of Shakespeare raises important questions about the relationship between artists and the general culture. It is not necessary to argue that notions of intention and causation were absent from later medieval culture to see Shakespeare’s efforts in these areas as new; applying ideas such as intention and causation in a new area is difficult enough. Indeed, in this regard I would have expected more discussion of the complex plots of classical authors, such as Seneca and Plautus, that were popular in the sixteenth century. Although LePan believes that classical examples have little to do with the issue of cognitive change in English culture, they might have a great deal to do with how Shakespeare and other Elizabethan playwrights learned to improve on medieval plots.

CHARLES M. RADDING
Michigan State University

DAVID KIERNAN. *The Derbyshire Lead Industry in the Sixteenth Century*. (Derbyshire Record Society, number 14.) Chesterfield, U.K.: Derbyshire Record Society. 1989. Pp. x, 338. £25.00.

The recent literature on proto-industry has illuminated the gradual and incomplete nature of British industrialization. This book makes an implicit contribution to that perspective through its study of the rural-based lead mining and smelting industry, which, by 1600, provided Britain’s second most lucrative export. David Kiernan has made an exhaustive study of the available primary sources on lead production. Much of the book’s length results from the author’s effort to display all of the fruits of his research. Kiernan’s larger argument often is buried among the details, and the reader must draw the broader lessons of this case for himself or herself.

The lead industry of the first half of the sixteenth century was little changed in its technology and organization of production from that of the medieval era. Miners were able to extract only that lead ore located near the surface. Pumps to force air into the hearths to raise temperatures were still primitive; as a result the low temperature boles refined only the highest grade

ore. Indeed, the refining “bole relied on a constant west or south-westerly wind for a period of 48 hours” (p. 265) and therefore could be operated only during a few brief periods in each year when favorable winds were assured.

The lead industry was decentralized. Landlords were relatively weak in Derbyshire and often could not prevent miners from taking the ore buried on their lands or “brenners” from taking wood to fuel their boles. Lead pollution from boles often devastated the properties of nearby landlords or fouled the grain being processed at downstream mills. Miners realized the lion’s share of profits from lead, especially as the veins of ore capable of being mined and smelted with available technology became scarce in the sixteenth century. Refined ore was sold by small-scale merchants through various channels to diverse domestic and foreign users.

The old lead industry was destroyed by two factors. First, a new technique for refining silver with mercury was invented, cutting off the main source of foreign demand for lead in the mines of Latin America. Second, lead was stripped from monasteries following the Dissolution, flooding the market, crashing the price of lead, and forcing most miners and brenners out of business. Demand began to revive in the 1560s, once the supply of monastic lead was absorbed and new uses for lead were found.

Kiernan argues that the development of a new technology, the ore hearth smelting mill, transformed the industry. The new mills could process ore previously abandoned as waste. The rise in dispossessed peasants and the fall in agricultural wages created recruits to a new corps of miners, who brought old waste and newly mined ore to the lead mills. Ore hearth mills required a level of capital investment beyond that available to most of the old brenners. Nobles and gentry, mainly those owning lands with large ore deposits (often former monastic estates and mineral rights purchased from the crown), built the new mills. Lead mills were seen as improvements to estates, augmenting agricultural income with the combined profits from mining ore and using woods for fuel and waterways for milling and transport. Although the output of refined ore multiplied ten-fold between 1570 and 1600, the number of mills processing the majority of lead declined.

Critical to the concentration of the industry were the earl of Shrewsbury and his family. The earl used his court connections to defeat William Humfrey’s claims to patent privilege, thereby allowing the rapid and widespread introduction of the new technology. By 1784, thirteen years after Humfrey’s first new mill, ore hearth smelting was dominant in the industry. Shrewsbury centralized the transport and marketing of ore under his control and that of allied merchants. Profits were concentrated in the hands of mill owners, while the once independent miners lost their land rights and were reduced to proletarian contract labor. Although two skilled technicians were needed to run each mill,

the small number of mills kept demand and wages for mill workers low.

The new technology did favor larger capitalists but only because they also controlled the raw materials of production and were able to manipulate the political processes of patent enforcement and taxation. The rural and small-scale nature of lead mills makes them examples of proto-industry rather than precursors of large-scale urban factories. Kiernan's book shows how the application of new technology was mediated through the new social relations that emerged in the century after the Dissolution.

RICHARD LACHMANN
State University of New York,
Albany

RETHA M. WARNICKE. *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn: Family Politics at the Court of Henry VIII*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 326. \$29.95.

As Henry VIII's mistress and, subsequently, wife and queen, Anne Boleyn has played a role in Tudor history that has been clothed in romance, tragedy, and myth. Retha M. Warnicke's study is the second of two recent attempts to reassess Anne in the light of new research. Although she does not offer a comprehensive biography as Eric Ives did (*Anne Boleyn*, 1986), she presents a convincing picture and one that challenges Ives's conclusions. Chapuys, the imperial ambassador whose dispatches have served Ives and others as a principal source for information about Anne, was not only biased but also, on important occasions, ill-informed, sometimes purposely misled, about events at the English court. By critically examining the evidence of Chapuys, of Nicholas Sander, a priest and later scholar who never saw Anne but portrayed her as a witch, and of others, Warnicke establishes the foundation on which she places her revised view of Anne. She has done her homework carefully, and, by offering her own speculations about points such as Henry's decision to divorce Catherine (p. 53), she gives the reader the added benefit of her informed opinion where she does not have clear proof. Readers who are familiar with Warnicke's articles will know some of her main conclusions, but, if they are wise enough to read the book, too, they will find more than a collection of previously published material. In weaving together the fruits of her research, Warnicke establishes and corrects details, such as Anne's birthdate and her place as the eldest of the Boleyn sisters. Warnicke also offers a new interpretation of Anne within the context of her family and her society. This analysis becomes especially significant when Warnicke draws on the perspective of gender to reinterpret her subject and effectively places pregnancy and childbirth in a broader cultural setting. Her argument that the fetus that Anne miscarried in January 1535–36 was deformed presents a far more persuasive reason for the queen's fall and the way that fall

occurred than do any other explanations that I have seen.

Warnicke's reassessment of Anne Boleyn contributes to our understanding of other personalities and of the era itself. Anne, Warnicke maintains, did not display "overt hostility" toward Cardinal Wolsey (p. 74); she and Thomas Cromwell were not "close" allies (pp. 104–05); and she was not the target of a court faction who opposed her marriage (pp. 140–41). Scholars interested in the interplay of individuals and families at Henry's court and the operation of patronage ought to examine this volume; so should those studying the English Reformation. In contrast to Anne the avid supporter of reform, we find a woman who, though she read Scripture in the vernacular, adhered to conventional beliefs in transubstantiation and appreciated "many of the ceremonies of the medieval Church" (p. 108).

In short, this book deserves careful attention from historians. Warnicke's clarity should enable even those who are not specialists in the field to find their way amid the multitude of persons and details that she uses to make her case.

ESTHER S. COPE
University of Nebraska,
Lincoln

L. J. REEVE. *Charles I and the Road to Personal Rule*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 325. \$59.50.

In 1984, L. J. Reeve received his doctorate from Cambridge University for a dissertation on the secretaryship of state of Sir Dudley Carleton, which spanned the years 1628–32. Carleton, an experienced diplomat, was important as secretary principally for his involvement in matters of foreign policy, and the best sections of this book are those on foreign affairs. Perhaps unwisely, Reeve has widened his focus to deal with the larger subject indicated by his title, but his detailed coverage remains the same: 1628–32. With a rather minimal amount of introduction, we are plunged into a rather scrappy account of the Parliament of 1628. This is hardly a satisfactory starting place. The road to personal rule began at least as early as October 1623, with Charles's return from Spain, and a thorough analysis would have to start there. Next come discussions of the parliamentary session of 1629 and its immediate aftermath, a murky account of the government's legal proceedings against those Charles arrested after the dissolution, and a clearer but not particularly original chapter on "the king, his court, and its enemies."

Then Reeve returns to his true métier, foreign policy, which provides him with his terminal date. Following the great Swedish victory at Breitenfeld in 1631, there was considerable sentiment in Charles's council to call Parliament and plunge back into war as

the ally of Sweden in order to restore the Palatinate to Charles's sister and her feckless husband. In December, Charles turned away from this option, largely, according to Reeve, out of loathing of Sir John Eliot, whose release from the Tower would have been necessary to the success of a parliamentary session. Carleton, the leading advocate of the war policy, died in February 1632, the English negotiations with Sweden broke down in March over Charles's refusal to provide naval support in the Baltic, and the pro-Spanish peace party in Charles's entourage, led by Lord Treasurer Weston and Bishop Laud, could rest easy. Charles had chosen to abandon any effective role in European affairs in order to avoid having to call Parliament. He would never willingly call it again.

Reeve's view of Charles is extremely harsh. He was a weak and insecure man, easily influenced by those he trusted—though they were few—and at the same time he was moralistic, judgmental, and authoritarian. At bottom “he was not, by inclination or equipment, a political man” (p. 173). He had no political sense and listened only to those who were prepared to pander to his prejudices. Responsibility for the disaster that engulfed him was his alone: there was no high road to civil war. Even for those who, like me, share Reeve's low opinion of Charles, there is overkill in his relentless attack. Reeve's basic interpretation of the years that he considers does not differ much from S. R. Gardiner's in its main lines, although there are interesting details that are fresh. The quality of the writing varies considerably: clear in places, difficult to follow in others. There are a couple of howlers that should have been caught: Charles's daughter Mary and her William of Orange were not William III and Mary II (p. 224), and the mouth of the Oder is not to be found in Silesia (p. 267). Warts and all, however, this is a competent and promising first book.

MAURICE LEE, JR.
Rutgers University,
New Brunswick

JOHN SANDERSON. *“But the People's Creatures”: The Philosophical Basis of the English Civil War*. New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1989. Pp. viii, 240. \$55.00.

In view of recent political occurrences in the world, from the fall of totalitarian regimes in Eastern Europe to the struggle for democracy in China, it may not be entirely wrong to say that the central theme of this learned book has a wider and more pertinent meaning than it otherwise signifies within the historic confines of the English Civil War during the middle of the seventeenth century. Indeed, John Sanderson studies one of the most exciting periods in history, in which political ideas for the sovereignty of the people were unmistakably propounded—ideas that, one may say, continue to inspire political events around the world today.

Sanderson explores the formulation and manifesta-

tions of what he calls the “ascending” theory of politics, and he contends that “the hypothesis of the ‘ascending’ theory does a great deal to make intelligible the ideologies and events of the first phase of the Great Rebellion in England up to the execution of the king in 1649” (p. 2). To simplify, this “ascending” theory manifested itself in some important political principles, among which were the sovereignty of the people—“all governors are but people's creatures” (pp. 19, 144); the maxim *salus populi suprema lex* (p. 13); and justification of resistance against tyrannical government, by force if necessary (p. 15). Of course, these are not new themes in the history of Western political thought. Walter Ullmann, whose work inspired Sanderson's study, describes “the ascending and descending themes of government” in *Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages* (1961); Quentin Skinner discusses “the duty to resist” and “the right to resist” in the context of the Huguenot revolution in *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (1978); and Edmund S. Morgan, with a grain of wholesome skepticism, explains the same themes in *Inventing the People: The Rise of Popular Sovereignty in England and America* (1988). Nonetheless, Sanderson's book is by far the most comprehensive, sustained, and sophisticated treatment of the subject in the context of the English Civil War.

This book begins with an analysis of the political ideas of this “ascending” theory as expounded by Parliamentary supporters (for example, Charles Herle and William Bridge, William Prynne and Henry Parker). This discussion is followed by a chapter on the critique of the “ascending” theory by the Royalists, such as Henry Ferne, Henry Hammond, and Sir Robert Filmer. Following are four specific studies on Dudley Digges, Thomas Hobbes, the Levellers, and John Milton. The last chapter deals with the Regicides, the old Royalists, and the old Parliamentarians. All of these chapters are based on a careful and perceptive examination of contemporary pamphlet literature.

This is a useful study, although seventeenth-century scholars may question the claim implied in the subtitle of the book. The complex nature of the English revolution cannot, and perhaps should not, be explained from one particular perspective. Be that as it may, to those who search for socioeconomic causes of the English Civil War and to those who seek its causes in religious conflicts and Puritan ideology, Sanderson's book will serve as a reminder of the central importance of political ideas.

TAI LIU
University of Delaware

G. W. STEPHEN BRODSKY. *Gentlemen of the Blade: A Social and Literary History of the British Army since 1660*. (Contributions in Military Studies, number 70.) New York: Greenwood. 1988. Pp. xxxiii, 187.

This is an intriguing book. G. W. Stephen Brodsky is a former professional soldier and lecturer in English

literature at the Royal Roads Military College of Canada. The work traces the ethos of the British Army in five chapters. The first two deal with the regular army and the citizen militia in the Restoration and the eighteenth century. These chapters are followed by examinations of the army's spirit in the nineteenth century, the Great War, and the twentieth century from the end of the Great War through the Falklands War. Each chapter presents a historical analysis and a survey of the literature of the period. Brodsky's thesis is as sophisticated as it is compelling. The major theme that he addresses is the interaction of professional and amateur values in the British army, which he does not see as being mutually exclusive. He argues that "the professional soldier had been influenced by the traditions and attitudes of amateurs who went before and vice versa. This interpenetration of attitudes toward military service has been complemented by the exchange of learning between those who have soldiered and those who have fought" (p. xxii).

The chapter on the Great War offers a particularly graphic description of the impact of that horrific experience on the British soldier and reaffirms several battle-tested verities: that soldiers fight for the respect and love of their comrades much more than they do for any abstract cause; that the ability to endure privation in combat is at least as important as courage; and that front-line combatants frequently have more respect for their enemy opposite numbers than they do for their own higher echelons. In his closing chapters Brodsky argues that the nuclear age has brought a new seriousness to warfare that will bring about the disappearance of the amateur, war-as-a-game spirit in the British army. He posits that the "endgamesmen" of the nuclear era, whose role is deterrence and for whom the act of war is an admission of failure, will personify the dominant military ethos of the future. This may be so, but one could also argue that the threat of nuclear holocaust has created an environment in which military force can and will be used at lower levels of conflict. Under these conditions it is equally probable that the future will bring about a synthesis of spirit among the opposites of Brodsky's "endgamesmen" who deter nuclear war and his "gamesmen" who will fight the lesser wars.

This study could have been strengthened by an explicit methodological analysis of the ways in which historical and literary insights complement each other. But it remains an informative, extremely insightful, and important work on the historical development of the British army's ethos.

HAROLD R. WINTON
School of Advanced Airpower Studies
Montgomery, Alabama

PATRICK CURRY. *Prophecy and Power: Astrology in Early Modern England*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1989. Pp. 238. \$27.50.

Patrick Curry, who has previously edited a noteworthy collection of essays on *Astrology, Science, and Society* (1987), here refines his dissertation, "The Decline of Astrology in Early Modern England, 1642–1800" (1986). He argues that the often intimate relations among political radicalism, religious enthusiasm, and astrology during the English Civil War and Interregnum constrained subsequent astrologers toward a variety of technical or philosophical reforms meant to dissociate astrological activities from embarrassingly prophetic, occult, or superstitious milieus. At the same time, however, Curry hopes to demonstrate that although the English elite turned away from judicial astrology toward natural philosophy and a mildly rationalist Newtonianism, that range of astrological predictions and social criticisms that had once been widely popular still remained to leaven plebeian protest.

Curry takes advantage of many astrological almanacs and tracts as well as a few manuscript sources and much biographical detail. The study has the makings of a good book, but his text is too frail and his evidence too contradictory to be persuasive. The many distinctions he draws between royalist and democratic astrologers, among patrician, middling, and plebeian astrology, and between Ptolemaic and (semi)Newtonian theorists might well be apt if it were not for an inordinate concision interrupted (130 times in the first forty-four pages) by parenthetical maneuvers meant to display a superordinate consciousness of historical complexity and historiographical controversy. The author unnecessarily explains that we should not (as post-Enlightenment moderns) summarily dismiss astrology as illogical, unscientific, and therefore culturally insignificant, although we have learned this already from Bernard Capp, Eugenio Garin, S. Jim Tester, and Frances Yates. Curry enters into the heated arena of debate over the nature and *modus operandi* of the Gramscian notion of hegemony only to remind us at the end that he has "found no passive pawns of history, but people active in the pursuit of their ends, making use of their historical resources as well as being shaped and directed by them" (p. 168).

A narrative that has all the promise of vitality and passion has consequently been lost to a particularly modern self-reflexiveness (and to deplorable proof-reading in part 1). As a result, Curry has likely lost the lay readership that could—and should—have been his, given his explicit desire to "face the interplay of past and present" and to honor "'the essential relativity of things human,' in all its ambiguity and ambivalence" (p. 168).

Scholars will appreciate Curry's bibliographical care and personal concern with the full spectrum of astrological positions, yet they will find that the analysis of eighteenth-century astrology becomes especially confusing once Curry tries to defend his distinctions among "'low' or popular astrology, 'middling' or judicial astrology, and 'high' or cosmological-philosophical astrology" (p. 96). By the final pages it becomes clear that, despite Curry's insistence on a humble, culturally

sensitive approach to things astrological, the decline he has in mind to trace is the decline of astrology as an intellectually respectable post-Enlightenment pursuit. It is not clear whether or not astrology did decline either as a popular game or as a more serious undertaking to discover patterns in events.

HILLEL SCHWARTZ
Encinitas, California

WILLIAM H. HUFFMAN. *Robert Fludd and the End of the Renaissance*. New York: Routledge. 1988. Pp. xii, 252. \$49.50.

In this study William H. Huffman guides the reader through Robert Fludd's career, controversies, and writings to illustrate that Fludd was not merely an eccentric occult philosopher and physician but an important and respected practitioner and thinker recognized by royal patronage and with links to the most celebrated of intellectual circles both in England and on the Continent. Fludd's extremely complex "late Renaissance Christian Neoplatonism" is traced through his works and placed in the context of earlier traditions of classical and Neoplatonic thought, especially the Florentine Platonic Academy represented by Pico and Marsilio Ficino. The question of Fludd's membership in the shadowy brotherhood of the Rosicrucians is also addressed with the conclusion—based on sound evidence—that he was not a member. In religion he was a convinced Anglican; in politics he was a loyal servant of James I.

The major purpose of this addition to the growing interest in Fludd is to "re-establish him as a significant figure of his time" (p. 168). In this Huffman is successful, exploring and explaining the nature of his relationships with such contemporaries as Johannes Kepler, Pierre Gassendi, William Harvey, and Marin Mersenne. The fact that Fludd's theories were subsequently proved wrong is largely irrelevant: he was a major contributor to the intellectual debates of the period, and he represented a perspective that looked backward to the ancients rather than forward to the scientific revolution. To Fludd, all knowledge was a single continuum, a unity of truth in the Neoplatonic tradition. His work, therefore, has been seen largely as a curiosity and often remembered more for the excellent quality of the illustrations than for the substance of the content.

Huffman is most successful when engaged in a close reading of Fludd's texts and in specific discussions of their context. He is, however, less so in the rather long survey of the Western intellectual tradition provided in chapter 6. Indeed, it should be asked why this necessarily superficial history is needed at all; any reader with an interest in as recondite a figure as Fludd would certainly know all of this information. Furthermore, Huffman's own authority in this area is reduced by simple errors: for example, the imperial husband of the learned Julia Domna was Septimius Severus (not

Septimius); and Martianus Capella wrote *The Marriage of Mercury and Philology* (not "Philosophy"). Altogether, the text, although attractively produced and furnished with useful reproductions of illustrations from Fludd's works, has been poorly copy-edited. I will just note those I marked: page 117, neocromancer for necromancer; page 154, Johane Theodore de Bry for Johann; page 162, the confusing date spread circa 1543–16; page 197, Carrirer for Cassirer; page 251, Kapler for Kepler; and pages 177–78, where there is a logical confusion in which 1880 appears to precede 1861.

The major argument of the book is more difficult to deal with, though, than these superficial problems. It is an attractive theory to see Fludd as the end product of the Renaissance obsession with classical antiquity, especially the elements represented most fully in the Florentine Neoplatonism of Ficino and Pico. Huffman proposes the English physician as a kind of peroration to the debate between the ancients and moderns in which the losing side put forth one of its strongest arguments based on the venerable tradition of the unity of truth, including all manner of scientific, occult, and philosophical lore. Nevertheless, at the end of this book there is still the disturbing sense that Fludd was indeed an eccentric thinker with a strong attraction to the magical and the arcane. This observation should not, however, detract from Huffman's argument that he was taken seriously in his own time; the author has proved this. But it is perhaps too much of a leap to suggest that Fludd's work has an intrinsic value beyond an insight into the operation of an unusual and encyclopedic mind that synthesized a complex body of thought into many serious books that succeeded in attracting the approval of a king with a reputation as the wisest fool in Christendom.

KENNETH R. BARTLETT
Victoria College,
University of Toronto

MICHAEL HUNTER. *Establishing the New Science: The Experience of the Early Royal Society*. Wolfeboro, N.H.: Boydell and Brewer. 1989. Pp. xiv, 382. \$86.00.

Michael Hunter's widely read and much admired *Science and Society in Restoration England* appeared in 1981. *Establishing the New Science*, in some respects an elaboration of or addendum to his earlier work, adds the fruits of Hunter's subsequent research. It consists of a series of detail-laden studies on particular aspects of the early history of the Royal Society. Thus, the first and most important chapter attempts to give coherence to a collection of quite disparate articles, many previously published, by focusing on the society's organizational difficulties and conflicts and emphasizing the importance of institutionalization and the building of an infrastructure. The remainder of the book consists of freestanding pieces that relate to these themes.

These later essays include one on the latitudinarianism and ideology of Thomas Sprat's *History of the Royal*

Society of London (1667). Hunter argues that Sprat's aim was to align the new science with as many consensus values as possible and notes the methodological diversity of the early Royal Society. Subsequent chapters outline rival strategies for reforming the society, describe an abortive building scheme in 1667–68, and assess Henry Oldenburg's promotion of the society. Discussion of the society's committee structure of 1664 is accompanied by reports and minutes of the committees. Another chapter deals with the development of the society's repository, and one focuses on Nehemiah Grew and the professionalization of scientific research. Also included is an immensely detailed treatment of Robert Hooke's difficulties over the Cutlerian Lectureship and the society's effort to divert funds to scientific uses not specified by the donor.

The volume also includes unpublished source material and a previously published appendix that reinterprets Lotte Mulligan's and Glenn Mulligan's analysis of the composition and leadership of the Royal Society. The bibliographical essay of *Science and Society* is brought up to date.

Despite the integrating aims of the introductory essay, this volume remains a scholarly miscellany of bad news. The task of institutionalizing science proved difficult. The society's founders and early members did not share a single vision of scientific methodology or goals. The society was overambitious and was forced to modify its goals to fit its public and private support. All of this concentration on friction obscures the more important reality that, despite the society's lack of methodological unanimity and overambitious expectations of financial support, sufficient public and private, financial and moral support was forthcoming to establish science in England in a relatively short period of time. Focus on the often self-imposed difficulties of the society should not obscure the ease and rapidity with which the practice and support of natural philosophy and scientific experiment took hold in Restoration England.

This book contains too many previously published articles in their original or only slightly revised form and too many new essays and documents that are of little interest to most historians and that would reach specialized readers more efficiently in learned journals. Those readers would have been served by a revised, updated edition of Hunter's *Science and Society*. Boydell Press, a well-established scientific publisher, should be advised that most historians are willing to dispense with glossy pages in order to obtain books at less than forty-five pounds.

BARBARA SHAPIRO
University of California,
Berkeley

SONIA P. ANDERSON. *An English Consul in Turkey: Paul Rycaut at Smyrna, 1667–1678*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 323. \$64.00.

In 1653 a royalist gentleman, recently returned from exile, boldly challenged Oliver Cromwell to substantiate "his continual professions to relieve the oppressed" by helping him recover a debt owed by the Spanish government (p. 23). This determined young man is the subject of Sonia P. Anderson's book. In 1661, Paul Rycaut became secretary to the English ambassador at Constantinople and later consul for the Levant Company at Smyrna in Anatolia. Rycaut was a talented man, an able diplomat, and the author of several books of which the most notable were *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, a study of the structure of Ottoman government and society, and *The History of the Turkish Empire (1623–1677)*, subsequently translated into three languages. *The History of the Turkish Empire* won praise for a stylistic excellence that caused Rycaut to be "hailed as the new Tacitus" and for its objectivity in describing Turkish politics and government (p. 240). Anderson gives an interesting account of Rycaut's travels through the Ottoman empire, which sometimes brought him into contact with the unsavory aspects of Turkish rule; for example, he saw "the heads of thirteen hundred Christian prisoners of war executed in cold blood" on orders of the Ottoman grand vizier (p. 40).

The primary focus of this study is Rycaut's tenure as consul. In great detail the author discusses a number of topics: the English and other merchant communities in Smyrna, the personnel and business affairs of the English factory, its relationship with the Levant Company that controlled English trade in the Ottoman empire, and Rycaut's activities as consul. English merchants there outdistanced all of their European rivals, and the skill with which Rycaut carried out his duties probably contributed to this achievement. He was especially energetic in exposing the trade in debased coinage, widely practiced by other nations but avoided by English merchants. This enhanced their prestige with the Turks who treated them with greater respect than their competitors. Rycaut's task was never easy. Once he had to face down a mob of mutinous seamen.

The mass of commercial and financial material in these chapters sometimes submerges matters of human interest. Yet occasionally a memorable character turns up, such as the Venetian consul who lived to be 115 and was said to have fathered 105 bastards in addition to 24 legitimate children. One wonders whether Rycaut can have been quite the paragon described in this book. The author herself raises the question when she says that he was praised "in such glowing terms" by a superior "that the reader might begin to feel some distaste for this circumspect youth who succeeded in being all things to all parties" (p. 292). But the evidence of this deeply researched book is that Rycaut truly deserved his excellent reputation as an official and author.

AMOS C. MILLER
University of Houston

HOH-CHEUNG MUI and LORNA H. MUI. *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth-Century England*. Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen's University Press and Routledge, London. 1989. Pp. xv, 381. \$40.00.

Through an innovative use of previously unexploited taxation and bankruptcy records linked with later directories, Hoh-Cheung Mui and Lorna H. Mui argue that shops proliferated dramatically, first in the more southerly counties by at least the mid-eighteenth century and then in the north within a few decades after 1759. They further richly demonstrate the declining dominance of London as a wholesale distribution center and the rise of provincial centers and of aggressive marketing techniques. This is an impressive achievement and one that revises much earlier work that placed the modern developments of shopkeeping in the nineteenth century.

But the book leaves a number of key problems unresolved and in some respects darkens our understanding of the eighteenth-century economy. The authors find that in 1759 the number of shops per capita was strikingly higher in those counties lying south of a line extending approximately from Lincoln to Bristol. Surely on their own evidence (which is sometimes shaky because of its multicounty dimensions), their line is drawn too far south, as they almost concede. But wherever the line is drawn, there may indeed be a southerly distribution. If it is true, as we have believed, that it was industrial occupations that offered higher incomes per capita, thus simultaneously raising fertility and increasing internal market demand, how is it that shops could have been so late in proliferating in the North and the West Midlands? If the Muis' data are reliable, one can only conclude that the growth of shopkeeping is loosely, at best, correlated with the intensification of the internal market economy. Shopkeeping cannot be its leading sector. Nor can hawking, if the Muis are correct in associating it principally with textiles. These are stimulating puzzles that should now receive more attention.

It is unfortunate that this study, so strong and thorough in some respects, is seriously deficient in its neglect of key sources and in its treatment of some others. Half of an important chapter examines the service and geographical distribution of shops in York, using James Pigot's national directory for the 1822–23 portion of the analysis. Edward Baines's well-known Yorkshire directory of the same years, which in most categories reports far more shops than Pigot, is never referred to by the Muis. Their geographical analysis of York shopkeeping is based on the location of the parish church, and the fact that York parishes were scattered in detached patches both within and outside the walls of the city is ignored. Large numbers of types of shops have been excluded altogether from their counts, most often without explanation or justification, and this radically simplifies the real complexities and truncates the extent of urban retailing. Their interpretations suffer significantly from the underutilization of key

authors whom they do cite such as Joan Thirsk and Alan Everitt. Other works of central importance, namely, David Hey's study of common carriers (1980) or Alan Armstrong's book on York in the years 1801–51 (1974), do not even appear in the bibliography. These are severe criticisms. But let me emphasize that this book is of great importance and deserves close scrutiny and prolonged evaluation by everyone who deals with the eighteenth-century economy.

DONALD E. GINTER
Concordia University

FRANK MCLYNN. *Crime and Punishment in Eighteenth-Century England*. New York: Routledge. 1989. Pp. xviii, 392.

This book is presented as "the first comprehensive view of crime and its consequences in the eighteenth century" (book jacket). Although it may indeed be time for a synthesis of the considerable scholarship done in this field over the past fifteen years, Frank McLynn's work leaves much to be desired. The most serious weakness is the failure to integrate evidence and interpretation. The bulk of the book is devoted to an encyclopedic compilation of crimes committed in the eighteenth century. This section, which constitutes over two-thirds of the book, is largely anecdotal with little analysis. What few interpretations are offered are most often duly cited recitations of the conclusions of earlier scholars.

McLynn begins by discussing the thesis that Douglas Hay argued so brilliantly in *Albion's Fatal Tree* (1975). The basic argument is that the Bloody Code and the judicial prerogative of mercy were manipulated to both justify and maintain the power of the elite. Although he accepts Hay's thesis as absolute fact and defends it in his afterword, McLynn does not sufficiently demonstrate how the material presented in his book lends support to the argument. For example, after recounting the hanging of a lawyer who stole ninety-three guineas, McLynn adds that the judge said the death sentence "was merited because Carr was a lawyer and had abused his trust." But McLynn concludes, "This was convenient camouflage. The unspoken basis of the judge's remarks was that members of the middling sort had occasionally to be sacrificed in order to protect the greater villains in the aristocracy." McLynn, however, offers no evidence about the case in question that would justify his conspiratorial reading of the judge's remarks (p. 150).

Although McLynn devotes chapters to homicide, highwaymen, women as victims and criminals, crimes of the powerful, high treason, smuggling, poaching and rioting, he does not include a chapter on assaults and other nonlethal crimes of violence. It is an odd omission because he later assures us that "the level of routine physical violence in the eighteenth century was very high" (p. 306).

McLynn only addresses the impact of larger social

issues and concerns in the last two chapters, and few, if any, connections are drawn between the evidence presented earlier and the theories and interpretations discussed at the end. For example, in the last chapter of the book, McLynn deals with the impact of war and refers the reader back to earlier sections where veterans were involved in crimes, which raises the question of why arguments about the criminality of veterans were not made when the crimes were first recounted. He also includes narrative accounts of crimes from a wide variety of regions with little attempt to deal with the significant problem of local variation.

In a brief afterword, McLynn claims an affinity with the E. P. Thompson school but offers no significant new evidence or reasons for it. Although this book does offer detailed accounts of an enormous number of eighteenth-century crimes and punishments, those interested in the broader issues of the meaning of crime and punishment in eighteenth-century society would do better to refer to *Albion's Fatal Tree* and J. M. Beattie's *Crime and the Courts in England, 1600–1800* (1986).

CAROLYN A. CONLEY
University of Alabama,
Birmingham

DOROTHY PORTER and ROY PORTER. *Patient's Progress: Doctors and Doctoring in Eighteenth-Century England*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1989. Pp. viii, 305. \$32.50.

Health, disease, and healing are finally being recognized as subjects of great historical importance and interest. Imaginative scholarship about them has begun to appear in all of the major European languages, and new ideas and innovative methods have been advanced, many of them borrowed from thriving traditions in medical anthropology and sociology. Among historians of medicine in Britain, none has achieved greater renown and influence than Roy Porter, whose prodigious outpouring of books and articles has done much to set the agenda for we tortoises who scabble behind him. This book, written in partnership with his wife, Dorothy Porter, is the fourth on medical history that he has published since 1987.

Porter's main virtues—aside from his immunity to writer's block, that most debilitating of illnesses—are his wide reading, keen eye for a good idea, and lapidary prose style. All of those qualities, amplified by Dorothy Porter's energy and learning, are plainly displayed in this book. They have plundered an enormous range of secondary works and printed primary sources, searching for firsthand accounts of doctor-patient relations in the "long eighteenth century." They have also sought to realize Roy Porter's earlier appeal to social historians to give those relations the attention that they deserve. And, as usual, this book contains many memorable passages and elegant turns of phrase.

Despite its characteristic strengths, the volume is a

disappointment in comparison with its companion piece *In Sickness and in Health* (1988), which explores the experience and perception of illness during the same period. It is less analytical, more anecdotal, less original and insightful. There are more signs than usual of Roy Porter's habitual haste. For instance, a story taken from a book by Thomas Trotter, which Porter himself edited, is said to be about Trotter when in fact it is a tale he tells about another physician. More serious than such minor slips are missed opportunities and apparent contradictions. The Porters do not, for example, attempt to discover whether there were "hierarchies of resort"—as the anthropologists call them—that guided patients' choices of different kinds of healers and therapies. This key conceptual tool of social scientists studying the same subject is not even mentioned. We are told at the beginning of the book that examples from the whole period will be used without regard to chronology, because there was little significant change. But in later chapters the authors assert that there were notable alterations in patients' attitudes to physicians and their use of them.

All of this is not to say that *Patient's Progress* fails to make important contributions to our understanding of healing practices. Its central argument is that the development of English medicine in the eighteenth century was profoundly shaped by the vigorous growth of commercial capitalism. This is surely true, and it is a powerful thesis. In particular, it calls into question sweeping theories of social control and gender domination advanced by other well-known writers, including Michel Foucault and Ivan Illich. Such theories, the Porters repeatedly observe, are anachronistic when they are applied to the eighteenth century. Whatever its weaknesses, *Patient's Progress* is a book that social historians of medicine cannot ignore.

MICHAEL MACDONALD
University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor

JOHN GASCOIGNE. *Cambridge in the Age of the Enlightenment: Science, Religion, and Politics from the Restoration to the French Revolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 358. \$49.50.

The history of intellectual currents at a major university during more than a century is inherently worth telling, and John Gascoigne tells it very well. He has not, however, resisted the temptation to connect his story to a broader scholarly debate, and his book constitutes, among other, better things, a claim for the appropriateness of the term "English Enlightenment."

Since there are scholars who, however foolishly, doubt the existence of a "Scottish" Enlightenment, Gascoigne's theme is bound to be controversial. His justification of the term "English Enlightenment" really amounts to little more than a clear presentation of evidence that Cambridge in much of the eighteenth century was dominated by people who maintained the

compatibility of Christianity and Newtonian science and who, in the process, advanced the prestige of science much as Continental Enlighteners sought to do. As Gascoigne explicitly states, the very inclusiveness of this vision enabled Cambridge to help England "absorb the Enlightenment into the main stream of English life rather than leaving it to become a potentially subversive and even revolutionary movement" (p. 21).

People will differ about the essence of the Enlightenment, but it can be noted that the term is overtly polemical, and this polemical element even survives in many non-French expressions of the movement. Immanuel Kant's "What is Enlightenment?" invokes, for all of its author's political caution, the slogan "Dare to Know," and one may doubt the validity of including within the Enlightenment a movement so irenic as the "Holy Alliance" between science and religion that Gascoigne describes, a movement for which knowledge did not apparently require much daring.

But Gascoigne has given us an interesting book. Although it contains virtually no careful analysis of texts and individual arguments, it is clear in outlining the main elements of intellectual change and the socio-political forces that shaped change, as well as briefly describing the ideas of the persons, major and minor, involved. He stresses the latitudinarianism of much Cambridge theology, noting that only overt attacks on Christianity were likely to lead to expulsion. He also observes how loyalty to the Whig settlement led to an emphasis on contractarian theories of government among some that led to an exceedingly modest interest in reform to bring church and state into "better conformity with the principles on which, it was claimed, the Glorious Revolution had been based" (p. 235). Such reformism, however, declined drastically in the conservative atmosphere of the revolutionary era at the close of the century.

In that era, Gascoigne demonstrates, the Holy Alliance began to dissolve. The evangelical revival, as well as a need for a less abstract conception of Providence than Newtonianism had encouraged, led to a renewed emphasis on revealed, rather than natural, theology. Simultaneously, the sciences themselves sought greater independence from theological props. Finally, and most important, the increasing secularity of the university and the state alike in the nineteenth century lessened the political fear of doctrinal disharmony, enabling religious thinking itself to be more independent and contentious.

One query: when will the continuous decline in the quality of paper used by this press be halted?

JOHN ANDREW BERNSTEIN
University of Delaware

JOHN S. GIBSON. *Playing the Scottish Card: The Franco-Jacobite Invasion of 1708*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1988. Pp. x, 169. \$27.50.

The author of this slim but important volume comes from an interesting generation of civil servants from St. Andrews House, the heart of the secretary of state for Scotland's bureaucracy. St. Andrews House includes several men, just passing into active retirement, who sustained a literary career parallel to their administrative one. John S. Gibson wrote the official history of the Scottish Office for Her Majesty's Stationery Office. He has also written on Deacon Brodie, the Edinburgh town councilor and burglar from whose career Robert Louis Stevenson derived the idea for Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. Gibson is, however, best known to historians for his compact but original and important book *Ships of the '45* (1967), which brought out the immense importance of sea power in settling the fate of the last Jacobite rebellion.

This new monograph derives indirectly from that book, for, in the course of researching the naval side of the rebellion in 1745, Gibson became acquainted with Commander J. H. Owen, author of *War at Sea under Queen Anne* (1938), a scholar who always held that the greatest danger of invasion for post-Union Great Britain was in 1708, when a French invasion fleet, carrying James Francis Edward Stuart, who had been recognized as King of England, Scotland, and Ireland by Louis XIV in 1701, cast anchor in the Firth of Forth. Now Gibson sets out to retell the tale of the French endeavor and to link it with an examination of the parallel intrigues for a Jacobite rising in Scotland.

There are two main sources for such an exercise, and both pose problems. One is the papers of Nathaniel Hooke, who started out as a Dissenter and supporter of Monmouth's Rising and who died in exile, a Jacobite peer. He was principal agent for Scottish affairs of the marquis de Torcy, foreign minister to Louis XIV. Unfortunately, his papers were seized by the government after he died in France in 1738. Papers dating before 1708 were not seized, and some of the impounded papers can still be excavated from French archives. The other source is the memoirs of Claude, comte de Forbin, the French naval officer who commanded the Franco-Jacobite invasion fleet of 1708. Here the problem is the irascible old salt's sustained rewriting of facts to suit his own image. Gibson is, however, able to show just how dishonest Forbin is, especially about the scale of the navigational blunder that wrecked the plan, by checking him against accounts by his pilot, Gavarry; the Scots Jacobite Lockhart of Carnwath; and the classic memoirs of the duc de St. Simon.

What emerges is the narrow margin by which the British government escaped disaster. Enraged by the railroading through of the Act of Union, all Scotland was seething with rebellion. There were no troops available to suppress a rising or to stop the Scots from seizing, on the advice of Simon Fraser of Lovat, the northern English coalfields to force London to come to terms. It all reads like a better-written *Spycatcher*.

B. P. LENMAN
University of St. Andrews

PAULA R. BACKSCHEIDER. *Daniel Defoe: His Life*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1989. Pp. xv, 671. \$29.95.

Writing a biography of Daniel Defoe is a daunting project. The man had prodigious energy. Paula R. Backscheider entitles her chapter on 1704 "Four Hundred Thousand Words." From 1724 (when Defoe was sixty-four) to 1730, he wrote over two and a half million words. Since he published anonymously and pseudonymously as well as under his own name, merely distinguishing all of what Defoe actually wrote from all of what he may have written requires an enormous amount of painstaking research. Backscheider has done the work. Her book is extremely helpful both in the definition of Defoe's *oeuvre* and as a guide to its contents.

Defoe's energies also created the second major difficulty that this biography confronts: the man's production was by no means restricted to the printed word. Defoe was an industrial and commercial entrepreneur, and Backscheider's biography reveals that the records of the central courts contain a lot of information about such persons—if, that is, they were sued for debt. Defoe was sued for debt from 1689 until eighteen months before his death, and Backscheider uses these records to delineate a career of variegated entrepreneurial failure. For instance, Backscheider reconstructs Defoe's simultaneous exploitation of seventy cats and his mother-in-law. Defoe knowingly participated in a fraudulent sale of seventy civet cats. The maneuver enabled him to defraud his mother-in-law by using her money to pay his debts. Defoe intended that his temporary possession of the cats also yield him a profit: civet cats' musk was an ingredient essential to perfumes. Backscheider explains that the musk was extracted by inserting a spatula into the small pouch between the cat's tail and its anus. The detailed research in this biography is impressive.

And yet presentation of the details does not ensure presentation of the context of Defoe's life. After reading this book, I remain puzzled by what seems a major transformation in Defoe's work and life. Backscheider shows a Defoe who before 1703 wrote from fierce conviction, and his convictions were those of a Whig and a Dissenter. From 1704 he was a hack who hired himself, as journalist and undercover agent, to the ministry in power—whatever its party. Failure to explain or even explain away this apparent transformation means that much of what Defoe published as a political journalist does not accord with what we are told about Defoe's views and character.

Problems of context also handicap Backscheider's analysis of the relation of Defoe's publications to his times. For instance, Backscheider prefaces her analysis of Defoe's pamphlets on the national debt, written in 1717, with this statement: "In fact, excise taxes doubled in 1715" (p. 451). Now this is an unlikely fact, for the excise was highly unpopular, and it is unlikely that George I's ministry wished to increase hostility to the

Hanoverian dynasty in the first year of its reign. Actually, the histories Backscheider cites indicate that she is probably referring to the doubling of the tax on one item—stained paper—in 1715. Backscheider's inability to recognize the unlikely signals a biography in which context and even detail remain open to question. For example, Backscheider states that Defoe's daughter received a dividend of £706.13.4 from her South Sea stock. That would suggest that she had stock worth several thousand pounds. The daughter of a scribbler?

NORMA LANDAU
University of California,
Davis

PER BOLIN-HORT. *Work, Family, and the State: Child Labour and the Organization of Production in the British Cotton Industry, 1780–1920*. (Bibliotheca Historica Ludensis, number 66.) Lund, Sweden: Lund University Press. 1989. Pp. 328.

This book focuses on the long-running debate about gender and age in the social relations of production in the mechanized cotton spinning industry. By comparing Lancashire, Glasgow, and (to a lesser extent) the United States, Per Bolin-Hort tries to avoid technological reductionism in explaining the persistence or decline of child labor in the cotton industries of these areas.

Child labor was particularly important in the cotton industry of the early Industrial Revolution, of course, because manufacturers wanted to use their new mechanized processes to employ the cheapest and most docile labor. The puzzle of the cotton industry is how adult male mule spinners in Lancashire managed to hold on to their status and high pay despite the continuous efforts of manufacturers to substitute other spinning machinery, such as the self-acting mule, which could be operated by less skilled and cheaper female labor. The debate over the mule spinners centers on whether it was real strength and skill that necessitated the employment of adult males or trade union power and patriarchal assumptions that only men could exercise a supervisory role over the child piecers who assisted them. Bolin-Hort concludes that it was real strength and skill that allowed adult men to monopolize spinning, but some of his comparative examples undermine this point. He is more convincing in demonstrating how Lancashire manufacturers agreed to compromise with the male mule spinners in the interests of labor peace because the manufacturers realized that the mule spinners' recruitment of their own child piecers to assist them saved time and trouble.

Bolin-Hort also argues that the efficiency of the factory legislation of the 1830s and 1840s limiting children's work has been underestimated. He is not convincing, however, and states only that the inspectors were successful mainly in enforcing technical provisions of the acts concerning bookkeeping, whereas

Christianity and Newtonian science process, advanced the prestige of Continental Enlighteners sought to do. Gascoigne explicitly states, the very inclusiveness of the enabled Cambridge to help England "absorb enlightenment into the main stream of English life rather than leaving it to become a potentially subversive and even revolutionary movement" (p. 21).

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JOHN S. GIBSON. *Playing the Scottish Card: The Franco-Jacobite Invasion of 1708*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1988. Pp. x, 169. \$27.50.

The author of this slim but important volume comes from an interesting generation of civil servants from St. Andrews House, the heart of the secretary of state for Scotland's bureaucracy. St. Andrews House includes several men, just passing into active retirement, who sustained a literary career parallel to their administrative one. John S. Gibson wrote the official history of the Scottish Office for Her Majesty's Stationery Office. He has also written on Deacon Brodie, the Edinburgh town councilor and burglar from whose career Robert Louis Stevenson derived the idea for Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. Gibson is, however, best known to historians for his compact but original and important book *Ships of the '45* (1967), which brought out the immense importance of sea power in settling the fate of the last Jacobite rebellion.

This new monograph derives indirectly from that book, for, in the course of researching the naval side of the rebellion in 1745, Gibson became acquainted with Commander J. H. Owen, author of *War at Sea under Queen Anne* (1938), a scholar who always held that the greatest danger of invasion for post-Union Great Britain was in 1708, when a French invasion fleet, carrying James Francis Edward Stuart, who had been recognized as King of England, Scotland, and Ireland by Louis XIV in 1701, cast anchor in the Firth of Forth. Now Gibson sets out to retell the tale of the French endeavor and to link it with an examination of the parallel intrigues for a Jacobite rising in Scotland.

There are two main sources for such an exercise, and both pose problems. One is the papers of Nathaniel Hooke, who started out as a Dissenter and supporter of Monmouth's Rising and who died in exile, a Jacobite peer. He was principal agent for Scottish affairs of the marquis de Torcy, foreign minister to Louis XIV. Unfortunately, his papers were seized by the government after he died in France in 1738. Papers dating before 1708 were not seized, and some of the impounded papers can still be excavated from French archives. The other source is the memoirs of Claude, comte de Forbin, the French naval officer who commanded the Franco-Jacobite invasion fleet of 1708. Here the problem is the irascible old salt's sustained rewriting of facts to suit his own image. Gibson is, however, able to show just how dishonest Forbin is, especially about the scale of the navigational blunder that wrecked the plan, by checking him against accounts by his pilot, Gavarry; the Scots Jacobite Lockhart of Carnwath; and the classic memoirs of the duc de St. Simon.

What emerges is the narrow margin by which the British government escaped disaster. Enraged by the railroading through of the Act of Union, all Scotland was seething with rebellion. There were no troops available to suppress a rising or to stop the Scots from seizing, on the advice of Simon Fraser of Lovat, the northern English coalfields to force London to come to terms. It all reads like a better-written *Spycatcher*.

B. P. LENMAN
University of St. Andrews

PAULA R. BACKSCHEIDER. *Daniel Defoe: His Life*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1989. Pp. xv, 671. \$29.95.

Writing a biography of Daniel Defoe is a daunting project. The man had prodigious energy. Paula R. Backscheider entitles her chapter on 1704 "Four Hundred Thousand Words." From 1724 (when Defoe was sixty-four) to 1730, he wrote over two and a half million words. Since he published anonymously and pseudonymously as well as under his own name, merely distinguishing all of what Defoe actually wrote from all of what he may have written requires an enormous amount of painstaking research. Backscheider has done the work. Her book is extremely helpful both in the definition of Defoe's *oeuvre* and as a guide to its contents.

Defoe's energies also created the second major difficulty that this biography confronts: the man's production was by no means restricted to the printed word. Defoe was an industrial and commercial entrepreneur, and Backscheider's biography reveals that the records of the central courts contain a lot of information about such persons—if, that is, they were sued for debt. Defoe was sued for debt from 1689 until eighteen months before his death, and Backscheider uses these records to delineate a career of variegated entrepreneurial failure. For instance, Backscheider reconstructs Defoe's simultaneous exploitation of seventy cats and his mother-in-law. Defoe knowingly participated in a fraudulent sale of seventy civet cats. The maneuver enabled him to defraud his mother-in-law by using her money to pay his debts. Defoe intended that his temporary possession of the cats also yield him a profit: civet cats' musk was an ingredient essential to perfumes. Backscheider explains that the musk was extracted by inserting a spatula into the small pouch between the cat's tail and its anus. The detailed research in this biography is impressive.

And yet presentation of the details does not ensure presentation of the context of Defoe's life. After reading this book, I remain puzzled by what seems a major transformation in Defoe's work and life. Backscheider shows a Defoe who before 1703 wrote from fierce conviction, and his convictions were those of a Whig and a Dissenter. From 1704 he was a hack who hired himself, as journalist and undercover agent, to the ministry in power—whatever its party. Failure to explain or even explain away this apparent transformation means that much of what Defoe published as a political journalist does not accord with what we are told about Defoe's views and character.

Problems of context also handicap Backscheider's analysis of the relation of Defoe's publications to his times. For instance, Backscheider prefaces her analysis of Defoe's pamphlets on the national debt, written in 1717, with this statement: "In fact, excise taxes doubled in 1715" (p. 451). Now this is an unlikely fact, for the excise was highly unpopular, and it is unlikely that George I's ministry wished to increase hostility to the

Hanoverian dynasty in 1715.

Actually, the histories Backscheider

she is probably referring to the one item—stained paper—in 1715. ^{of its reign.} ability to recognize the unlikely sign^{adicate that} which context and even detail remain op^{tax on} For example, Backscheider states that Defoe received a dividend of £706.13.4 from the Sea stock. That would suggest that she had stock, several thousand pounds. The daughter of a scribe.

NORMA LANDAU
University of California,
Davis

PER BOLIN-HORT. *Work, Family, and the State: Child Labour and the Organization of Production in the British Cotton Industry, 1780–1920*. (Bibliotheca Historica Ludensis, number 66.) Lund, Sweden: Lund University Press. 1989. Pp. 328.

This book focuses on the long-running debate about gender and age in the social relations of production in the mechanized cotton spinning industry. By comparing Lancashire, Glasgow, and (to a lesser extent) the United States, Per Bolin-Hort tries to avoid technological reductionism in explaining the persistence or decline of child labor in the cotton industries of these areas.

Child labor was particularly important in the cotton industry of the early Industrial Revolution, of course, because manufacturers wanted to use their new mechanized processes to employ the cheapest and most docile labor. The puzzle of the cotton industry is how adult male mule spinners in Lancashire managed to hold on to their status and high pay despite the continuous efforts of manufacturers to substitute other spinning machinery, such as the self-acting mule, which could be operated by less skilled and cheaper female labor. The debate over the mule spinners centers on whether it was real strength and skill that necessitated the employment of adult males or trade union power and patriarchal assumptions that only men could exercise a supervisory role over the child piecers who assisted them. Bolin-Hort concludes that it was real strength and skill that allowed adult men to monopolize spinning, but some of his comparative examples undermine this point. He is more convincing in demonstrating how Lancashire manufacturers agreed to compromise with the male mule spinners in the interests of labor peace because the manufacturers realized that the mule spinners' recruitment of their own child piecers to assist them saved time and trouble.

Bolin-Hort also argues that the efficiency of the factory legislation of the 1830s and 1840s limiting children's work has been underestimated. He is not convincing, however, and states only that the inspectors were successful mainly in enforcing technical provisions of the acts concerning bookkeeping, whereas

manufacturers continued to evade the spirit of the law. He also ignores the frustrated efforts of trade unionists to bring prosecutions under the acts. Furthermore, Bolin-Hort again undercuts his own argument by showing that growing prosperity and changing union relations were as important as legislation in determining the levels of child employment.

Some of the limitations of this work may be attributed to its origins as a Swedish dissertation. Bolin-Hort concentrates on a historiographical critique of previous studies and sometimes strains his points in an effort to say something new. Primary materials such as newspapers and parliamentary inquiries are usually cited to refute a previous author, with the exception of original material on Glasgow. His comparative approach, however, does provide a useful overview of the debates in the field.

ANNA CLARK
University of North Carolina,
Charlotte

NOEL THOMPSON. *The Market and Its Critics: Socialist Political Economy in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. New York: Routledge. 1988. Pp. 306. \$57.50.

Noel Thompson reviews the reactions of nineteenth-century British socialists to the concept of the market. Theorists surveyed include William Cobbett, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, John Ruskin, William Morris, Robert Blatchford, and William Hyndman, along with mid-century Christian Socialists and first-generation Fabians. Thompson adds Edward Bellamy, Laurence Gronlund, and Peter Kropotkin because British socialists read them. Notably, John Stuart Mill is omitted. Thompson does not provide biographies or discuss the relationships of these theorists to workers' movements or political reforms. He relates them briefly to the level of development of capitalism in successive periods.

Socialist critics of the market remained quite consistent throughout the century. They criticized it on moral grounds: markets made labor a commodity, caused social conflict, fostered avarice and exploitation. Economically, most denied that markets set prices rationally or allocated resources optimally. Markets directed resources toward superfluities for the rich, while not providing necessities for the poor and working people. Starting from such complaints, most socialists tried to construct socialism as a polar opposite to capitalism and dispense with markets. They wanted to withdraw into self-contained communities where decisions would be rational and obvious, dictated by need. When they saw a need for exchange among communities, they posited the amount of labor embodied in goods as a measure of their value or as the basis for their exchange. Alternatively, they denied that one had to allocate resources or set prices, by assuming abundance in a society without waste or artificially created wants or artificial scarcity. Of the thinkers reviewed, only the Fabians abandoned these perspectives. Thomp-

son comments that this world view was more plausible in the early nineteenth century than later, when there was no alternative to a complex urban economy.

The consequences of recoiling from the market were "little short of disastrous" (p. 285), Thompson asserts. Market socialist thinking did not develop. Only two mid-century pamphleteers, Aristarchus and John Frearson, were pale predecessors of market socialism. As a result, nineteenth-century socialists left a body of thought that was vulnerable to twentieth-century criticisms that they had no basis for economic decisions. Thompson's judgment appears sound, though somewhat anachronistic. Given the precariousness of life for most British workers, and the ruthlessness of *laissez-faire*, socialists could hardly have seen benefits in markets, until such economists as Stanley Jevons and Alfred Marshall restated classical theory. When such ideas appeared, the Fabians used them; until then, they most commonly relied on David Ricardo. Thompson should have said more about the economic theories available to these theorists.

I regret that Thompson does not specify the disastrous consequences of these ideas. One might substantiate his charge by British socialists' ritualistic incantation of "planning" or their faith in nationalizations or by the helplessness of Labour governments in the 1920s. Overall, Thompson leaves intact the prevailing picture that nineteenth-century British socialism was primarily a moral and aesthetic criticism of industrial capitalism.

LUTHER P. CARPENTER
College of Staten Island

LUCIO SPONZA. *Italian Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Realities and Images*. Leicester: Leicester University Press; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1988. Pp. xi, 372. \$49.00.

The experiences of immigrant minorities in Britain have only recently become the focus of systematic research, but already a growing number of studies have both enlarged the scope of traditional social history and thrown new light on political and cultural attitudes in the society as a whole. Italian immigrants, numbering under five thousand in the 1861 census and twenty-five thousand in the census fifty years later, have received scant attention until now.

Lucio Sponza's informative study first analyzes the social composition of the community and the factors that spurred emigration. By far the largest concentration of Italians lived in London, especially in the Holborn area (Hatton Garden and Saffron Hill) with other communities in Glasgow and northern industrial towns. They worked as itinerant organ grinders and street musicians, makers and vendors of plaster statuettes, picture frames, mirrors, and barometers. In such traditional pursuits, they were seldom perceived as a competitive threat by British labor: even the unskilled tended to become paviors and asphalters, irregular

trades that had difficulty recruiting labor. By the end of the century, however, most were engaged in the food and catering sectors as waiters, cooks, ice cream sellers, shopkeepers, and restaurateurs.

Attitudes of the British upper and middle classes toward Italians constitute the bulk of the book; the working class is barely mentioned. Britons had long cultivated various Romantic literary and artistic images of Italy, along with ingrained prejudice against Roman Catholicism and support for liberal nationalist movements. But Italian immigrants first attracted attention when a wave of sympathetic feeling was mobilized by press articles in the 1850s about the mistreatment of children recruited in Italy for work as itinerant organ grinders. The outcry, Sponza argues, was always overblown, especially by the late 1870s when, through the actions of the Italian government, the flow of "begging boys" had greatly diminished and street music had become more of a family-based activity. Public concern stemmed more from a new Victorian awareness of the victimization of children than from the real life of the itinerant community.

Another issue that brought Italians into the spotlight was the noise of street musicians. An amusing chapter depicts the mounting indignation of the professional middle classes who had not yet escaped to the suburbs as they battled (with little success) against an ever-growing din of barrel organs, hawkers, and street criers. A more urgent matter in official circles was the insanitary condition of "common lodging houses" and the intense overcrowding in central London caused from the 1860s on by clearance schemes and the demolition of housing for commercial space. Particularly congested, "Little Italy" was widely attacked as a center of contagion during cholera and smallpox outbreaks; this also prompted scaremongering about the public health hazards of the ice cream trade centered there. Finally, Italians encountered the usual allegations made about poor "foreigners": immorality, disorderliness, and proneness to violence.

Although Sponza illustrates well the process whereby urban fears and preoccupations were channelled through ethnocentric prejudice, he offers almost no information about Italian assimilation into British society or this immigrant community's own sense of identity and responses to stereotyping. His claim that Victorian opinion developed "from romantic idealization and compassion . . . to an obsessive outcry and alarm" also seems overstated (p. 140). Certainly, Italians never attracted anything like the animosity directed at the much larger Irish and Jewish communities.

GEOFFREY FIELD
State University of New York,
Purchase

EMILY W. SUNSTEIN. *Mary Shelley: Romance and Reality*. Boston: Little, Brown. 1989. Pp. xi, 478. \$24.95.

That Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin Shelley—the author of *Frankenstein*, the story of a man who tries to have a baby without a woman, the story of a scientist who creates a monster that he cannot control, and perhaps the only myth ever created entirely by a single human being—should not have been the subject until 1989 of an accurate and complete biography is another depressing example of academic sexism. In this thoroughly researched and judicious book, Emily W. Sunstein at last gives us a perceptive and richly detailed portrait of this independent, probing thinker. Shelley was an enthusiastic exponent and then critic of revolutionary romanticism and a woman whose personal life was fraught with private tragedy: the deaths of four of her five children; the drowning of her young husband; the betrayals of her best friend Jane Williams and of Aubrey Beauclerk, her only hope for remarriage; and numerous extortion and blackmail attempts that tormented her final years.

Unlike previous biographers of Shelley, Sunstein devotes as much attention to her life after her husband's death as to their hectic and stimulating eight years together. Sunstein thus writes for the first time a compelling and troubling account of Shelley's "problematic Romantic feminism" (p. 8), of her attempt to sustain the revolutionary principles of her mother, Mary Wollstonecraft, within the confines of an economically precarious career as a productive woman of letters in early nineteenth-century England. Although Shelley published six novels and many stories and essays, both her poverty and her ambiguous social status as the mother of a future baronet imposed intellectual constraints—she was not permitted to write the biography of Percy Shelley to which she felt morally committed—and emotional sufferings that took their toll on her life. She died at fifty-three of a brain tumor aggravated by seven years of somatization disorder.

One could argue with several dimensions of Sunstein's account: she places far too much emphasis on Mary Shelley's guilt for the death of Percy Shelley's first wife, Harriet, who committed suicide, an act for which Mary did not express any sense of responsibility until long after Percy's death; she is overly sympathetic to Percy Shelley, dismissing too easily his sexual and emotional imbroglios with other women, affairs that tormented Mary; and she is an insensitive literary critic, reducing Mary Shelley's masterpieces to mere plot summaries and *romans à clef*. She thereby overlooks the subtlety and skepticism with which Mary Shelley used her fiction to comment on the major social, political, and intellectual movements of her day.

We now have the facts of Shelley's life, including Sunstein's brilliant detection of her thwarted love for Aubrey Beauclerk. But we still do not fully understand the complicated emotional and intellectual development of this woman. Shelley's fiction expressed her deepest psychological anxieties, hostilities, passions, and fantasies. It will take the combined skills and insights of a literary critic, a psychobiographer, and an intellectual historian to construct, on the factual foun-

dation Sunstein so solidly provides, an adequately complex account of Shelley's life as both a literary genius and a member of one of the most extraordinary families in the history of English radicalism.

ANNE K. MELLOR
University of California,
Los Angeles

MICHAEL STEPHEN PARTRIDGE. *Military Planning for the Defense of the United Kingdom, 1814–1870*. New York: Greenwood. (Contributions in Military Studies, number 91.) 1989. Pp. viii, 240. \$49.95.

Michael Stephen Partridge reminds us that throughout the nineteenth century "the defense of the United Kingdom in the last resort rested on land defenses" (p. 3). If, for some catastrophic reason, the Royal Navy were diverted or crippled, Britain's land defenses—the militia, volunteers, yeomanry, and coastal fortifications—were truly the "last ditch."

But the Royal Navy declined in the decades after the Napoleonic Wars, and the situation seemed even more perilous with the coming of steam power, rifled guns, and the ironclad. At least in theory, the French could start on an equal footing with the British. Civil and military authorities (including the duke of Wellington) worried themselves nearly sick imagining French steam-powered ironclad rams clearing the way to disgorge enemy hordes that could hold to ransom the fat commercial entrepôts of the nation or even march on London to avenge Waterloo. The influential Royal Commission of 1860 went so far as to assert that Britain's insular position was a disadvantage, because an enemy could secretly mass troops that would have been discovered along a land frontier!

Throughout the decades from roughly the 1830s on, frantic proposals were advanced to enlarge and improve the regular army and the reserves. More concretely, vast sums were expended on a series of coastal fortifications that remain to this day. Yet, for all of the panic in high places, the British public remained remarkably unmoved. Although approving appreciable sums of money for the near-useless fortifications, they did not flock to join the militia, yeomanry, or volunteers. That public likely realized, as Partridge himself concludes, that "the single most effective method of augmenting the national defenses would [have been] to reform and maintain, as a fully mobilized peacetime force, the Royal Navy" (p. 148).

Yet that was exactly what the Royal Navy was doing, at least in the last decade of the period that concerns Partridge. Contrary to his assertion that the Royal Navy was "not deployed primarily in home waters to defend the country from invasion" (p. 26), by far the greater number of ironclads were indeed assigned to the Channel or Mediterranean fleets in the 1860s. They were more than a match for anything the French had launched or even planned.

To cover this broad subject, the author has carried

out impressive research in parliamentary papers, private holdings, Admiralty, War, Home, Colonial, and Foreign Office documents, and apparently all secondary material ever published on the topic. Scholars and students in the fields of British defense studies and Victorian Britain will not need to purchase a successor volume anytime in the foreseeable future.

STANLEY SANDLER

John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School
Fort Bragg, North Carolina

W. B. STEPHENS. *Education, Literacy, and Society, 1830–70: The Geography of Diversity in Provincial England*. Manchester: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. Pp. xii, 386. 1989. \$27.50.

The early Victorians showed an intense interest in the extent of literacy in the country, in what the statistics and impressions could tell them about education, morality, crime, and public order. Very little such investigation was done after the Education Act of 1870 and its successors leveled up attainment, and historians, with a few exceptions, continued that neglect until the 1960s. Since then, the study of nineteenth-century (and earlier) literacy has become a minor industry. That industry has shown no sign of decline, but it has surely entered its maturity with W. B. Stephens's stunning book.

Any reader of the many works on Victorian literacy, or of the sources on which such studies are based, will be aware of the immense complexity of the phenomenon, complexity that includes finding a suitable measure, the imperfections of the sources, the extent of educational provision and the kind of effect it had, the attitudes of readers and nonreaders toward the skill, variations between men and women, and, above all, startling regional differences. All of these, but particularly regional variation, form the subject of Stephens's work.

Like most researchers in the past thirty years, Stephens relies heavily on the proportions of signatures and marks made in marriage registers. He is sensitive to the shortcomings of the measure, but it offers a particularly valuable base for comparison. He makes excellent use as well of contemporary survey material, reports of observers (particularly the admirable inspectors of state-aided schools), and the wealth of quantitative and interpretive material made available by other historians in the parallel explosion of educational history and in the continuing explorations of economic and social historians increasingly preoccupied with local studies.

Stephens shifts back and forth between counties and census registration districts as his units of inquiry; information mustered in statistical appendixes is redeployed in the text and enforced by helpful maps indicating the variation of districts within counties above or below national norms. The variation that he displays is infinitely greater than I could have imagined

when I made a crude effort in the field forty years ago or, I suspect, than most readers of more recent work would have thought. An overall gain over the century was shot through with exceptions and reversals and surprises, depending on factors such as the urban-rural distinction, the extent of immigration, the nature of the local economy, and the relative strength of Dissent and the Established Church.

A sweeping view over northern and eastern England, where the picture was relatively favorable, is followed by more detailed studies of the less favored counties in the northern and southern Midlands and the West. In each of these, Stephens starts by a masterly survey of the demographic and economic characteristics of the region, then describes the varying situations with respect to child labor and the provision of schooling, and finally constructs the kaleidoscopic patterns of literacy. Mining, domestic industry, and (at least in the Midlands and West) agriculture were major hurdles; large, rapidly growing industrial towns were disaster areas, while smaller towns fared reasonably well; Sunday schools contributed little to advancing literacy; and, though some troglodytes were still to be found, the Church of England comes out of this book remarkably well. And it is overwhelmingly clear that moving beyond piecemeal improvement required the legislation of the 1870s and 1880s.

Stephens hopes that his still-tentative study will encourage similar studies of other regions and reevaluation of his conclusions. But it is hard to imagine that any subsequent work will do more than add details to this triumph of technical authority and historical sensibility.

R. K. WEBB
University of Maryland,
Baltimore County

W. S. F. PICKERING. *Anglo-Catholicism: A Study in Religious Ambiguity*. New York: Routledge. Pp. xiii, 286. \$59.95.

The episode in the religious history of Victorian England that has been written about most frequently is the Oxford Movement of the 1830s, an effort by a number of eloquent Church of England clerics to define their church not as the religious subdivision of an increasingly secular state but as an independent force, sanctioned less by Act of Parliament than by an apostolic succession that went back—through the Reformation and the Middle Ages—to the beginnings of Christianity. Some of the leaders of that movement, most notably John Henry Newman, in due course converted to Rome, but a majority remained within the Anglican Communion where they were known as the High Church and during the later Victorian decades as ritualists. The most ardent late Victorian ritualists came to call themselves Anglo-Catholics, and it is W. S. F. Pickering's purpose to assess their role in Britain's religious history during the past one hundred twenty-five years.

Pickering is not a professional historian but an ordained Anglican cleric who served for twenty years as a member of the sociology faculty of the University of Newcastle-on-Tyne and who has written extensively on religious themes as well as on Emile Durkheim. His approach differs from that of the typical historian less in the sources on which he relies than in the way that he tells his story, namely, in an almost entirely topical manner with chapter headings such as "A Missionary Movement?" "The Extent of Success," "The Ambiguity of Catholic Sectarianism," and "Ambiguity over Sexuality." Each of the eleven chapters is subdivided into five or more subchapters.

The reader is therefore compelled to piece together the chronological evolution of a movement that served as a religious "counter culture" (p. 172) and that, often in defiance of parliamentary legislation and episcopal edict, did much to transform the essentially Protestant Church of England of the 1830s into a body that emphasized not only its apostolic roots but also a form of worship that increasingly resembled that of pre-Vatican II Roman Catholicism in terms of liturgy, church decoration, the use of incense and candles, the veneration of the Virgin Mary, and the practice of auricular confession. Anglo-Catholic clerics were called "fathers" and "priests" rather than "rectors" or "parsons" (and a large proportion remained unmarried). They celebrated Mass rather than Holy Communion and used "missals" rather than "prayer books" (p. 168).

In Pickering's judgment the high point of Anglo-Catholic influence came during the 1920s and early 1930s. At a time when weekly church attendance in Britain was gradually decreasing, an Anglo-Catholic church congress in London in 1933 attracted seventy thousand clerical and lay participants. A comparable gathering in 1978 drew less than one thousand. The movement, the author concludes, has declined steadily since World War II, undercut not only by continuing secularization but also by the aftermath of Vatican II: a protestantizing Roman Catholic Church outflanked the Anglo-Catholics, some of whom were "more Roman than Rome" (p. 28). When the church decreed the end of meatless Fridays, one Anglo-Catholic priest announced, "We no longer pray for the Pope" (p. 263). Pickering's final chapter understandably serves largely as an epitaph, yet he does not expect Anglo-Catholicism to disappear entirely. In the meantime he has used an ahistorical scheme of organization in order to provide, clearly and persuasively, a great deal of information about a movement that general historians of modern Britain have tended to overlook.

WALTER L. ARNSTEIN
University of Illinois,
Urbana-Champaign

MARY LYNDON SHANLEY. *Feminism, Marriage, and the Law in Victorian England, 1850–1895*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1989. Pp. x, 213. \$25.00.

Mary Lyndon Shanley has produced a fine study of the ideas and activities of the first generation of Victorian feminists in England, from the beginning of an organized feminist movement in the 1850s to the 1890s, and the implications of their ideas and activities for later feminist thought and reform efforts. As a political scientist, Shanley adopts a case-study approach; for each case, she describes the development of feminist ideas with regard to some aspect of the existing marriage law, feminist proposals for reform, and the parliamentary response. Four chapters are devoted to the divorce law, including the Divorce Act of 1857; the married women's property law, including the failed agitation of the 1850s and the acts of 1870 and 1882; and the custody of children, including the acts of 1839, 1873, and 1886. A chapter on "the unity of the moral law," more disparate than the others despite its title, deals with three reforms opposed, rather than proposed, by some feminists: repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, the unsuccessful proposal for the compulsory registration of baby nurses, and special legislation for women workers contained in the Factory Acts of 1874 and 1878. Another chapter on "a husband's right to his wife's body" treats protection for abused and deserted wives by the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1878 and the Summary Jurisdiction (Married Women) Act of 1895: "conjugal rights," including a husband's right to restrain physically and even imprison his wife; and the problem of marital rape. In each of these cases, feminist theory drew on traditional liberalism, with its emphasis on individual rights of freedom and equality, rights denied to women by the legal doctrine of coverture. But feminists went beyond the traditional liberal doctrine of "separate spheres" for men and women, "the assumption that family and state, private and public spheres, were of different conceptual and moral orders" (p. 12), and argued for a legal doctrine of "spousal equality," which would lead to "a transformed marriage, a truer meeting of minds, souls, and bodies than any yet known" (p. 188). In no case did Victorian feminists win parliamentary acceptance of their radically new vision of marriage and of the specific reforms they proposed. But Victorian feminism was not a failure. "The legal reforms won . . . were crucial preconditions for women's emancipation, and the feminists' analysis of the interlocking character of women's subjection in marriage and in the state was a major contribution to feminist theory" (p. 14). Victorian feminists "set an agenda for the present day . . . the goal of spousal equality remains to be realized by all who seek human liberation" (p. 21). And, to achieve that goal, problems illustrated by the cases studied here must be solved: given unequal economic, social, and political resources and reproductive differences between men and women, "gender-neutral laws do not result in equal opportunity in the public world or genuine reciprocity at home" (p. 20).

Shanley's work is not only a fine feminist tract for our times but also a significant scholarly work. It is based on broad and deep research in primary sources, both

published and unpublished, and in the best and most recent secondary works, all set forth in a sensibly constructed bibliography and in notes that appear at the bottom of the pages. Written from a political science perspective, Shanley's work complements and illuminates the works of other scholars, such as my *Wives and Property* (1983), a historical study of property-law reform, which was not theoretically oriented and was criticized by some on that account. Shanley points the way to further research needed. She suggests study of the actual effects of the statutes that she has discussed, by analysis of judicial interpretations and of demographic and economic statistics, to construct "a more complete picture of the law's ability to shape women's understanding and experience of marriage" (p. 14, n. 26). Research needs that occurred to me were a deeper analysis of the intellectual and emotional origins of the feminists' new view of companionate marriage, further study of state-supported or state-regulated child care, and fuller, biographical treatment of some of the pioneer feminists, especially the ubiquitous Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy. Shanley has pondered her material, organized it well, and presented it in a style notable for its clarity and grace. I noticed only a couple of relatively minor factual slips and two misprints. I deeply appreciate and highly recommend this fine work.

LEE HOLCOMBE
University of South Carolina,
Spartanburg

DEA BIRKETT. *Spinsters Abroad: Victorian Lady Explorers*. New York: Basil Blackwell. 1989. Pp. xii, 300. \$24.95.

Reviewing a book with only secondary academic aspirations for an academic journal is to steer a course between unwonted sternness and unaccountable delight. In assessing Dea Birkett's immensely readable account of Victorian traveling women, the task was trying. The text presents itself in a scholarly guise but wanders off into unevidenced generalizations at every turn.

The author is at her entertaining best relating anecdotes that capture both the determination and the fun involved in these extraordinary travels. Birkett does not shrink from disclosing the female traveler's common adherence to racial and class stereotypes guaranteed to offend modern sensibilities. The author deserves praise for avoiding both a caricature of the "odd" woman seeking pleasure in strangeness and that of a mawkish hagiography of plucky exploits. Birkett's breathless prose and her tendency to flit from topic to topic suit her subject well, although they are wearying.

She is at her weakest, however, when she strays into analytical territory. The meticulous footnoting of the women's voices (and Birkett is splendid at weaving their voices into her lively narrative) suddenly melts away when she clumsily psychologizes motives, private thoughts, and the symbolic significance of the women's

actions. This, it seems, is Birkett's *terra incognita*, one she would better have left unexplored. Again and again, she stands on the edge of theorizing her subject but seems never to deliver. She reads her characters as if they were their own maps with a literalness that finally leaves the reader empty-handed.

This is not to suggest that she is wholly insensitive to the gendered dilemma of women, who were frustrated by the roles forced on them at home and yet forever trapped in an ambivalent loyalty to "civilized" England. She charts with verve their remaking and masculinizing of themselves as travelers and the points at which that mask slipped. And yet her suggestion that the women benefitted from an ability to stress what she calls a "genderless white power" (p. 118) misses a crucial point. Birkett is not dealing with the dynamics of colonial power but, without some solid consideration of its working, it can only be folly to offer explanations of the plights and the strengths of women travelers. The palpable invocation of a gendered hierarchy in the maintenance of English colonial authority lies at the heart of this conundrum.

Birkett presents us with a touching cameo (p. 133) of traveler Fanny Bullock Workman planting a flag bearing the legend "Votes for Women" on an obscure mountain top. Workman's message is not that of all the women travelers, but it surely encapsulates the dilemma that fueled their actions, a topic worthy of further investigation.

PHILIPPA LEVINE
Florida State University

WRAY VAMPLEW. *Pay Up and Play the Game: Professional Sport in Britain, 1875-1914*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xix, 394. \$54.50.

Wray Vamplew has set out to "produce a quantified economic, and slightly social, history of commercialized sport by the application of comprehensible economic theory to hard, empirical data" (p. xiv). In order to do so, he has concentrated on three related groups of people. First, he is interested in sports teams as business enterprises and asks the sorts of questions that one might expect from an economic historian. How were these enterprises organized? Where did they get their capital? How was that capital mobilized to make money? And, most interesting to him, to what extent were sporting enterprises "operated as conventional businesses" and to what extent did they give "priority to winning over the pursuit of profit" (p. xiv)? In economic terms, Vamplew here concentrates on "management." In other sections of the book, he concentrates on "labor," on the professional sportsmen themselves, and on "consumers," the spectators who increasingly crowded the sports grounds of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Throughout the book Vamplew is eager to explode the myth that there was once a golden age of sport during which "modern" problems such as crowd vio-

lence and shamateurism did not exist. In fact, such problems may be traced back to the very beginnings of commercialized sport in the 1870s. If anything, he argues that in some ways, notably in the treatment of the professional athletes whose exertions make the whole enterprise possible, sport today is healthier than it was in the days when W. G. Grace could demand and receive far more money as an "amateur" than the "professionals" he played alongside.

Vamplew comes closest to his stated aim of producing "hard" economic history in the long discussion of whether the sports enterprises he studied were "profit maximizers" or "utility maximizers." That is, were the managements more concerned with winning matches or making money? At the risk of offending Vamplew, who addresses several preemptive words to potential reviewers who judge books on what they would have liked to have seen rather than what the authors wrote, I must admit that I find this the least satisfying section of the book. The main problem is that, in the end, the managers of sports businesses were not necessarily the unemotional rational actors that economic theoreticians assume them to have been. Even when they were, their assumptions sometimes challenged the theories of modern economists. Contrary to these theories, for example, Victorian managers seemed to believe that winning matches did, in fact, also maximize profits.

On the other hand, the "slightly social" aspects of Vamplew's study take on an immediacy and spirit that the economic sections lack. He is particularly good on the conditions of labor of professional sportsmen, the last "bonded" workers in England. His combination of economic and social analysis is particularly convincing in his discussion of the relative lack of union militancy among sportsmen at a time when union militancy was particularly strong among other workers.

In the end, Vamplew himself may have come around to my way of thinking. His final summation calls on other economic historians to "cast off their profit-oriented blinkers" in their study of sport, "an industry to which conventional economic analysis is not always applicable" (p. 283). Vamplew produces a fascinating and valuable work when he follows his own advice.

DAVID C. ITZKOWITZ
Macalester College

RICHARD HOLT. *Sport and the British: A Modern History*. (Oxford Studies in Social History.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 396. \$36.00.

Few can fail to see the influence in the world today of particularly British forms and ideas of sport. Richard Holt's lively and erudite book provides for both specialists and generalists an invaluable discussion of the heart of this empire.

To contain in any meaningful way within one volume the vast sweep of modern British society and its amusements is no simple task, but Holt's careful organiza-

tional skills are well up to the challenge. He addresses, in turn, premodern sport, the new Victorian middle-class activities based on new wealth and the cult of amateurism, the mass urban classes' own adaptation to this new age, and the role of sport both in imperial relations and as a tool for the idea of nation within the British Isles, and he concludes with the development and the current phenomenon of sport in twentieth-century Britain, colored as it is with commercialism and the violence of sports crowds.

But no survey of this type can be of much value at this stage in the development of the social history of sport without a firm theoretical grounding, and Holt has significant strengths here as well. His timely synthesis of the most up-to-date research in the social history of sport is enhanced by his grasp of the varied and often-combative theoretical discussion about sport and society over the past decade; his appendix on the current state of this debate, in fact, serves as a very useful primer for the uninitiated. Holt's own treatment holds closely to Raymond Williams's idea of "a permanent dialogue between imposed values and autonomous, self-generating ones" (p. 363). For Holt, the continuities of culture carry almost as much weight as the massive changes in the rapidly modernizing British society after 1760. He finds the picture of a "hegemonic" wiping out of the traditional by the modern or the oft-reputed success of middle-class efforts to bring parks, order, and rules to the masses to be simplistic and misleading. A far more complex interplay, grounded in the many tensions between change and continuity, served to produce the fascinating and multifaceted relationships between the British and the way they played and entertained themselves at all levels in the past two hundred years.

In such a study, problems must arise, and Holt does not escape them. Sometimes the evidence is just not yet there to support fully a few of his bold assertions; this becomes especially evident as he approaches that oxymoronic quicksand for social historians called "contemporary history." This and the remarkably few inevitable factual slips, however, do little to mar a fine work. Specialists in the field will find the book invaluable for its synthesis and as a foil for theoretical discussion, and anyone who studies the British in practically any way will come away from this volume with a fuller understanding of what has moved them through the past three centuries.

JOHN MORTON OSBORNE
Dickinson College

JACK EATON. *Judge John Bryn Roberts: A Biography*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press; distributed by Books International, McLean, Va. 1989. Pp. viii, 134. \$25.00.

John Bryn Roberts (1843–1931) was a minor figure in the political life of Wales from the 1880s on. He served

twenty years as a backbench Liberal M.P. and then in 1906 was appointed a judge of the county court for south Wales.

Jack Eaton's biography is an attempt, largely unsuccessful, to establish Roberts's claims to have been a significant figure in the British political firmament. Eaton's work is based on Roberts's private papers held at the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth. Unfortunately, these papers, as they apply to Roberts's parliamentary career, are, in Eaton's own words, "disappointingly sparse" (p. viii). This may explain why his slim volume (134 pages) is so unsatisfying.

Roberts was an unimaginative, inflexible Gladstonian Liberal, little more than a party wheel horse. During his twenty-one years in Parliament (1885–1906), Roberts was without influence, partly because his ideas were frozen in the Cobdenite liberalism of the mid-Victorian period. He was a poor speaker, given to long, prolix speeches; his impact on his native Wales was also limited. He opposed the more extreme versions of Welsh nationalism and fell afoul of the career of his fellow Welshman David Lloyd George.

Eaton's study cast some light on Lloyd George's early career. Roberts instinctively distrusted him, although they worked together on issues important to Wales. Roberts came to blame Lloyd George for destroying the Liberal party. During the last years of Roberts's life, he wrote extensively about Lloyd George's corrupting influence on the traditional liberalism that was so dear to Roberts.

Eaton also seeks to reevaluate Roberts's reputation as an anti-union jurist. He succeeds, in my view, in showing that, with all of his legal limitations and characteristic inflexibility, Roberts was not anti-union. Roberts faced great difficulties for which he was not trained in arbitrating cases arising out of the complicated Workman Compensation Law of 1897. Eaton carefully analyzes Roberts's decisions and shows no overt anti-union bias.

Whatever his flaws, Roberts's finest hour was in his principled opposition to the Boer War, when he cooperated with his archenemy Lloyd George. Roberts's antiwar feelings led to profound reservations about the rectitude of Britain's case in World War I, although his belief that the key to the war was the defense of "the colonial possessions of France" is bizarre (p. 91).

Eaton's study is bland and lifelessly written. There are some petty mistakes, such as identifying Lord Curzon as Foreign Secretary in 1897 (p. 37), and some sections that seem out of place, including a paragraph and a half devoted to horses bought for the Grand National by a Welsh contemporary of Roberts.

Roberts was a peripheral figure in the decline of liberalism. Eaton's biography will do little to change that estimate.

JOHN P. ROSSI
La Salle University

CYRIL EHRLICH. *Harmonious Alliance: A History of the Performing Right Society*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. x, 183. \$45.00.

This brief administrative history traces the fortunes of an institution that for much of this century represented the financial interests of British composers and publishers. Founded in 1914, long after the inception of similar organizations on the Continent, the Performing Right Society (PRS) defended the notion that the producers of music ought to be compensated, if only minimally, whenever their works were performed. As Cyril Ehrlich demonstrates, however, this principle often proved difficult to defend in practice. Rapid developments in the reproduction of sound, especially radio and gramophone, retarded the development of equitable enforcement procedures. Listeners and sympathetic politicians argued that many forms of music ought to be regarded as entitlements free of cost. Music hall proprietors wondered why they should compensate publishers and composers for the privilege of having new songs popularized. A group of dance instructors objected to the monopolistic practices of the PRS and formed a short-lived counterorganization to destroy their nemesis. Powerful institutions such as the BBC, a monopoly until the 1950s, engaged in prolonged, tedious negotiations with the society over virtually every financial issue and tended to neglect inflation when bargaining. Factory owners who piped music to their workers during World War II strenuously resisted attempts by the PRS to collect modest fees. The overwhelming popularity of American music threatened the livelihood of British musicians until the success of the Beatles and other rock musicians in the 1960s reversed, at least temporarily, the transatlantic flow of popular music. During the 1960s and 1970s the membership of the PRS expanded dramatically, and its total income easily outstripped inflation. A younger generation of leaders made the society less secretive and responded more enthusiastically to reform.

Ehrlich acknowledges in the preface that any official history runs the risk of narrowness and special pleading. He avoids this hazard by placing the PRS firmly within the larger historical context of British music, a subject he knows well and has explored masterfully in his earlier histories of the piano and of the music profession in Britain. He proves especially adept in understanding how changes in technology often paradoxically affected the livelihood of musicians. The arrival of sound films, for example, displaced thousands of musicians who played for silent films. Ehrlich writes lucidly and with irony, particularly about recent developments in popular music. Although not uncritical of the PRS, he clearly sympathizes with the organization whose private archives he explored in shaping this splendid monograph.

D. L. LEMAHIEU
Lake Forest College

JOHANNA ALBERTI. *Beyond Suffrage: Feminists in War and Peace, 1914–28*. New York: St. Martin's. 1989. Pp. vi, 249. \$39.95.

This is an unsettling book to read and thus to review. Johanna Alberti has chosen fourteen middle-class women linked to each other through their involvement in the British suffrage movement. The cast of characters whose minibiographies Alberti presents in her first chapter are mostly familiar names, although not all achieved recognition for their suffrage activities. Racing through their lives at a gallop, Alberti turns to wartime activities of these women (and fourteen others) and concludes her volume in 1928 when the British Parliament enacted universal suffrage.

The list of names increases as the chapters roll by. Most of the names dropped in for purposes of illustration quickly drop out. Alberti recognizes the problem of too many women and not enough explanatory material (p. 103).

The author provides much detail on women running for Parliament after the war, and, although she mentions Christabel Pankhurst (p. 81) and the Women's party, she does not refer to Emmeline Pankhurst as founder. Alberti strains to link her "fourteen" to the series of causes that she discusses between 1914 and 1928. In what could have been an insightful chapter, "A New Morality?" Alberti introduces Marie Stopes's *Married Love* (1918) with a review by spinster preacher Maude Royden. Royden is a fascinating study, and one wants to know her better. After living with an Anglican cleric and his wife over numbers of years, Royden, who was in her sixties, finally married the elderly cleric after the death of his wife.

The unmarried Royden is hardly the voice on "married love" (although she seems to be included because she is one of the "fourteen"). Catherine Marshall (on *Married Love*) confided that, because Victorian women were mostly reticent about speaking out on sexual matters, "I have only my own observation, knowledge to go on. Mainly I hated the actual act—but certainly was capable of passion" (p. 103). Yet Dora Russell (not one of the "fourteen" but included several times), who could have told us a lot about passion (although perhaps not much about married love), is included in this chapter as a spokeswoman for birth control (p. 122).

Finally, analyzed in a chapter that is crying to become a book, Alberti's men are either stick figures or entirely absent. Frederick Pethick-Lawrence is cited as a man who supported his wife in her many public endeavors. (One senses they enjoyed a very good sex life together.) But, for the women who tolerated sex, we are left wondering as to the causes of their frigidity. Were they married to intellectual but oafish men? Or were they victims of their own repression?

The problem here is the major weakness of the entire book. Too many women are crowded into too many causes in too few pages. There are at least five, possibly six, books here in gestation. Alberti is just the person to write any one of them—or all. She has done

an immense amount of research. She knows the fourteen women, and she is more than familiar with the hordes of others who are supporting characters. When unencumbered by names and groups, Alberti's prose is lucid and at times lyrical. The book will be difficult, however, for those unfamiliar with the times and the cast.

PATRICIA W. ROMERO
Towson State University

RICHARD CROUCHER. *We Refuse to Starve in Silence: A History of the National Unemployed Workers' Movement, 1920-46*. London: Lawrence and Wishart. 1987. Pp. 216. £6.95.

Unemployment was the most serious as well as the most persistent domestic problem of interwar Britain. While successive Conservative and Labour governments grappled unsuccessfully with the difficulties in the economy, some of the victims organized the National Unemployed Workers Movement (NUWM) in an effort to defend their interests. In this study Richard Croucher rescues the NUWM from the oblivion into which it descended after World War II and adds a small dimension to our knowledge of the sectarian politics of the British Left in the 1920s and 1930s.

Basing his account on pamphlets, newspapers, private correspondence, Cabinet documents, and interviews with surviving members, the author describes an organization that, although Communist-led, attracted a membership that appears to have been largely nonideological. Eschewing revolutionary goals, the group concentrated on improving the condition of the unemployed by representing individuals before official bodies as well as encouraging mass resistance to such government regulations as the means test, which had the effect of reducing unemployment benefits. The most effective tactic in keeping the problems of the unemployed before the public was the organization of frequent marches that often lasted several days, although the most renowned of these, the Jarrow Hunger March of 1936, was initiated not by the NUWM but by the Labour party.

Building an organization among a group whose composition was constantly changing and whose members were, by definition, short of funds posed obvious problems. The leadership added to these intrinsic difficulties by slavish adherence to the constantly shifting Communist party policy concerning cooperation with the Labour party and the trade unions, resulting in long periods when these potential allies were treated as enemies. That the movement survived for two decades is chiefly attributable to the dedication of one of its founders, Wal Hannington, a toolmaker who, although "a peculiarly anonymous figure" (p. 34), managed not only to keep the organization in being but also to make it effective from time to time in improving the lot of the unemployed.

Croucher's account of the NUWM is concise, and his

analysis of the reasons for its changing fortunes is, on the whole, plausible. His claims for the long-term influence of the organization are, however, exaggerated. To suggest, as he does, that the postwar welfare state would never have materialized but for the work of this movement is surely to assign far too much significance to the activities of this relatively small group. Far more crucial—and sufficient—factors were the war experience and the work of the Labour party and the trade unions to which the mass of the British workers (including the members of the NUWM) belonged.

CATHERINE ANN CLINE
Catholic University of America

PAUL SWANN. *The British Documentary Film Movement, 1926-1946*. (Cambridge Studies in Film.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. x, 216. \$39.50.

Paul Swann has written essentially an institutional or bureaucratic history of the British documentary film movement between 1926 and 1946. Rather than focusing on the aesthetic side of this movement, Swann looks at the often antagonistic relationships between the various official sponsors of the films produced and the actual film directors and producers. Thus, several chapters cover the two major sponsors of British documentary films, the Empire Marketing Board Film Unit (1926-33) and the General Post Office Film Unit (1933-40), and various other sponsoring bodies such as the British Council, the Joint Film Committee, the Foreign Office, the Ministry of Information, the Films of Scotland Committee, the Travel Association, the Crown Film Unit, and others are woven into the story. There is also a chapter dealing with "independent" documentary film production between 1932 and 1939 and a chapter focusing on the documentary movement during the war from 1939 to 1945.

Swann commences by pointing out that the major figure of the documentary movement, John Grierson, was heavily influenced by American mass persuasion techniques, his Scottish religious background, Soviet cinema, and an elitist nineteenth-century liberal view of "stewardship" over the masses. Grierson also saw his documentary films as a reaction against American film domination of the British market and against the type of films produced in the United States. In this general crusade for the making of socially significant documentary films, Grierson drew around him a small clique of film makers, particularly Basil Wright, Arthur Elton, Edgar Anstey, Stuart Legg, and Paul Rotha. Another group was initially attracted to Grierson but then broke away. It was comprised primarily of Alberto Cavalcanti, Harry Watt, and Humphrey Jennings. This latter group departed from Grierson's emphasis on public education and didacticism and instead moved toward the narrative techniques of the commercial cinema.

Despite the creation of some outstanding films, these documentary film makers often antagonized their sponsors because of divergent aims, and the difficulty

of finding enthusiastic audiences for their uplifting films (quite apart from the opposition of commercial exhibitors and distributors) created grave problems for the documentary film. As Swann succinctly puts it, "Documentary films remained films made by elites for elites" (p. 122). He concludes that the documentary movement had a limited impact both on decision makers and on the general public, although perhaps the movement did build a bridge between the public relations philosophies of the United States and the evolving mass democracy of the United Kingdom.

Swann has written a readable, concise, and well-researched history of the organizational side of the British documentary film movement. Perhaps he could have devoted greater space to the impact of the documentary movement during the war, and a complete list of documentaries with names of producers and directors should have been included. A series of brief biographies of the key members of this movement also would have been useful. But all in all, this intelligent and often critical analysis suggests the thesis that the British documentary film movement may have been overestimated in the past, in regard to both its impact and its contribution to the art of film making.

TIM TRAVERS
University of Calgary

DICK RICHARDSON. *The Evolution of British Disarmament Policy in the 1920s*. New York: St. Martin's or Pinter, London. 1989. Pp. v, 265. \$39.95.

Dick Richardson offers this critique of British policy in an effort to fill a gap in the scholarship of the interwar period. Focusing on the Conservative government of Stanley Baldwin from 1924 to 1929, he examines the formulation and implementation of Great Britain's policy on the limitation and control of armaments by international agreement. Richardson adds much detail to the accounts of the naval aspects of disarmament presented in other works, and he recounts the cabinet discussions and international negotiations on land and air disarmament as well.

Richardson assigns Britain primary responsibility for the failure to achieve an internationally acceptable disarmament agreement. In presenting his evidence that the Baldwin government did not support disarmament, he condemns British officials for basing their policy recommendations on their perceptions of Britain's security needs rather than on the consequences for disarmament. He contends that pursuit of disarmament would have enhanced general European security and prevented a revival of German power, hence promoting long-term British interests. In his view, the cabinet decision of July 1925 to subordinate the political aspects of disarmament to the technical provides the key to Britain's approach to disarmament until the turning point of the Geneva Naval Conference in 1927. The failure of that conference led to adoption of a more conciliatory policy derived, according to Richard-

son, from the government's concern about its political survival.

Although Richardson makes extensive use of official records and private papers, he neglects other sources. For example, he attempts to reach an assessment of the role of the government's disarmament policy in the Labour party's general election victory in May 1929 without examining party polls, campaign literature and speeches, or press coverage of the campaign. The result is an undocumented conclusion so hedged with qualifiers that it is meaningless.

Moreover, the book's tendentious tone mars its scholarship. In his zeal to argue a case, Richardson fails to convey a sense of the complexities of policy making. Finding the Baldwin government's policy illogical and reprehensible, he concludes that it is not "easily comprehensible" (p. 210). More attention to the broad political, diplomatic, and economic context of the events described and the beliefs and values of the chief actors could have illuminated British policy better, thereby greatly strengthening this study. It would also have enriched and enlivened the narrative. This book is useful for its detailed account of the Baldwin government's approach to disarmament, but the exposition of British disarmament policy in the 1920s awaits more sophisticated treatment.

LORNA S. JAFFE
Historical Division,
Joint Chiefs of Staff

KEITH SWORD *et al.* *The Formation of the Polish Community in Great Britain, 1939-1950*. (The M. B. Grabowski Polish Migration Project Report.) London: University of London, School of Slavonic and East European Studies. 1989. Pp. 498.

As someone who spent the five-year period from 1945 to 1950 in Britain as a former member of the Polish armed forces in that country, I hoped for a long time that sooner or later someone would produce a history of that unique group of people who formed the Polish community in Britain. Hence, I was delighted when I was asked to review this study, which, I felt, was long overdue.

Although the cover of the book states that the study was written by three coauthors, it is clear that the lion's share of the basic research underlying the analysis was done by Keith Sword. Sword's well-known colleagues, Jan Ciechanowski and Norman Davies, confined themselves to writing a history of the early years of the Polish presence in Britain, including the activities of the Polish government-in-exile in London, and the circumstances surrounding the decision to resettle large numbers of Poles in Britain after the war. Their respective sections are well written but otherwise do not add anything new or insightful to the story that has been generally well known in the West.

In contrast, Sword's contribution presents considerable new evidence and throws new light on the process

of the formation of the Polish community in early postwar Britain. His research appears impeccable and is based on a thorough reading of British and Polish government archival materials and other hitherto untouched sources. Sword details the numerical growth of the community, which consisted of many subgroups that reached Britain during and immediately after the war from the Soviet Union, the Middle East, and other regions, including Eastern and Western Europe, Africa, and Asia. He then chronicles the community's gradual diminution as many of the subgroups and individuals decided to emigrate abroad in search of a better future.

Sword also supplies interesting data concerning the process of education and socialization of the Polish immigrants, which made it possible for them to become assimilated into their host country in a remarkably painless and quick fashion. Few, if any, fascinating details escape his attention: he discusses family life and religion, working conditions and cultural life, and last but not least, relations among Poles, English, and Scots.

In general, it is a most interesting study. One aspect of the story that I found particularly absorbing concerns the way in which both the British government and British society, well established and secure yet also strongly xenophobic, were unexpectedly faced with a difficult task—almost a mission impossible—of trying initially to resettle and ultimately to integrate a fairly large mass of people, quite alien in just about every respect (language, culture, religion, class, and tradition).

It is here that the British deserve a very high mark indeed because, in my opinion at least, they accomplished the task of resettlement and integration very successfully. As a beneficiary of the English higher educational system, I speak from my own experience, and I only wish that this particular aspect of Polish community formation had been stressed a bit more by the author.

Finally, perhaps one other thing that is missing from an otherwise excellent study is a much greater emphasis on the economic difficulties faced by the British government and people, while trying to accommodate the Poles. Moreover, it must be remembered that at the same time Britain was going through a peaceful social and economic revolution, launched by the Labour government. If both these factors are taken into consideration, the great success of the British in solving the Polish problem appears even more remarkable.

ANDRZEJ KORBONSKI
University of California,
Los Angeles

TONY KUSHNER. *The Persistence of Prejudice: Antisemitism in British Society during the Second World War*. New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's. 1989. Pp. ix, 257. \$55.00.

Packed into this short book are much information and insight. Tony Kushner launches off with an arresting yet erroneous revisionist assertion that "myths of Britain's essential toleration and decency die hard" (p. vii). Yet the result of his meticulous research appears to be that the "myth" is no myth. That there is also a baleful tradition of anti-Semitism, ranging from polite drawing-room antipathies to fascist genocidal phobias, and that these had some frightful results (for example, the 1940 internments, the indifference to would-be refugees) should not surprise anyone. Thus, Kushner is not really an iconoclast but follows the path marked out by the more restrained Colin Holmes in his *Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876–1939* (1979), to which Kushner's work is a sequel, using some of its concepts. Most significant is the "interactionist" approach (p. 5) rather than the scapegoat model, stressing the context in which Jews are singled out but also describing those features of Jewish life and behavior that often lend, or can be made to lend, a specious verisimilitude to stereotype. Kushner is one of several younger scholars (notably D. Cesarini, D. S. Lewis, K. Lunn, and R. Shirley) to address the issues of British fascism, racism, and anti-Jewish prejudice. They take swats at the benevolent shade of the late Cecil Roth and that "alembic of English tolerance" with which he concluded his memorable *History of the Jews in England* (3d ed., 1964) and appear to constitute a revisionist school; they are somewhat unfair to Roth and unmindful of V. D. Lipman's and L. P. Gartner's contributions. And surely much grist for the revisionist mill has been supplied by Bernard Wasserstein and Michael Cohen. In sum, I have no quarrel with this admirable book except its opening claim.

Successive chapters deal with the virulent fascist and anti-Semitic movements that persisted surprisingly throughout the war and blossomed into such ugly fruit as the National Front of recent decades; the fortunes of the largest concentration of British Jewry in London's East End under stress of blitz and evacuation; "the Jewish question," which explicates varieties of anti-Semitism from extreme Right to extreme Left, for no one was immune to the phobia, certainly not the Left; the image of the Jew "guilty" as deicide, ritual murderer, magical demon and anti-Christ, lecher-seducer and white slaver, usurer-Shylock-Fagin and black marketer, dangerous conspirator per the *Protocols of Zion*, unassimilable alien "refujew" and "refuspy," and so on through a brilliant chapter that conveys how tenacious and lethal the medieval Christian image remains for modern attitudes and behavior toward Jews, even of "friends"; the government's Jewish policies, which were more concerned to "appease" anti-Semites than to aid Jews; the efforts of Jews and non-Jews to combat anti-Semitism.

Especially perceptive is Kushner's handling of the following topics: the anti-Semitic publicists with style and respectability, whose muted anti-Semitism of atmospheric and unstated assumptions enabled them to reach an audience far beyond their own lunatic fringe;

his distinction between prevalent anti-anti-Semitism, a vague and abstract attitude detachable from any real concern for Jews, and rare philo-Semitism, which values Jews as Jews; Herbert Morrison, home secretary and anti-anti-Semite, who was more hurtful than helpful in ways that invite comparison with Anthony Eden's well-known antipathies; the ineffective efforts by the Council of Christians and Jews, an attempt at Jewish-Christian dialogue before genuine dialogue was possible, to press the government to rescue Europe's stricken Jews; his brief but suggestive parallels and non-parallels with, for example, U.S. refugee policies or conditions on the Continent, noting that because popular attitudes in Britain were comparable to those in France and Germany, if anti-Jewish legislation had been passed (a huge if), "it would not have been unpopular." More plausibly, had the Germans conquered Britain and embarked on the Final Solution, "it seems doubtful whether there would have been mass protests" (p. 191). It is a pity that the policy of the *American Historical Review* does not allow more space for consideration of so significant a book.

FREDERICK M. SCHWEITZER
Manhattan College

LOTHAR KETTENACKER. *Krieg zur Friedenssicherung: Die Deutschlandplanung der britischen Regierung während des Zweiten Weltkrieges*. (Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London, number 22.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1989. Pp. 578. DM 120.

Lothar Kettenacker argues that during World War II, as before, British officials sought to arrange for a lasting peace and to shore up Britain's own great power status. They planned to contain Germany with American and Soviet might while keeping themselves in the picture. To these ends, however, they made fateful concessions to Joseph Stalin.

By Kettenacker's account, Britain's own military power appeared relatively unimpressive by mid-1942. Winston Churchill kept his eyes fixed on military affairs and resisted long-term plans and commitments. Yet Foreign Office mandarins had a scheme to offset Britain's lack of real strength. By promoting elaborate armistice provisions and inter-Allied control organs, they would perpetuate the involvement of the two larger powers in German affairs and enable Britain to play a mediating role between them. Britain would rely primarily on the United States but keep sufficiently in touch with Moscow to have an alternative if Washington made exorbitant demands or returned to isolation.

To maintain tripartite involvement and also to ease occupation costs and hasten an economic revival, British planners favored an inter-Allied control that would operate through the existing German administrative apparatus within a united Germany. By 1945, the British had secured Allied agreement in principle to most of their plans. Nevertheless, German administration collapsed before V-E Day, and the Allied com-

manders disregarded the detailed British armistice procedures. The occupation zones quickly went their separate ways.

The worst, in Kettenacker's view, was that the British had overcome their scruples against expelling Germans from eastern territories and had conceded boundaries far to the west for the Soviet Zone. Without such predetermination, he believes, Western troops could have retained all of the land they had overrun before V-E Day; indeed, they might have advanced much farther east had they invited a Wehrmacht capitulation in the West alone.

A master of the archives, Kettenacker could have read more newspapers. He sees British officials in isolation, as vainly trying to prepare rational plans for an uncertain future. Planning is an official duty, however, and postwar planning responded to a widespread desire, shared by Americans, to bring Germany and Japan under international control. Generally, British (and American) policy could only comply with an aroused anti-Nazi opinion, and the democratic Western governments could not have shunned the Soviets, dealt separately with German generals, and risked lives to protect Germany's eastern population.

Before this publication, Kettenacker had already outlined his views in articles. Albrecht Tyrell in *Grossbritannien und die Deutschlandplanung der Alliierten, 1941–1945* (1987) has questioned many of Kettenacker's judgments, in particular suggesting that the Soviets would have reacted against a Western abandonment of cooperation and could have hindered a Western advance into eastern Germany. Unfortunately, Kettenacker's book followed Tyrell's too closely to incorporate a reply.

This *Habilitationsschrift* shows troubling symptoms of a German irredentism. Yet Kettenacker is a thorough and perceptive scholar who writes well and has a keen eye for statements that say nothing or conceal unspoken assumptions. His book ends with a balanced and generous commentary on Churchill.

EDWARD W. BENNETT
Carlisle, Massachusetts

IAN CLARK and NICHOLAS J. WHEELER. *The British Origins of Nuclear Strategy, 1945–1955*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. 263. \$49.95.

Ian Clark and Nicholas J. Wheeler reexamine British nuclear strategy in the postwar era. Unlike previous historians who have stressed the U.S. role in developing atomic weaponry and strategy for the Western alliance, these authors focus "more clearly upon the nature of British ideas about nuclear strategy" (p. 4).

The authors feel that scholars have misinterpreted Britain's role by accepting the idea that Prime Minister Clement Attlee began a nuclear program to justify Britain's status as a great power. Instead, they claim, London officials developed nuclear thinking "based on

a hard-headed analysis" of Britain's postwar predicament vis-à-vis the Soviet Union and United States (p. 5). British analysis was different from that of the Americans, for Washington officials had the luxury of developing the bomb first, of being thousands of miles from Soviet warheads, and of living in a nation of vast size. Consequently, "America's understanding of the military implications of nuclear weapons was firmly grounded in a perception of strength and security: Britain's derived from a clear understanding of weakness and vulnerability" (pp. 70–71). Whereas Americans felt that atomic devices could bring the Soviet Union to its knees, and might win a war, that was not the thinking in London: "For Britain, the atomic weapon was not potentially a 'winning weapon,' only a means of avoiding total defeat" (p. 71). Consequently, according to the authors, the development of British nuclear strategy was "distinct from the American product" and "derived in a different manner" from that of the United States (p. 6).

The authors trace Britain's nuclear strategy in the ten years after Hiroshima and state that, before Britain developed its own bomb in 1952, British policy was a contradiction: the British depended on the U.S. yet aimed to achieve operational independence. When the USSR developed atomic capabilities in 1949, Britain accelerated research on the bomb and guided missiles while demanding more cooperation with the U.S. and access to American nuclear stockpiles in Britain. The Korean War introduced friction between London and Washington officials because they differed on the nature of the Soviet threat, the possible use of atomic weapons in that conflict, and the overall dangers of nuclear war. The development of the H-bomb created a discussion in Britain and generally signaled that the British were no more vulnerable to atomic devastation than any other world power. Eventually, the authors conclude with a theme stated previously by many scholars of postwar Anglo-American relations: "British security was recognized as being dependent upon the stability of the Soviet-American nuclear balance, and it was believed in Whitehall that Britain's most valuable contribution lay in the influence it could bring to bear in Washington" (p. 232).

The authors do not expand their study to topics beyond the title, and the book is written for specialists. Nevertheless, the research is prodigious and based on recently opened documents at the Public Records Office. The result is an important addition to cold war historiography.

TERRY H. ANDERSON
Texas A&M University

WILLIAM CROFTS, *Coercion or Persuasion? Propaganda in Britain after 1945*. New York: Routledge. 1989. Pp. xiii, 305. \$65.00.

One of the most significant features of Britain's wartime government was the successful presentation of

information and propaganda in support of strategic and political ends. This book details the failure of the Attlee government to apply the same techniques to mobilize support for its economic policies after 1945. Although the expenditures and resources of this effort were much reduced from their wartime levels, they were unprecedented in peacetime. By 1947, one-fifth of all poster space in the country was occupied by government notices, and nearly three million pounds was being spent on newspaper advertisements, exhibits, and films.

William Crofts's title is somewhat misleading. The government aimed to persuade through the sometimes overly rational deployment of facts rather than to propagate convincingly its vision of a socialist Britain. Three themes are evident: first, to acquaint the public with the increasingly unpleasant realities of the economic situation, an effort that often took unengaging and wooden forms such as the fortnightly "Reports to the Nation" pamphlet campaign of 1947; second, to publicize and explain the need to generate more exports; and third, and perhaps most important, to stimulate greater productivity in key industries.

It was this third aspect that came to dominate government efforts, particularly in critical industries such as agriculture, textiles, and mining, where severe labor shortages and antiquated production methods needed to be combated. The government met with little success. Attempts to recruit women to the textile industry, for example, conflicted with the countertrend toward greater domesticity. And the National Coal Board's attempts to attract young people into the mines—through such techniques as traveling school exhibits—met with a sluggish response. The continuation of the wartime restrictions on the movement of labor out of these industries was an essential ancillary to efforts to exhort labor into them. Only when material incentives were made more attractive did labor begin to redeploy and restrictive working practices show some diminution.

Government efforts to explain the realities of the economic situation were similarly lacking in dramatic effect, as follow-up surveys to the campaigns revealed. After two years of a campaign to educate the public as to the meaning and importance of increasing productivity, only one-fifth of the population showed any understanding of the issue or of how productivity could be attained.

In spite of their minimal practical effects, these efforts remained controversial. Conservatives increasingly attacked them on the grounds of expense and as the propagation of socialist planning, although, in fact, it could be argued that the government's insistence on dry neutrality impeded their efforts. Ironically, the most successful "propaganda" techniques in the period seem to have been those employed by Aims of Industry and the sugar company of Tate and Lyle in their antinationalization campaigns. By 1949 these attacks showed some effect, and the government began to wind down its own efforts.

Crofts shows, however, that the failure of government propaganda was largely the result of inappropriate techniques. The 1946 slogan "We Work or We Want" tended to arouse fears of a new depression and, thus, increased resistance to greater productivity. Similarly, the language used was often academic and detailed rather than idiomatic and catchy. The most successful campaigns in the textile and mining districts were those that linked to the community culture through use of dialectal language. In addition, government efforts were bedeviled by the absence of a coherent administrative strategy. The coordinating role of the Central Office of Information was hampered by its lack of cabinet status and the responsibility of each ministry for its own campaign.

RICHARD PRICE
University of Maryland,
College Park

JULIA SWINDELLS and LISA JARDINE. *What's Left? Women in Culture and the Labour Movement*. New York: Routledge. 1990. Pp. xii, 179. Cloth \$39.50, paper \$13.95.

Debates about history, culture, and class consciousness have marked British radical thought since the late 1950s. Julia Swindells and Lisa Jardine look critically at those debates from a socialist feminist perspective. Seeking to point out what has been "left out" of leftist thought, the authors theorize that, in the development of a coherent approach by the male Left to history and culture, questions concerning women have not been posed, and the female voices who have persisted in asking those questions have not been heard. Building on themes originally raised by Bea Campbell in *Wigan Pier Revisited* (1984), they demonstrate how the English Left has failed to move beyond the work of Raymond Williams, E. P. Thompson, Richard Hoggart, and others.

Neither author is a historian. Jardine is a professor of English, and Swindells works in adult higher education. As active members of the Labour party, they admittedly aim to challenge the party's male-dominated ideology, suggesting that its ideological failings may be at least partly responsible for recent reverses at the polls.

According to the authors, the woman question is the major forgotten issue of contemporary socialist politics. Although the subordination of women and the need for their liberation was recognized by all of the great socialist thinkers of the nineteenth century, that problem today has become a secondary, if not invisible, element in socialist thought. They show how women have not only been ignored but at times humiliated in the political discourse of the Left. Although Juliet Mitchell articulated the contradictions for women within Karl Marx's account of the family, her influential *Women: The Longest Revolution*, originally published in the *New Left Review* (1966), was attacked by the male

Left, who subjected her to a "public intellectual pillorying" in its pages (*What's Left*, p. 27).

Moreover, the male Left has remained attached to a reactionary representation of gendered social relations. Here Swindells and Jardine challenge what they see as the male Left's fascination with a medievalism or pre-industrialism that serves, in their view, to confine women's politics to politics of the family.

They also see problems in the Left's increasing reliance on working-class autobiography as a research tool. Claiming that this dependence results in a "bourgeois individualist" (p. 137) narrative of working-class consciousness, they conclude that there is a serious discrepancy between the resulting model of working-class consciousness and the experiences of the contemporary work force.

Aside from providing insight into socialist feminist thought in Britain today, this book has very limited value for historians. The writing is dense, difficult, and awkward. Structural and stylistic flaws pose even further problems. Numerous parenthetical remarks make for tortuous reading, and quotation of long passages from authors and texts that remain unidentified in the narrative makes the argument hard to follow. The book's most serious weakness is the absence of solutions or alternative strategies to the important conceptual issues posed. Although the authors do indeed demonstrate how women have been "left out" of leftist thought, they suggest no practical or effective strategies or methodologies for placing them "back in."

MARIE MARMO MULLANEY
Caldwell College

OLIVER MACDONAGH. *The Emancipist: Daniel O'Connell, 1830-47*. New York: St. Martin's. 1989. Pp. xi, 372. \$35.00.

Oliver MacDonagh ended the first volume of his biography of Daniel O'Connell, *The Hereditary Bondsman*, with Ireland's Liberator the victor in his campaign for Catholic emancipation. This second and final volume of MacDonagh's study carries the tale from 1830, a "sort of plateau," the phrase used in the heading of chapter 1, to O'Connell's death in 1847 in a world that had passed him by. Like the first volume, this work is well written and balanced in its judgments, and it makes for fascinating reading.

O'Connell had the problem in 1830 of what to do with the political machine he had built up in the emancipation campaign. He was hated by the Protestants generally but was so much the hero of liberal Catholicism that, following the successful revolution of the Belgians against their Dutch Calvinist king, O'Connell was actually proposed as king of Belgium and received three votes. Although he eagerly counted up Catholic converts, hailed the advance of Puseyism in the Church of England, and referred to the "filthy slime of Wesleyan malignity" (p. 23), he tried to win Protestants as well as Catholics to his campaign for

repeal of the Union. In this enterprise he was mostly unsuccessful, and the most interesting theme in MacDonagh's study is the evolution of O'Connell from a liberal Catholic to a sectarian leader who sought, according to Young Ireland, Catholic ascendancy. He never fully stated what he meant by repeal, but O'Connell's controlled agitation was an instrument to win concessions from the British government, including direct negotiations with himself and his supporters. The concessions were all of benefit to the Catholic people, and the Protestants loathed him because of this. They also rejected him because he was the creator of a particularly Irish malaise, "the priest in politics," which has plagued the country ever since.

Charles Gavan Duffy, the Young Irelander, on occasion referred to O'Connell as "the lay pontiff of Catholicity" (*Four Years of Irish History* [1883], p. 126), and in Irish nationalist history it has usually been assumed that the Liberator dominated his clerical-political machine. Reading this work, however, one wonders who did the leading and who the following. At times, as during the Tithe War of 1831–38, O'Connell had singularly little authority amidst the turbulence: "a passion of his supporters rather than himself" (p. 132). His political organization was wholly dependent on "the tribute" that was collected at times of mass at chapel doors. He warned O'Neill Daunt, a convert to Catholicism and his director of repeal in Leinster, "Be sure to have the approval of the Catholic clergy in every place you move to" (p. 210). And it is clear that his "monster meetings," where he addressed up to one million people, depended solely on clerical organization. It is little wonder that the Protestants hated him for creating a political force that had a life of its own, which radically divided the whole Irish population along sectarian lines. As early as 1835, *The Times* decried the demagogue who had become "of Pope and priest the crouching slave" (p. 125).

When it came to issues that concerned the Catholic bishops, such as pluralism in education at the primary or university level or the disposal of religious charity bequests, O'Connell unenthusiastically followed rather than led the agitation. At the same time he was developing into a grave and rigid Catholic, particularly after the death of his beloved wife, Mary, who had come from a half-Protestant family. He also accepted an absolutist view of papal authority in the field of faith and morals and increasingly venerated the Holy See.

O'Connell's religious proclivities were dismaying to the Young Irelanders in the movement, and by late 1844 they had raised the alarm over the Catholicizing of repeal. Their opponents charged that the *Nation*, to which the passionately antipapal Thomas Davis and others contributed, was antireligious. This was really the end of the O'Connellite movement: "Once the genii of religious fear and vainglory had been released, within an ailing movement, there was no returning them to their bottles" (p. 270). As for the leaders, Davis died four months later; O'Connell died in May 1847;

and his heart, encased in a silver urn, was sent to Rome.

DESMOND BOWEN
Carleton University

ROBERT A. SCHNEIDER. *Public Life in Toulouse, 1463–1789: From Municipal Republic to Cosmopolitan City*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1989. Pp. xiii, 395. \$49.95.

This study is an impressive, important book. Robert A. Schneider has analyzed the changing character of social relations in a large French city between the Renaissance and the revolution. This theme leads him to examine urban culture and some of the hard realities of urban life, and it leads him to a rich variety of evidence, both quantitative and literary. The book thus illustrates some of the ways in which historians can join the new cultural history to the old social history—an effort that is here especially useful because of the large chronological framework that Schneider has chosen.

Schneider argues that a fundamental unity characterized the first two centuries that he examines. Despite changes in the content of urban social relations, vertical ties continued until about 1700 to bind together members of widely different social classes. The sixteenth century witnessed the creation of a new urban elite, the nobility of the robe. In the course of its establishment, economic and cultural distances widened, and neighborhood differences became more marked. But, Schneider argues, these changes did not fundamentally alter the urban elite's sense of membership in a united municipal republic. The elite continued to take the city's unity seriously and continued to make respectful use of popular proverbs, history, and even language. In the next century, the Catholic Reformation created new forms of association between rich and poor. Confraternities united men of different social classes in an intense collective life; godparentage frequently bound rich and poor; and charitable works brought urban elites into direct contact with the poor.

Urban unity deteriorated only in the late seventeenth century. Absolutist government undermined local institutions and made the crown the reference point for local political culture. With the Enlightenment, upper-class Toulousains felt steadily less respect for local traditions and came as well to discard many of the religious practices that had once allied all social groups. Schneider argues that eighteenth-century economic conditions had comparable effects. Ruling groups became more intent on pursuing their economic interests, while the poor experienced mounting difficulties. Violence became more frequent, local government more repressive. Schneider concludes by aligning his vision of eighteenth-century society with Alexis de Tocqueville's. Like Tocqueville, he sees local social bonds fragmenting during the Old Regime, and, like Tocqueville, he places much of the blame for fragmentation on the monarchy.

To be sure, the very clarity of this argument raises

problems, for Schneider also shows the abundant sociability that the eighteenth century created, with its newspapers, public balls, art exhibits, masonic lodges, and spectacles such as balloon ascensions. All of these touched groups far beyond the urban elite. The eighteenth century offered ordinary people new forms of belonging as well as of exclusion, and it offered belonging on terms that must have been more comfortable than the deference demanded by much seventeenth-century sociability. The book raises other questions. Perhaps inevitably, given the volume's chronological sweep, simplifying labels tend to attach to periods and institutions: the early seventeenth century becomes an age of libertinism, the mid-seventeenth century an age of faith, with little concern for the overlapping cultural currents that complicated each period. Similarly, Schneider presents the Jesuits as purely backward-looking advocates of classicism and ignores their enthusiasm for science and exotic cultures. Finally, trivial errors abound, especially on matters of bibliography. But the richness of Schneider's material more than compensates for these failings. He offers a variety of new perspectives on early modern urban life and a model for using cultural evidence to resolve longstanding issues of social history.

JONATHAN DEWALD
State University of New York,
Buffalo

DAVID S. LUX. *Patronage and Royal Science in Seventeenth-Century France: The Académie de Physique in Caen*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1989. Pp. xiii, 199. \$28.50.

David S. Lux's study of the Académie de Physique in Caen (he prefers not to offer a potentially misleading translation) challenges the established interpretation of the institutional organization of French science during the seventeenth century. The established interpretation sees the Royal Academy of Science as the institution that insured the welfare of French science. The perspective of a provincial academy—the only provincial academy of science to be incorporated within the the system of royal academies during the seventeenth century—moves Lux to question whether the Royal Academy was not instead a major obstacle to the expansion of French science. Jean-Baptiste Colbert and his subordinates were not interested in science. Their goal was the bureaucratic organization of French life under the authority of the crown. The determination of the Sun King to be the source of all activity in his domain summarily destroyed the academies that had flourished under private patronage, and it subjected the scientists within them to a set of alien expectations. The success of the Royal Academy in the eighteenth century should not be projected onto a different situation in the seventeenth.

This book is a major addition to the literature on patronage in science. Central to the book is the relation between Pierre-Daniel Huet, a patron of science in

Caen, and his client André Graindorge, which Lux is able to trace out in finely articulated detail from the surviving correspondence of Graindorge, and the replacement of patronage by the stultifying bureaucracy of the state, exercised immediately by the intendant of Lower Normandy, Guy Chamillart. Lux argues that the patronage of men like Huet legitimated and thus encouraged a new form of intellectual activity, and with this aspect of his book I do have difficulty. As I look at the efflorescence of anatomical investigations (by far the principal activity in Huet's academy) in sixteenth-century Italy, spurred by the interests of a medical profession that had been established for three centuries, it is far from clear to me that we need to seek for legitimation of active dissecting in the second half of the seventeenth century. Instead of the necessity of grand patrons to legitimate, that is, to stimulate, scientific research, I see in Lux's story testimony that the scientific community outside the universities remained extremely small, so that a provincial city such as Caen could not muster enough men committed to the enterprise to sustain an academy. Except for Graindorge and (temporarily) Huet, no one in the Académie de Physique seemed seriously interested in its activity, so that the brevity of its existence after Huet as patron called it into being appears inevitable to me. I understand the possibility that I am merely restating the issue of legitimation in different terms; nevertheless, I find my formulation of the issue different. Despite my uneasiness on the score of legitimation, I consider this a fine book that significantly expands our understanding of the social organization of science during the seventeenth century.

RICHARD WESTFALL
Indiana University,
Bloomington

MICHAEL SONENSCHER. *Work and Wages: Natural Law, Politics, and the Eighteenth-Century French Trades*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 427. \$64.00.

Nearly four decades after World War II, the history of French corporatism, no longer redolent of fascism, is receiving long overdue attention. Michael Sonenscher's work figures prominently in this revival, and this fine book consciously seeks to lead the current historiography in a certain direction. It is about artisans and corporations in the eighteenth century, but its focus is on the law and "the economy of the workshop" (p. 2). By taking the artisanal economy "on its own terms" (p. 3), Sonenscher hopes to accomplish two overarching goals: first, to expose the artisanal workshop as self-contained unit of production as a myth, and thus to cut the "internal dynamics of artisanal production" out of any explanation of the emergence of radical republican politics during the French revolution (p. 3); and, second, to revise a historiographical (and, he intimates, a teleological) tradition championed by E. P. Thomp-

son and E. J. Hobsbawm, which has linked “artisans, radical republican politics and the process of industrialization” (p. 2).

To support such a challenging and stimulating argument, a close (and welcome) analysis of the world of the trades is offered. Traditional historiography of French trades has focused on formal legal prescription of corporate regulation, but Sonenscher finds such an emphasis misleading because it assumes a corporate particularity that in fact had little in common with the “workshop economy” as it actually operated. The workshop economy comprised trades with complex networks of subcontracted work, which undercut the legal divisions between corporations. He convincingly demonstrates that preindustrial production—at least in France’s largest cities—was not a world of self-contained units but a network in which masters of different guilds were interdependent for the materials and labor they needed to produce for “spot markets.” The corporate idiom remained historically visible because of the law: masters (as opposed to journeymen) could defend their privileges only by engaging this form of legal rhetoric.

To preclude our reading the concepts of labor, capital, and class into the eighteenth century, Sonenscher emphasizes that conflicts between masters and journeymen were not essentially about the commodification of labor, nor, consequently, did journeymen brotherhoods (*compagnonnages*) in the eighteenth century have anything to do with control of the labor market. Yet one cannot come away from these pages without a sense that such conflict may have involved control of labor more than Sonenscher is willing to concede. As he himself points out, masters and journeymen were most likely to confront one another in court over the issue of labor placement. In addition (and this is a development of which Sonenscher is unaware), the emergence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of *compagnonnages* and then the establishment by guild masters of corporate employment offices as competing clearinghouses for labor almost certainly were related. Given the continued existence of these institutions in the late eighteenth century, one cannot help but wonder how, why, or even if they ceased to have the same earlier functions, and, if they did have these functions, then perhaps “labor,” “capital,” and even “class” are not yet entirely obsolete concepts for the Old Regime.

JAMES R. FARR
Purdue University

MICHEL ANTOINE. *Louis XV*. Paris: Fayard. 1989. Pp. 1049. 198 fr.

Revisionism is the vogue these days, especially revisionist views of revolutions and their causes. Although Michel Antoine’s biography of Louis XV rarely mentions the word “revolution” and the word “revisionism” not at all, his portrayal of Louis XV as a sympathetic

prince and a great king emphatically revises the orthodox view of the Old Regime and the French revolution. The message, nowhere explicitly stated but none the less strongly conveyed to the reader, is that the Bourbon monarchy was a competent, enlightened regime. Its overthrow was not only unnecessary (certainly not inevitable) but tragic for the destiny of the country.

The Louis XV who emerges from Antoine’s pages is an able and conscientious ruler, one who for the most part chose his ministers wisely, protected French preeminence on the Continent, and assured the welfare of his people. He is also intelligent, well educated, liberal, and artistic—together the most accomplished and cultivated monarch France has ever known. Ever more remarkably, this revisionist portrait insists on Louis’s excellence as husband, father, and lover (finding no inconsistency, apparently, in these combined qualities).

Why then did this king fail to retain the affection of his people, especially the intellectuals, and in the end leave the nation in virtually a state of paralysis? Because, answers Antoine, he was a victim—first of his own timidity and lack of self-confidence (results in large part of the loneliness of his orphaned childhood and adolescence) and second of the manipulations of his misguided enemies and of women. Fundamentally, therefore, the blame for the king’s failures (and by extrapolation for the overthrow of the monarchy) lay not with him or with the regime but with the “fanaticism” of the *Parlementaires* (read Jansenists), the machinations of the “Choiseulists,” and the cabals of the king’s mistresses. Compounded, they destroyed the popularity of the king and weakened royal authority. By the time the hapless and indecisive Louis XVI inherited the crown, these enemies of royal authority, wittingly or unwittingly, had rendered the revolution and its disasters inevitable.

The greatest strengths (and they are many and impressive) of the biography lie in the author’s analysis of the actions of Parlement and the responses and reactions of the king’s government. Great specialist of the royal councils of state in the Old Regime, Antoine commands a wide and deep knowledge of the political network of Louis XV’s ministers and officials. Especially erudite is the detail devoted to the “black years”: those of the Seven Years’ War, the ascendancy of Madame de Pompadour and the Choiseulists, the destruction of the Society of Jesus, and the “revolt and sabotage” of the *Parlementaires* (p. 812).

The author experiences more difficulty when he attempts to construct a three-dimensional and consistent personality of the king as a paragon of royal and family virtues. His very thoroughness as a researcher at times uncovers facts inconvenient to his thesis but which he is too honest to suppress. Hence, for example, one learns that this “solicitous” father permitted his four youngest daughters to be despatched to a convent in their childhood, where one died soon after her arrival and where he never once visited them for the next twelve years. Or again, one reads that, while allegedly drawing closer to the queen in the last years

of their marriage, Louis began his attachment to Madame Du Barry even as Maria Leszczyńska lay slowly dying.

But perhaps, on reconsideration, the word "revisionism" is an inappropriate word to describe the tenor of this work. Assuredly its purpose is not the rebuttal of Marxism. Rather, the book is more a return, at least in modified form, to the traditional Right of French thought: that of Hippolyte Taine, Augustin Cochin, and Pierre Gaxotte, the last of whom Antoine invokes repeatedly with admiration throughout the text. True, the monarchy that Antoine regrets is not the divine right institution of a Louis XIV. Rather, it is a regime that can be enlightened and tolerant as well as strong and paternal (Antoine has great admiration for the regent, despite his notorious impiety). If only, goes the message of his threnody, fanaticism and intrigue had not destroyed a great king, the crown could have kept pace with its century and led the French people into a more just and secure future.

NANCY N. BARKER
University of Texas,
Austin

JOAN B. LANDES. *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 276. Cloth \$31.95, paper \$10.95.

The subtitle of Joan Landes's book could easily be "the power of the word" (written or spoken). It is a work concerned with ideas that are tenuously related to facts, which renders the volume problematic on occasion for the empiricist historian. Indeed, the author stresses that her interest is in political theory and in the insertion of women (generic) into Jürgen Habermas's interpretation of the transition from the aristocratic absolutist state to the bourgeois republic. Landes points out, very forcefully, that the discourse of the Enlightenment was masculine. The equation of rationality with masculinity and of sensibility with femininity and the dominance of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's Sophie as a model for the feminine ideal created special problems for women. When they sought a voice in the evolving political scheme (and the degree to which they did so is not examined), the language existed for immediate rebuttal. The politically assertive women of the revolution—the ones who marched to Versailles, formed women's clubs, insisted on the right to bear arms, and backed the Terror—were silenced by the deputy Amar when he closed the clubs in September 1793. He used the rhetoric of the Enlightenment to insist that the place of the "natural" woman was in the home. She belonged to the private, not to the public, sphere. Landes posits a linear transition from a regime where women had public power at court and in the salons to one where they had no power at all except over the minutiae of domestic life. The revolution is thus interpreted as a watershed marking powerful times for women from times of powerless incarceration in the

home. Enter the nineteenth-century cult of domesticity.

I have no trouble whatsoever in accepting the masculinity of Enlightenment discourse or the use of this language to clamp down on the political activities of women, which were becoming embarrassing and even dangerous to the politicians in office. The threat of a coalition between the women of the Comité Republicaine Revolutionnaire and the *enragés* might have pushed the revolution further to the Left in the summer of 1793 had it not been forestalled. Rousseau's Sophie model could always be evoked by the politicians when the going got rough. What does bother me, however, is the insistence on a politically powerful *ancien régime* woman, when to construct such a personage demands that we add a couple of royal mistresses (say Madame Pompadour and Jeanne du Barry because Louis XVI was remorselessly chaste) to a couple of royal aunts (Adelaide and Elizabeth who were disconcertingly pious and urged their royal nephew to promote clerics) to a handful of noble women who, because they held certain fiefs, had the right to send a representative to the elections for the Estates General in 1789. Then we must throw in a dozen *salonnières* to make (at a generous estimate) thirty women out of a possible thirteen million and then say that the select thirty are *ancien régime* women. For me the work disintegrates when theory is tested against evidence. I have always had difficulty, too, with the notion of the salon as a "public" space. Surely it represented learning in the home, and one only entered such space by invitation. Where is the real evidence to show that nineteenth-century women were more homebound than their eighteenth-century counterparts? In *La France des Notables*, the upper classes were still basically the same people and perpetuated their political and social power through marriage as they had always done. At the other end of the spectrum, women appeared in the bread riots of 1812 and 1816, in disturbances in 1830, and behind the barricades in 1848. Were things so very different?

Enlightenment discourse accentuated equality and rationality and limited both to men. The job ahead, as Mary Wollstonecraft so quickly grasped, was to demonstrate the irrationality of the inequality of the sexes, but she clung to the vocabulary itself as the ultimate means of achieving a better deal for women. Notwithstanding, whereas in other Western societies, "equality" and "rationality" had opened up political space to women by the 1920s, female suffrage in France was delayed until after World War II. Was this because republicanism was antifeminist or because it was anti-clerical and believed that votes for women would produce a strong clerical party? Or was it because Rousseau's compelling arguments for the specialness of womanhood, the naturalness of difference, of female sensibility rather than equal rationality, even convinced many women so that they did not push as hard as other Western women against the constraints? There are many paradoxes and many unresolved issues that re-

main to be explored, and for me none of the answers lie in this volume.

OLWEN HUFTON
Harvard University

ALAN FORREST. *Conscripts and Deserters: The Army and French Society during the Revolution and Empire*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. viii, 294. \$45.00.

As part of the sustained historical effort to analyze the society and economy of the French provinces, Charles Tilly and others have spent decades examining how and why various social groups in those provinces conducted collective actions against the central government. More recently, military historians such as Jean Chagniot, Jean-Paul Bertaud, Samuel Scott, and John Lynn have applied the meticulous research techniques of social history to the French army both before and after 1789.

Alan Forrest examines the intersection between these two historical efforts—the response of village society to the intrusive presence of military conscription under the French revolution and empire. To do this, Forrest has used the local archives of fourteen departments in France, supplemented by monographs that cover large portions of the country. The result is a much richer view of the relationship between central government and local population at a time when only a minority of Frenchmen consciously identified themselves as such rather than as members of local societies.

Not surprisingly, the administration and enforcement of conscription developed slowly under the First French Republic and then became increasingly systematic and repressive to feed the manpower requirements of Napoleon's armies. In the process, young Frenchmen resorted to all of the familiar techniques for evading an unpopular military service: hasty marriages to spinsters, bogus medical certificates, influence or bribery of local officials, and even magic to obtain a favorable number in the draft lottery. When these efforts failed, thousands of young men either refused to report for service or deserted en route to their new units. Even conscripts who were initially willing to serve became discouraged by the poor conditions of military life and by the frequent desertion of their comrades, and they departed in their turn when the opportunity arose. Thus, resistance in the rural areas of France became a significant threat to military discipline in the regiments.

The fact that the local population actively aided these young men carried even greater costs for the central regime. Forrest argues that enforcing conscription and catching fugitives brought such unpopularity and even personal danger to local officials that many prominent citizens refused to serve as mayors, and other mayors could not be disciplined because there were no replacements for them. The author also demonstrates that

conscripts and villagers often became rebels not from any true royalist or other political convictions but solely out of opposition to a central government whose conscription disrupted their lives.

Because local records were frequently manipulated to assist draft evaders, this book includes few statistical summaries of the effects of all of this resistance on French military manpower. Instead, the book is impressionistic and provides sufficient examples to support Forrest's arguments even where statistics are missing. The result is an excellent example of the social dimension of political and military policies.

JONATHAN M. HOUSE
U.S. Army Center of Military History

ETIENNE TAILLEMITE. *La Fayette*. Paris: Fayard. 1989. Pp. 623. 150 fr.

For over two centuries, Lafayette has been considered a hero in the United States for his contributions to the American revolution. His triumphal visit to this country in 1824–25, during which he journeyed some five thousand miles, was the most dramatic testimony to his popularity, and the scores of American towns, counties, and institutions named for him are the most enduring evidence of it. In France the role of Lafayette is more controversial. Some depict him as “the hero of two worlds,” an eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century freedom fighter and dedicated opponent of reactionaries and radicals alike. For others, his legalistic attitudes masked counterrevolutionary tendencies; his consistency, inflexibility and ignorance; and his apparent devotion to principles, mere self-aggrandizement. Despite—or because of—such conflicting views, few historical figures have received as much attention on both sides of the Atlantic.

The latest example of this interest is a full-scale biography by Etienne Taillemite. Although familiar with the archival materials, Taillemite bases this biography mostly on published sources, notably Lafayette's own writings and those of his contemporaries, supplemented by pertinent secondary works. The result is a sympathetic, but not uncritical, study of what both friends and foes must agree was a remarkable political career.

Taillemite follows his subject from his early years as a member of the upper aristocracy, orphaned at the age of twelve, through his first stirrings of sympathy for the cause of American liberty, which, as most other liberal causes in his life, was closely associated with Freemasonry. The young Lafayette served both his military and political apprenticeship in the American war; simultaneously the long “love affair” began between this French noble and the American people. After returning from America, Lafayette became the embodiment of Enlightenment principles and a focal point for liberals in prerevolutionary France.

During the early French revolution, Lafayette's popularity increased, reaching its apogee on July 14, 1790.

Yet, because of his numerous enemies, ranging from Marie Antoinette to Jean-Paul Marat, and his political ineptitude, his practical influence was always less and soon began to decline. Lafayette became increasingly hostile to the course of events and deserted his military command shortly after the overthrow of the monarchy on August 10, 1792, only to be imprisoned for the next five years by the Austrians, who considered him a dangerous revolutionary.

Released through the efforts of American diplomats and Napoleon Bonaparte, Lafayette soon became disillusioned by Napoleon's dictatorial tendencies and went into retirement. The Restoration saw him return to public life as an opposition leader in the Chamber of Deputies between 1818 and 1824 and from 1827 to the July revolution of 1830. This upheaval briefly restored him to political prominence. Despite his original endorsement of Louis-Philippe, however, he quickly became alienated by the regime's refusal to reform and returned to his customary role in opposition until his death in May 1834.

This is a remarkably well-balanced study in both emphasis and interpretation. Although Taillemite essentially shares Lafayette's political views, especially anti-Jacobinism, he is thoroughly aware of his shortcomings, for example, limited intellectual capacity, egocentricity, naiveté, and inflexibility. And, despite his admiration for Lafayette, he recognizes that he was not a political thinker, statesman, or even a man of action (p. 526). According to Taillemite, Lafayette was dedicated to two principles: liberty in all its forms and the orderly rule of law. He was typical of his time in endorsing both and in failing to appreciate the contradictions they entailed.

This study is an impressive and convincing synthesis. It has led me to reconsider the disdain that I have felt for Lafayette during much of my professional career. Many reservations about him still remain, but there is also a new appreciation. If I were to recommend reading one book on Lafayette, it would be this one.

SAMUEL F. SCOTT
Wayne State University

ELINOR ACCAMPO. *Industrialization, Family Life, and Class Relations: Saint Chamond, 1815–1914*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1989. Pp. xvii, 301. \$35.00.

Elinor Accampo examines worker families and class relations in Saint Chamond, a small town in France's industrial belt just southwest of Lyon, where mechanization transformed both metallurgy and textiles during the nineteenth century. She ascertains that social historians have underestimated the devastations of factory industry to the family by overcorrecting the gloomy moralism of nineteenth-century observers. Accampo finds that the mechanization of metallurgy and textiles took a heavy toll on the well-being of worker families by separating home from production, thus separating

fathers, mothers, and children; by creating an occupational and geographical gap between generations exacerbated by the fact that many workers were rural migrants; and by increasing worker dependency on the controlling charity of local elites. Understanding that demographic indices are indices of well-being, Accampo puts historical demography in the service of evaluating working-class life. She musters incontrovertible evidence that industry brought more brutal conditions to Saint Chamond workers: infant mortality increased, and maternal mortality more than doubled in a city marked by parent-child separation, noxious pollution, and debilitating work routines. Employers responded with genuine concern and stifling paternalism. Accampo's assessment of the impact of factory industry on the life of the working-class family and class relations is a tour de force.

This important study has an exceptional range of strengths. Among them are a lively comparison of family and work in metallurgy and textiles as each industry mechanized, a masterful discussion of fertility measures for the historian, and an unusually sensitive reading of demographic data and literary sources. Both Accampo's writing and her research reflect extraordinary depth.

Because demographically informed social history is not best produced in solitary, Accampo consulted with scholars in France and the United States to produce this unprecedented family reconstitution of an urban, industrial population. This painstaking method enabled Accampo to execute a study of the Saint Chamond working-class family that is far more detailed and accurate than previous studies of urban workers and their families.

The depth of such a family reconstitution represents a trade-off: because families were drawn from marriage records for this reconstitution study, they were a small and atypical group among city dwellers; moreover, their numbers (for the purposes of reconstitution) were further reduced by departures and unrecorded deaths. For example, of the available women in Accampo's first reconstitution group, those who married in 1816–25, only 337 of 539 (68 percent) could be included. These sedentary married women (and their bridegrooms) were a minority of workers in industries like the textile industry and metallurgy that depended on a reserve labor force of young, single people in a century particularly marked by temporary migration. Ironically, although the text of the study emphasizes the "uprootedness" of migrants in the city, its methodology underplays the geographic mobility of the working class. Accampo nonetheless speaks to the family experience of industrialization in moving and universal terms; her conclusions initiate a new phase in scholarship on the family and factory production.

LESLIE PAGE MOCH
University of Michigan,
Flint

MICHEL ABITOL. *Les Deux Terres promises: Les Juifs de France et le sionisme, 1897–1945*. Paris: Olivier Orban. 1989. Pp. 298. 150 fr.

Michel Abitol cautions us that his book is neither a survey of Zionism in France nor a general study of reactions to the varieties of Jewish nationalism. It is, instead, a focused examination of how the assimilated and patriotic community of “French Israelites” perceived the Zionist idea from the height of the Dreyfus Affair to the fall of the Third Republic (p. 12). Revolutionary France embraced its Jewish citizens with the force of law in 1791, and the overwhelming majority of those citizens manifested their gratitude in words and deeds. Provincial rabbis and grand rabbis described France as breaking the shackles of the captive slaves of Israel, and other Jewish notables equated the rivers of France to Jordan and the mountains of France to Zion. The hexagon had become the Promised Land.

Part 1 of Abitol’s study charts the early and unsuccessful Zionist challenges to that strong allegiance, from the *fin de siècle* through the years surrounding the Balfour Declaration and the Treaty of Versailles. The author recounts Theodor Herzl’s reactions to Alfred Dreyfus’s degradation and makes the essential point that Zionism suffered in France from its association with Austrians and Germans. With good sensitivity to the complexities of French Jewish reactions, Abitol touches on the Rothschild’s interest in a “Jewish renaissance in Palestine” and on Bernard Lazare’s brand of Jewish nationalism as a radical alternative to Herzl’s “bourgeois” dreams (pp. 13, 27). But we learn that most French Jews agreed with men such as Sylvain Lévi, “the official spokesperson of French Judaism on the Zionist question” (p. 69): justice for Jews had triumphed in France, Lévi insisted, and Zionism offered nothing but a dangerous slide into sectarianism.

The most committed Zionists in France had always been members of the immigrant community, and, when the Jewish population increased from eighty thousand at the time of the Dreyfus Affair to three hundred thousand in the late 1930s, interest in Palestine increased *pari passu*. In part 2, Abitol describes the modest but steady growth of Zionist organizations during the interwar years, the reactions to Arab revolts in Palestine, and the established French Jewish community’s continuing resistance to the notion of an autonomous Jewish state. Part 3 covers the years from the rise of Hitler to the outbreak of World War II and examines, among other issues, British and French policies in Palestine and Syria, programs launched by the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris to aid and relocate Jewish refugees, and the unshakable belief on the part of many French Jews that anti-Semitism was a “movement of foreign inspiration, conceived and diffused by Germany” (p. 185). Although a significant minority of Jewish citizens were questioning the gift of emancipation and the process of assimilation, most of their coreligionists were still pledging their allegiance to—and pinning their hopes on—the Declaration of

the Rights of Man. Abitol does not venture into the years following 1940, but he states in his brief conclusion that the Nazi occupation would “fundamentally transform the physiognomy of French Zionism” and eventually hasten its “insertion into the political and social life of French Judaism” (p. 220).

This study provides both more and less than it promises. Although his intention is to focus on the reactions of the assimilated Jewish community, on “juifs de souche française” (p. 12), Abitol also includes excellent insights into the leadership and the manifestoes of international Zionist organizations. Sections on British and French diplomacy, however, and on the key role played by American Zionists, often deflect the analysis from responses within France. Readers interested in the details of debates surrounding Jewish nationalism in the period before World War I will learn more from Michael Marrus’s now classic work on the politics of assimilation; for the “remaking” of French Jewry and the impact of immigration, David Weinberg’s *Les Juifs à Paris de 1933 à 1939* (1974) and Paula Hymen’s *From Dreyfus to Vichy* (1979) remain essential; and, for those intrigued by polemics, Shmuel Trigano’s *La République et les juifs* (1982) offers a passionate condemnation of the entire process of assimilation from the revolution until the day before yesterday. But if Abitol covers some familiar ground, his book serves as a thoughtful introduction to the dilemma of dual allegiances and to the varied ways in which French Jews have defined and defended their Promised Land.

MICHAEL BURNS
Mount Holyoke College

ANNE-MARIE CHARTIER and JEAN HEBRARD. *Discours sur la lecture, 1880–1980*. Assisted by EMMANUEL FRAISSE *et al.* Paris: Bibliothèque Publique d’Information, Centre Georges Pompidou. 1989. Pp. 525. 190 fr.

In the past twenty years, scholars have established a new field: the history of reading. Rolf Engelsing, Margaret Spufford, Roger Chartier, and Jeffrey Brooks, among others, have drawn on the insights of sociology, bibliography, hermeneutics, and literary theory and criticism to fashion an intellectual history centered not on authors but on readers. The shift in focus from the creation to the reception of texts has resulted in a new approach to the texts themselves, an approach sensitive to the way in which the act of reading completes, complements, or even re-creates the work of writing. To the extent that such literate practices evolve and that sources exist to permit their study, the social history of ideas has developed considerably since Richard Altick’s pioneering study of the English common reader in 1957.

Anne-Marie Chartier and Jean Hébrard share this new interest. Their book, the product of a collaborative research project, traces a century-long evolution in the commentary on literate activity by French educators,

clergy, and librarians (with some attention to literary and artistic representations of reading). Before 1880, the prevailing discourse of these public officials was alarm over the literate practices of the population; the popular rage to read appeared dangerous to authorities and needed to be controlled. By 1980, however, the same institutions actually bemoaned a different crisis in reading; because of the distractions of the electronic media, officials feared that reading was dying out and sought to revive it everywhere, not just in schools, churches, and libraries. In the last hundred years, therefore, public discourses moved from rejection to acceptance of literate activity and its apparent social implications.

This dramatic reversal, the authors contend, began in the 1880s with professional librarians who first considered the reader as a free citizen in need solely of technical advice. Compared to the initiatives by various library groups, especially the Association des Bibliothécaires Français, both the church and the state were slow to accept mass literate consumption in the name of individual liberty and cultural democracy. In fact, the struggle for free, compulsory, and secular public education during the Third Republic seems to have strengthened the resistance of church and state authorities to a freer literate practice. For them, impressionable readers required guidance through a well-defined body of carefully chosen texts to protect public order and morality. Only after World War II did religious and educational writers accept reading as an activity valuable in itself. Although institutional commentary still considers the uses of popular literacy—morality and instruction remain important—a national consensus now exists over the much greater dangers posed by illiteracy. The result is a new competition among professionals, however uncoordinated politically, to promote reading in public and private life.

Chartier, Hébrard, and colleagues have written a major study. Their selection of sources elucidates the significant variation within each discourse. Not all librarians, clergy, or educators were of the same mind. Within the church, there were bishops, priests, and publishers; among librarians, personnel in schools, universities, and public collections; and for the state, ministers of culture and public instruction, teachers, professors, and education specialists—all of whose views on reading are studied here. The authors also consider these voices in relation to one another and to other commentary in art and literature. Although the last chapters on representations of literate practice in autobiography, art, and criticism are not as well developed as the chapters on commentary, this book successfully explores an enormous terrain in a relatively new field of interest to social and intellectual historians.

JAMES SMITH ALLEN
Phillips University

MARC MICHEL. *Gallieni*. Paris: Fayard. 1989. Pp. 363. 120 fr.

Joseph Simon Gallieni, one of the most prominent soldiers of the early Third Republic, also remains one of the most enigmatic. By 1918, this son of an Italian emigrant had become, Marc Michel believes, the most popular French general since Boulanger. Yet an austere, private personality makes him one of the least accessible to the historian, despite the voluminous *carnets* that he kept through most of his career.

Gallieni's career fell into two distinct phases. He first came to prominence as a colonial soldier in 1881 when he returned from a year's "captivity" at the hands of the sultan of Ségou with a treaty that opened much of the Niger region to France. His criticism of the harsh methods of conquest in Africa earned him the hatred of the "clan soudannais" and eventual banishment from Africa. His career suffered only a minor setback, however, for in Tonkin, his next posting, his staff included the ambitious and enthusiastic Hubert Lyautey, who promoted his boss as one of the original geniuses of French imperialism. In fact, Michel concludes that Gallieni's originality as well as his success have been exaggerated. Piracy was already on the wane when Gallieni arrived in upper Tonkin in 1893, and he undercut it further by legalizing opium, an element in the success of winning "hearts and minds" that is seldom commented on. His methods of campaign were not original with him; he simply organized them better. Despite his concern to avoid the errors that the French had made in Algeria, his often heavy-handed and authoritarian regime in Madagascar, where he served as governor general from 1896 to 1905, provoked a revolt there that led to his recall.

Gallieni's "second" career as a metropolitan general provides the most successful biographical section of the book, for we are given more intimate glimpses of his complex personality. Although Gallieni, a staunch republican and admirer of Léon Gambetta, steered clear of the clerical and anticlerical sects, it was virtually impossible to avoid being caught up in the deep and bitter personal rivalries that divided the French army. The author faults Gallieni's contribution to the fall in 1911 of Generalissimo Michel and his replacement by Joseph Joffre, qualifies as "sterile" the debate over whether Joffre or Gallieni saved France on the Marne in September 1914, and gives fairly low marks to Gallieni's stint as war minister in 1915–16, although Michel recognizes that Gallieni inherited a difficult situation and one made no easier by the fact that he was by then a very sick man. Indeed, the war so accentuated the rivalries among politicians and generals and their tendency to separate into coteries that one often wonders when reading Michel's biography how the French war effort held together at all.

Michel concludes that Gallieni was the incarnation of the "honnête homme de la III^e République" (p. 327), authoritarian but not arbitrary, a better tactician than strategist, a man who fell just short of greatness in part because the times were not right but also because he

incorporated all of the strengths and weaknesses of the republican meritocracy.

DOUGLAS PORCH
The Citadel

STEVEN M. ZDATNY. *The Politics of Survival: Artisans in Twentieth-Century France*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1990. Pp. x, 257. \$35.00.

Butchers, bakers, and candlestick makers together with masons, shoemakers, blacksmiths, and cabinetmakers are the subject of Steven M. Zdatny's book on the French *artisanat* in the twentieth century. These master artisans were more than the stuff of folk tales, nursery rhymes, and bedtime stories. Because of their place in France's social, economic, and political history, they merit serious attention. Zdatny's sympathetic and well-written study permits us to understand the artisan and his world and to witness the fate of both in modern France.

Often identified as either a wage earner or a small businessman, the artisan saw himself quite differently. He was a self-employed skilled craftsman, usually working alone, who owned his own tools and negotiated personally for the sale of his goods and services. Proud, independent, and free, neither boss nor bossed, neither exploiter nor exploited, the artisan represented a unique social type and defined a special idea or even state of mind in twentieth-century France.

The industrialization, concentration, and rationalization of the French economy after World War I worked to the artisan's disadvantage. Much of Zdatny's account describes the battles waged from that time to the present in favor of the virtues of smallness, originality, autonomy, and craftsmanship. To do this he concentrates on the history of the organized artisan movement or *artisanat* from its beginnings in the mid-1920s. At that time the *artisanat's* peak group, the *Confédération générale de l'artisanat français*, claimed one hundred thousand members. (A decade later three times that number were affiliated with one of several artisan organizations.) Master artisans first combined to describe themselves before the law so that they could benefit from the tax breaks and the access to credit on favorable terms that came only to those who stuck together. Solidarity also brought a greater consciousness of who they were and what they stood for. The artisan world view, shared by all artisan groups, linked honest labor with individual autonomy, self-worth, and family, a vision that appealed to many French citizens in the turbulent and insecure years between the wars. It was surely this that won artisans the protection of the leaders of the Third Republic and later the Vichy government. The artisan idea embraced the principles of both regimes—liberty, equality, and fraternity and work, family, and country.

Artisan politics were not of the fiercely anti-democratic and angrily authoritarian sort that characterized groups in Germany in the 1930s threatened by

economic ruin and social proletarianization. Better economic conditions in France and the willingness of successive governments to keep the *artisanat* afloat ensured its allegiance to the Third Republic. France emerged from World War II a nation in which the artisan and his family workshop were still intact. By the end of the 1950s, however, the planned modernization of the French economy forced the artisan movement to surrender to the state control that had always been anathema to its founders. This was the final adjustment of the "politics of survival." Artisans endured but were destined never to prevail.

WILLIAM A. HOISINGTON, JR.
University of Illinois,
Chicago

URSEL SCHÄFER. *Regierungsparteien in Frankreich: Die Sozialistische Partei in der V. Republik*. (Schriften der Philosophischen Fakultäten der Universität Augsburg, Historisch-sozialwissenschaftliche Reihe, number 37.) Munich: Ernst Vögel. 1989. Pp. 316. DM 60.

The current upsurge of the cacophony of the "currents" within the French Socialist party (PS) competing for ideological predominance and of the competition among the party's leading personalities discreetly orchestrated by President François Mitterrand makes the publication of Ursel Schäfer's study timely. In 1981, after years in the political desert during its reorganization under Mitterrand's leadership, the PS discovered that the election of a Socialist president and Socialist majority in the National Assembly had not brought about a monolithic Socialist exercise of power but rather a tripartite division of authority among the president, his handpicked government, and the party. The purpose of Schäfer's book is to analyze the role of the party in this three-fold division and to describe its changing attitudes as a result of the experience of government.

Schäfer has slightly condensed three long chapters from her Ph.D. dissertation dealing with the governmental experience of Gaullist and Giscardien parties between 1958 and 1981; the transformation of the Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière (the postwar French Socialist party) into the PS; and, in the most valuable section of the book, the reaction of the Socialist party to the years of government between 1981 and 1986. The book concludes with a too rapid overview of the "cohabitation" in 1986–88 when Mitterrand, faced with Socialist defeat in the National Assembly elections, was compelled to tolerate the Gaullist Jacques Chirac as premier. In this brief but revealing period, as Schäfer notes, the parties played a decisive role in the division of power between the president and premier, the Gaullists and Giscardiens as the government party of the premier in opposition to the president, and the Socialists as the president's party in opposition to the premier.

Basing her analysis primarily on a detailed reading

of *Le Monde* and a large number of secondary works and making little use of primary materials or interviews, Schäfer presents a competent reconstruction of the Socialist years in power during Mitterrand's first term, which she divides into four phases. From May 1981 to June 1982, the government of Pierre Mauroy accepted the institutions of the Fifth Republic and introduced two major reforms: industrial and banking nationalizations and administrative decentralization, both of which were strongly supported by the party. From June 1982 to March 1983, in face of a declining economy, the government introduced a wage and price freeze that roused deep opposition on the Left of the party. A third phase, from March 1983 to July 1984, was marked by a policy of "austerity" and by the introduction of a highly unpopular reform of the private, mostly Catholic schools. The dissension within the party grew as its public standing fell. When the PS received only 20.75 percent in the elections to the European Parliament in June 1984, Mauroy was replaced by Laurent Fabius. From July 1984 to March 1986, he sought to aid big business on the grounds that only a long-term restructuring of the economy could solve the structural unemployment affecting the working class. Left-wing groups within the PS accused Fabius's government of a "social-democratic shift" away from true socialism. The result, as Schäfer shows, was that the PS entered the elections of March 1986 a deeply divided party, and it lost.

Schäfer concludes from her survey of the party's evolution that it was the reality of governmental experience that led to the victory of the social-democratic approach, as in West Germany; that the party exercised more power in relation to the government and presidency than normally assumed; and that over the whole period of the Fifth Republic a dynamic rather than a static analysis is needed because, again in contradiction to the normal assumption, both the parties and the constitution have been in constant change since the creation of the Fifth Republic.

F. ROY WILLIS
University of California,
Davis

MAUREEN FLYNN. *Sacred Charity: Confraternities and Social Welfare in Spain, 1400–1700*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1989. Pp. x, 200. \$32.50.

Few aspects of the history of early modern Spain have received less attention than the numerous associations of communal piety known as *cofradías*, in spite of their significance for the religious and social life of the Hispanic world. As late as 1771, more than twenty-five thousand were still functioning according to a royal survey. This excellent monograph is not, as its title suggests, a general study of Spanish *cofradías*. Given the dearth of research on the topic, it will be some time yet before such an ambitious enterprise can be undertaken. But Maureen Flynn has written a rich account of

the confraternities and their connection to local religion and urban society in the Old Castilian city of Zamora, where they particularly flourished between the late fifteenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth.

The author properly treats the institutional origins and development of the *cofradías* of Zamora. The great merit of the monograph, however, rests on its sophisticated analysis of these associations as key elements within a complex world of local piety, essentially medieval in character, which was expressed through elaborate rituals and practices of community solidarity manifested in processions, devotions, and the public dispensation of charity to the poor. This was a piety of deeds rather than of contemplation, a religion based on the assumption that "external actions reveal the inner spirit and bring one closer to sanctification" (p. 144).

Confraternities represented an intense local Catholicism, a religion derived from the grass roots. Although ecclesiastical authorities sought to direct communal piety in accord with the theological ideas being promoted by the church, particularly as a result of the reform legislation of the Council of Trent, they enjoyed only limited success as the *cofradías* continued along their traditional path for the period under consideration.

Flynn has clearly established the significant contribution of the confraternities to Spanish Catholicism of the early modern period. Indeed, her conclusions suggest that the vitality of local religion based on external works of piety and mercy may help account for the relative immunity of the Spanish populace to the new religious ideology advanced by the Reformation elsewhere in Europe. It is interesting that volumes have been written on the flowering of Spanish mysticism during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Apart from the work of William Christian and Julio Caro Baroja, popular religion has received much less attention. This study makes a substantial contribution to the literature by according the *cofradías* their due as important components of an intense, popular, sacred culture in Spain during the period of European religious upheaval.

WILLIAM J. CALLAHAN
University of Toronto

GEORGE RICHARD ESENWEIN. *Anarchist Ideology and the Working-Class Movement in Spain, 1868–1898*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 273. \$35.00.

George Richard Esenwein has produced a concise yet comprehensive study of the development of the ideology of anarchism in Spain between 1868 and 1898. It is a valuable addition to the available literature in English both for people interested in the labor Left and for those with an interest in the modern history of Spain.

Esenwein's main point is to challenge the millenarian interpretation of anarchism, most familiar to English

speakers from Eric Hobsbawm's classic *Primitive Rebels*, on the grounds that large parts of it do not withstand detailed analysis. He certainly shows that for his chosen topic, that of ideology, this approach does not stand up. In Spain, as in general, anarchism was not a homogeneous system of thought but a complex of "competing tendencies" (p. 8)—Bakuninists, syndicalists, anarcho-communists, and anarchists "pure and simple." And, as he shows in his valuable discussion of "propaganda by the deed," even when anarchists were in agreement on a concept, there was no consensus on what it meant. He is also unequivocal in his description of the terrorist strategy as a dead end for the movement.

Esenwein does a fine job tracing the often-complex development of anarchist ideology and tracking down connections to both international anarchist thought and the much less well known federal republicanism of Francisco Pi i Margall. He also brings to the attention of the English-speaking reader neglected Spanish anarchist intellectuals such as Ricardo Mella and Fernando Tarrida del Mármol.

The author ends his account with the assassination of Prime Minister Cánovas del Castillo in 1898. One wishes that he had carried the story at least up to the creation of the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) and given us a detailed analysis of the emergence of the anarcho-syndicalist synthesis. He does provide an epilogue that looks forward to the full blossoming of anarcho-syndicalism after 1910. This was, in his view, "another stage" in the history of anarchism but one that retained clear "theoretical and practical links" to the earlier period (p. 208), especially the revival of syndicalism and the continuation of internal diversity and conflict.

Esenwein is clearly highly sympathetic to the anarchists. This is fair enough, but unfortunately his sympathy leads him to a distorted view of the place of socialism in twentieth-century Spain. In a section titled "Anarchism and the Failure of Socialism," he argues that poor leadership and a reticence to go on strike kept the socialists out of the working-class mainstream and prevented them from gaining a mass following before the 1920s. Such a view ignores both that socialist union and political support did grow, albeit not as spectacularly and erratically as support for the CNT, and that the socialists had a number of first-rate leaders, some of whom, such as Manuel Llaneza of the Asturian miners' union and Indalecio Prieto, had a much more sophisticated and realistic view of the Spanish situation than anyone in the CNT. It also ignores the fact that, within the defeat of the Left at the hands of Francisco Franco, the greatest failure of all lay with the anarchists, who had to sacrifice antipoliticism, their most fundamental principle, and join the government, one headed by a socialist no less.

This volume has a number of virtues, but these days a book on the ideology of the labor movement, however well done, inevitably has an old-fashioned air about it. In this case, one notes it even more because the author himself is clearly dissatisfied with such a

narrow focus and delves into the connection between anarchism and working-class cultural life.

This discussion is brief (pp. 124–32) and tantalizing rather than definitive, but labor and social historians may well find it, as I did, the most interesting part of the book.

ADRIAN SHUBERT
York University
North York, Ontario

PAUL VANDEWALLE. *De Geschiedenis van de Landbouw in de Kasselrij Veurne (1550–1645)* [The History of Agriculture in the Kasselrij Veurne]. (Historische Uitgaven, eighth series, number 66.) Gemeentekrediet van België. 1986. Pp. 415. 850F.

In this book Paul Vandewalle studies the history of land and people to discover the thriving forces of rural society in early modern times. After setting the introductory scene, Vandewalle focuses on the overwhelming contribution and peculiar character of coastal Flemish agriculture, whose influence on local living standards constitutes the final subject of investigation. Nothing is wrong with this threefold structure or his periodization into three individual phases, 1550–83, 1584–1608, and 1610–45. But his demarcation of time and place does not meet my expectations. Moreover, there are serious omissions in regard to the available sources.

First, Vandewalle uses the outbreak of war in 1645 to conclude his inquiry. He fails, however, to demonstrate clearly the specificity of this conflict with respect to his subject as well as the uniqueness of the war as a structural theme in local rural society. Even in the period under consideration, war was far from absent. During the turbulent religious wars, the estimated population of the southwestern corner of Flanders decreased from a maximum of 27,575 inhabitants during the third quarter of the sixteenth century to a low point of 4,402 in the 1580s. From the second quarter of the seventeenth century on, sixteenth-century population summits returned. To justify the year 1645 as a terminus, Vandewalle emphasizes the lack of information in subsequent years. This argument seems quite contradictory because deeds, inventories, accounts, and other sources gained substantially in quality and quantity. Furthermore, Vandewalle sometimes passes over the real scope of the sources, especially for the critical intermediate period (1584–1608), which is supported by far less factual information. In general, the inventories, for instance, cover only a small part of the farms common to the region at that time.

His region of study in southwestern Flanders takes up some tens of thousands of hectares, open, low-lying polders directly behind the North Sea dunes, as well as the higher-lying loam grounds with low cover further inland. The widening of this basic area, the *Kasselrij Veurne* (Furnes), to the adjacent *Kasselrij Sint-Winoksbergen* and several parts of the *Brugse Vrije* has merit. Despite the valid arguments of the author, such re-

gions-girdling research, dictated by shortage of sources, has also to be analyzed in terms of institutions. Qualitative sources possibly could have told us whether local agriculture was similarly affected by its institutional framework.

The elaborate, though elementary, statistical handling of the sources results in a profusion of detailed numerical data, schedules, and charts. Nevertheless, missing information concerning the representativeness of the sources strikes the reader. Furthermore, the interpretation of some quite spectacular figures rests on the assumptions on which they are based. When reading this book one should remember that cattle breeds are deduced from color indications mentioned in a few inventories. The calculation of the yearly milk production, from the presence in the sources of full or empty pots but the neglect of size fluctuations, is questionable. Finally, the importance of landownership by the propertied classes is not derivable from impressions aroused by a few transactions on the rural estate market.

Our insight in regional agriculture is strengthened and deepened by an analysis of model farms. About 80 percent of total business capital was invested in livestock. In broad terms, farming receipts resulted in particular from the sales of dairy products and of the fat stock, whereas farming expenditures were almost totally absorbed by rents, charges, and, to a lesser extent, wage work. In spite of the clear preponderance of cattle farming, Vandewalle fixes relatively more attention on arable farming, namely, agricultural techniques and their managerial implications.

The cost effectiveness of the model farms and the estimated income of farmers were positive in southwestern Flanders. In common circumstances the standard of living was favorable as revealed by the production and consumption of luxury products. Farmers themselves possessed 63 percent of all agricultural land, the nobility and the abbeys only 27 percent. Farm acreage varied from 10 to 25 hectares in the polders and between 5 and 15 hectares in the loam grounds. In this sense southwestern Flanders was distinct from other Flemish subregions, which gradually became prey to an enormous parcelling out of farms.

JAN MATERNÉ
University of Leuven

ERNST BÖHME. *Das fränkische Reichsgrafenkollegium im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert: Untersuchungen zu den Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der korporativen Politik minderständiger Reichsstände*. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abteilung Universalgeschichte, number 132; Beiträge zur Sozial- und Verfassungsgeschichte des Alten Reiches, number 8.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 1989. Pp. 321. DM 80.

Ernst Böhme, in a specialized contribution to the political and constitutional history of the Holy Roman Empire, focuses on the Imperial Counts of Franconia and their attempts from about 1500 to 1640 to find

political recognition and security of place in the imperial constitutional order. Powerless as individuals, the counts' ability to do this depended on their cooperation in a sustained collective effort. Much of the book deals with the methods (and difficulties) of establishing and employing such cooperation, beginning with the counts' development of a clearer sense of identity as a distinct "high" imperial nobility that required a certain distancing from the "lower" nobility of Imperial Knights with which interaction of various kinds became less common. Even as this identity strengthened, the small number of the Franconian counts together with centrifugal tendencies arising from religious differences, the tug of the differing interests of their princely employers, and other causes remained obstacles to the formation of the tight corporate structure that was needed to gain visibility and impact within the whole empire. Although always somewhat tenuous, the corporate solidarity of the counts was sufficient to permit them to join and become active in the formal operations of the Franconian Circle, which became a functional base for strengthening their corporate structure and for launching initiatives to gain the kind of formal representation at the imperial diet that was already enjoyed by the corporations of Swabian and Wetterau counts. Lengthy negotiations to achieve this by merger with either of those two groups failed; the background and course of the Thirty Years' War, while presenting some serious problems and setbacks for the Franconians, also provided unexpected opportunities that finally led to their acquisition of seat and vote in the Regensburg diet of 1640–41.

In explaining these developments, the author presents a detailed account of the shifting fortunes and allegiances of the important Franconian comital families and also emphasizes the importance of the increasingly close ties between the counts and the imperial court in Vienna that provided employment opportunities for many family members. The friendliness between the two that arose partly from this nexus of service and economic support was largely preserved even during the awful strains of the Thirty Years' War by the counts' adherence to the policy of neutrality proclaimed by the Franconian Circle. This made it easier for the emperor, seeking to maximize his support in the diet against the opposition of the German princes, to support admission of the Franconian corporation to the diet in Regensburg. This successful conclusion to the long struggle of the Franconians for legal recognition at the national level was chiefly the result of factors over which the counts themselves had little control. But, in insisting that this result would not have been possible under any circumstances without an at least minimally successful institutionalized political collaboration among the counts, the author underscores the importance of corporate organization as a chief guarantor of the continued independence of all of the less powerful components of the empire, including not only the Swabian and Wetterau counts but also the Imperial Knights, Free Cities, and in some respects

the ecclesiastical and smaller secular principalities as well.

JOHN G. GAGLIARDO
Boston University

PAULA SUTTER FICHTNER, *Protestantism and Primogeniture in Early Modern Germany*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989. Pp. x, 125. \$18.50.

Paula Sutter Fichtner's book addresses relationships between religion and politics and specifically questions whether or not Protestantism fostered the centralization of princely power. Indeed, argues Fichtner, religious norms hindered rational consolidation of territories and dynastic resources by reinforcing traditional customs of partible inheritance and delaying primogeniture among Protestant dynasties until after the Thirty Years' War. Catholic houses such as the Wittelsbachs and Habsburgs faced similar political and moral imperatives as Protestants but, in contrast, still enjoyed ecclesiastical positions for younger sons. Without this solution Evangelicals could not reconcile primogeniture, territorial consolidation, and reason of state with the strong familial values, including equality of heirs, that sixteenth-century reformations had fortified. Their religious scruples delayed political modernization.

We meet a refreshing skepticism about linear historical developments and neat symmetries between ideas and institutions, as Fichtner chides our current emphasis on studying early modern society as a whole and our neglect of dynastic history. Yet her salutary caution cannot substitute for probing analysis, and reliance on anecdotal evidence without an attempt to demonstrate—rather than merely assert—central tendencies cannot substantiate Fichtner's thesis. Argumentation by examples alone is a slippery method and results here in a suggestive but inconclusive essay. Although the general case may be right, Fichtner has not proved it.

GERALD L. SOLIDAY
University of Texas,
Dallas

LOTHAR GALL, *Bürgertum in Deutschland*. Berlin: Siedler. 1989. Pp. 635. DM 58.

In an engrossing departure from present fashion, Lothar Gall offers us a life and times study not of an individual but of an important south German family, the Bassermanns of Mannheim. The lives we will get to; first, the times.

Gall's previous studies have in one way or another dealt with German liberalism and the alternatives in German historical development. This one focuses on the *Bürgertum*, a difficult, ambiguous social and political reality, whose failure analysts have tried to explain or comprehend but whose history is yet unwritten. Initially, by *Bürgertum*, Gall means merchants, preindustrial entrepreneurs, lower government officials, and

members of the free professions who owed their positions to individual effort and initiative (p. 21). To a greater degree than their Western European counterparts, they emerged as anti-aristocratic, viewing themselves as guardians of an all-inclusive future society of free individuals—of "bourgeois society."

Gall sympathetically explores the rise and decline of the idea of *Bürgertum* and the social world it created. Citing Theodor Mommsen's testament, published only after World War II, he asks why it was not possible "to be a Bürger" in "our nation" (p. 17). He skillfully weaves this theme, with its tragic conclusion, into the Bassermann family history, sustaining its particularity but suffusing it with regional and national significance.

The huge canvas with dozens of characters, not all in the family, can only be sketched. The first identifiable Bassermann was born in 1615 on the eve of the calamitous Thirty Years' War; he advanced the family into the world of the corporative, hometown burghers in Babenhausen, Hanau. From miller to innkeeper, from Hanau to Heidelberg and Mannheim, the Bassermanns followed the motto "Sei dein eigener Herr und Knecht" (Be your own lord and servant). Through skill, appropriate marriages, hard work, and luck, their fortunes rose. Indeed, by the end of the eighteenth century, they soared. From hotelier to speculator, to commercial and industrial entrepreneurs, to political leadership and the arts, to professorships and government service, the major facets of south German bourgeois history are laid out before us.

There is time along the way to examine the growing power of central administrative states, the educational world of the new humanism, the national theater and other cultural institutions of Mannheim (all generously patronized by the family), municipal politics, and the changing styles of house and domesticity. Above all, there is the emergence of liberalism and nationalism before 1848.

The turning point is Friedrich Daniel Bassermann (1811–55): merchant, publisher, amateur artist, rising star in the Badenese diet after 1842, and cofounder of the liberal nationalist *Deutsche Zeitung* in 1847. The yearned-for revolution of 1848 was a shock. The lower classes rejected the leadership that the burghers of the Bassermanns' ilk took for granted. This is old hat, but Gall imbues the activities of Bassermann and his associates with a sympathetic poignancy that animates the entire revolution. Sadly, Friedrich Daniel ended his personal and national debacle in suicide.

The Bassermanns were not finished with politics or with the life of the spirit. Ernst Bassermann, Friedrich Daniel's nephew, chaired the National Liberal party before 1914. With him we follow the alienation of the grand bourgeoisie from the vast majority of industrialized, urban Germany. In this century, we again glimpse the theater through Albert Bassermann, a leading German actor, who brought the German stage to new heights before quitting Germany shortly after the Nazi takeover.

Years before this, however, crisis overtook the fam-

ily. The mansion on the Mannheim market square, auspiciously dedicated in 1829 at the center of civic life, had its ground floor rented out to shops in 1908. It was sold in 1919, and the Nazis published a newspaper there during the 1930s; bombed during the war, the house was razed in 1958. The building's fate mirrored that of the family. Periodic reunions, cultivating family history, and establishing trust funds for unsuccessful relations did not keep the Bassermanns together.

Readers will immediately seek an analogy in Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks*. This Gall rejects. Mannheim, a modern commercial and industrial newcomer, was not Lübeck. The Bassermanns were not patricians; the family harmonized art and business.

Adorned with well-chosen photographs, this book is history on a grand and literate scale. Although informed by current historiographic debate and scholarly research, Gall does not let his learning show. It is all there, nonetheless, for the amateur and the specialist to enjoy.

LOYD E. LEE
State University of New York,
New Paltz

MICHAEL HUGHES. *Law and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Germany: The Imperial Aulic Council in the Reign of Charles VI*. (Royal Historical Society Studies in History, number 55.) Wolfeboro, N.H.: Boydell. 1988. Pp. 280. \$63.00.

The Imperial Aulic Council, or Reichshofrat, was the highest judicial body of the Holy Roman Empire. Situated at the Habsburg emperors' court in Vienna, it regularly issued judgments down to the empire's demise in 1806. Although Michael Hughes provides us with a good profile of the Aulic Council, he also addresses two questions that have concerned early modern German historians in recent years: How effective were the empire's political institutions, and to what extent did the Habsburg emperors employ them to serve purely dynastic, Austrian interests? He uses as his vehicle two of the most important disputes adjudicated by the Aulic Council during Charles VI's reign. The struggle between Duke Charles Leopold and the estates of Mecklenburg is one of the more famous instances of successful corporate resistance to princely absolutism in Germany. This is complemented by a parallel conflict in tiny East Frisia in which the prince's rights were essentially expanded in the face of wanton usurpations by the estates.

The author makes a good case for the probity and professionalism of the council's jurists and the fairness of their verdicts. Although he gives lip service to the standard attacks on the "German dinosaur," he holds up the council as evidence that the empire's institutions still functioned. He is quick to confess, however, that this was not always easy. The Aulic Council was generally ineffective when confronting more powerful German states that could either reject its jurisdiction or

obstruct the enforcement of its decisions. Even in executing judgments against lesser entities, such as the duke of Mecklenburg or the East Frisian estates, the emperor first needed to enlist the cooperation of all of the major German states that had an interest in the case. As a result it often took years before the council's verdicts could be carried out. Indeed, although the author finds that the emperor did not try to dictate the council's decisions, his timing of their pronouncement and execution was very much determined by his own diplomatic needs.

Hughes is at his best when narrating and analyzing the two cases that are supported primarily by archival material drawn from the Vienna State and Lower Saxon archives. He also devotes considerable print to discussing diplomatic relations during the adjudication of the Mecklenburg and East Frisian cases. But here he goes into far more detail than necessary, frequently at the expense of dragging out the narration with barely relevant diplomatic minutiae. If there is a virtue to be gained from this, it is that the book does offer a good overview of Charles VI's foreign policy, albeit one taken largely from secondary works. The author's penchant for detail is also evident in his footnotes, many of which serve no apparent function other than showing us what the author has read. Unfortunately, he did not consult a number of books that shed light on the Aulic Council's activities during the periods immediately before and after Charles's reign. Had he done so, he might have softened somewhat his claim that the Aulic Council reached the apogee of its power under Charles VI. A final oversight is the absence of maps that might have shown the places in Mecklenburg and East Frisia that were mentioned in the text. These qualifications aside, this book is a solid and welcome addition to the study of the Reich and its institutions in the eighteenth century.

CHARLES INGRAO
Purdue University

ELISABETH MEYER-RENSCHHAUSEN. *Weibliche Kultur und soziale Arbeit: Eine Geschichte der Frauenbewegung am Beispiel Bremens, 1810–1927*. Cologne: Böhlau. 1989. Pp. x, 408.

Elisabeth Meyer-Renschhausen belongs to the current young generation of Berlin scholars devoted to the history of women. This, her latest work, is a major contribution to the increasingly rich and sophisticated investigation of the German women's movement. Even works published as recently as the 1970s, which once looked bold and innovative, now seem reductionistic and naive, so rapidly has the field grown in regional diversity and thematic depth. Two issues are recurrently addressed in Meyer-Renschhausen's work here. One is the mistaken appropriation of concepts such as radical and conservative, applicable enough to governmental politics but inappropriate when applied to the positions adopted by organized German women in the

imperial era. Second is the fallacy of adopting suffragism as the decisive feminist benchmark. Meyer-Renschhausen, of course, is not the first to emphasize the distinctiveness of the German women's movement and its relative indifference to the issue of the vote. Few Germans enjoyed the suffrage; it was anything but self-evident that enfranchisement could make a decisive difference politically or socially for any constituency, most notably women. This, however, is not Meyer-Renschhausen's point. What she emphasizes with passionate conviction is the kinship between the earlier feminist morality movement and such contemporary commitments as shelters for battered women, defense against rape within and without marriage, and the protection of lesbian rights. However different the language, the women who fought against legalized prostitution shared a similar sense for women's physical integrity and a similar outrage against the easy assumption of dual morality.

Bremen is a particularly good choice for local study. The historic port experienced the full impact of population explosion and class transformation as the nineteenth century progressed. Connected by commerce to the larger world as well as to interior Germany, the city was habitually in touch with political developments elsewhere; for organized women the ties with England were particularly instructive. The Hansa city-state treasures its historic past, thereby offering the historian abundant archival resources, sources that Meyer-Renschhausen has used to full advantage.

The women's movement in Bremen, as elsewhere, tried to adapt, with limited success, the tenets of the French revolution to women's situations. Where Bremen excelled, however, during this period, was in the pedagogical writing and courses for women initiated by Betty Gleim, whose understanding of women's educational needs were a recognized source of inspiration for Helene Lange much later in the century. During the revolution of 1848, Bremen women, like those in Hamburg and Dresden, were enthusiastic supporters of "free religion" (articulated in Bremen by Rudolph Dulon), finding in the desacralized concepts of personal and universal spirit the basis for a nonpatriarchal self-understanding that also permitted interconfessional alliances with other women. Unlike most cities where radical religious thought flourished, Bremen apparently did not become a center for the teachings of Friedrich Froebel. Patriotic women's auxiliaries led by men during the Austro-Prussian and Franco-Prussian wars gave way increasingly to organizations dedicated to women's education and employment, associations commonly led by women themselves and allied with networks centered particularly in Berlin and the north. More so than many other German cities, Bremen in the last decades of the century was a center for the temperance movement. Although never involving numbers approaching those in the United States, where the Women's Christian Temperance Union was the single most powerful women's organization, the drive for an alcohol-free culture enjoyed a strong following in

Bremen. Otilie Hoffmann was the leader in this effort, promoting alcohol-free restaurants as well as engaging in a strenuous speaking program both at home and abroad. Meyer-Renschhausen's discussion of the temperance movement is contextualized by her thoughtful examination of the culture of alcohol generally as a political and a class phenomenon, a source of male bonding, and an ethos like every other social construct subject to historical change.

The analytic core of Meyer-Renschhausen's study, however, is her examination of the struggle that Bremen women conducted against legalized prostitution. Because of its situation as a port, among other reasons, Bremen was a particularly active center of prostitution, and the long voluntary apprenticeship of Bremen's organized bourgeois women in the nascent field of social work afforded them a genuine understanding of the economic sources promoting the sex industry. The publication of a diary edited by the mother of a young woman whose doubtful diagnosis of syphilis and hospitalized treatment with Salvarsan led to her death galvanized the public in Bremen and beyond, exposing among other issues the pharmaceutical experimentation on poor women by medical trainees. This, at least, was the scandal as Bremen's feminists understood it, whereas the police and the courts fussed over the authenticity of the diary and its authorship.

Meyer-Renschhausen's book marks a giant step forward in the field of German women's history and deserves prompt translation into English.

CATHERINE M. PRELINGER
Yale University

CAROLE ELIZABETH ADAMS. *Women Clerks in Wilhelmine Germany: Issues of Class and Gender*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 180. \$44.50.

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century a new occurrence appeared in German society: female sales and office clerks. Prior to the 1880s, clerks had been primarily men working in small firms and family-owned shops. Increasing complexity in business management and innovations in retail sales fostered a dramatic rise in the number of female clerks. By 1914, almost 80 percent of retail sales personnel were women.

Did this create new opportunities for females to attain economic independence? According to Carole Elizabeth Adams, it did not. These developments resulted in a proletarianization of clerking rather than in an enhancement of women's positions. Female clerks in Imperial Germany suffered from low status, poor pay, sexual harassment, insecure employment, and a set of gender norms that afforded them little freedom or individuality. The book's title suggests a depiction of the culture and lifestyle of the new social category of employed women. Some readers may be disappointed to find that this is not the author's focus. Her theme, however, is an important one. In a study based on

archival research, she analyzes the strategies of female clerks' associations to improve the circumstances of the white-collar employees. Nearly seventy clerks' organizations sprang up by 1914. Adams concludes that the activists were largely unsuccessful because of their class-bound conceptualizations of the problem.

The influential Berlin Commercial Alliance for Female Employees endeavored to improve the status of office and sales personnel by fostering professionalization. Seeking essentially to enable clerks to enter the middle class, the alliance overlooked many of the clerks' fundamental needs as working-class women. The leaders accepted the notion that employment was a temporary stage of women's lives and was destined to end with marriage. Thus, they failed to even question a social norm that sustained women's dependence.

The Central Alliance of Male and Female Commercial Assistants took a fundamentally different approach. Recognizing clerking as proletarian in character, it focused on the ultimate goal of a socialist society. As a union it recruited female members and was theoretically committed to women's emancipation. Nevertheless, women were effectively blocked from leadership roles, and the organization ignored most gender-based problems of female clerks.

The inability of both bourgeois feminism and gender-blind socialism to address women's problems adequately is a familiar theme in the recent historiography of Western industrial society. Adams successfully applies it to a previously unstudied context. The issues are complex and entangled, and I believe her work would have been improved if she had used bolder language to guide her readers to definite conclusions. Nevertheless, her study adds an important dimension to our understanding of the historical experience of women in industrial society. The organizations were "bound to fail" (p. 131), Adams argues, because they sought solutions exclusively in the public sphere and ignored women's "burden of domestic responsibility under the headship of their husbands" (p. 130).

MARION W. GRAY

Kansas State University

WIELAND VOGEL. *Katholische Kirche und nationale Kampferbände in der Weimarer Republik*. (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte, series B; Forschungen, number 48.) Mainz: Matthias-Grünwald. 1989. Pp. xxvi, 371. DM 76.

The Catholic church's role in the Weimar Republic, studies of the Center party notwithstanding, has attracted little detailed analysis—certainly by comparison to the great volume of scholarship on Catholicism in the Third Reich or even the growing body of work now available on the Protestant churches in the pre-Hitler era. Wieland Vogel aims to redress part of this imbalance, and he largely succeeds. His book provides a well-crafted case study of the church's political posture during the republic, focusing on efforts by the episco-

pacy to define and defend a consistent institutional position regarding the numerous paramilitary organizations that constituted so prominent a feature of Weimar's political landscape.

Few issues, in fact, would appear to have occupied church leaders more regularly than the question of how best to cope with this "new genus of political interest representation" (pp. 7–8, 327). In one form or another it surfaced at virtually every session of the annual Fulda Bishops' Conference between 1924 and 1933 and occasioned no fewer than eleven official proclamations and directives (the texts of which Vogel includes in an appendix). After tracing the origins of nationalist paramilitary formations, Vogel shows how controversies over local recruitment and propaganda tactics in Catholic circles led the hierarchy to endorse increasingly explicit warnings against any form of participation by clergy or the faithful. On one level, this negative stance bespoke an obvious civic and political concern, inasmuch as the antirepublican broadsides of the Stahlhelm and similar rightist groups seemed to be aimed squarely at Weimar's quintessential government party, the Catholic Center, to which virtually all high churchmen had some sort of connection. On another level, the interconfessional appeals of most of these groups threatened to erode support for the network of distinctively Catholic associations, especially among the youth, that formed one of the mainstays of church life. Hence, most bishops were inclined to condemn the nationalists' "positive Christianity," with its folkish and Protestant overtones, as incompatible with orthodox Catholic loyalties. For much the same reason, and despite appeals to the contrary by some leaders of the Center party, they ultimately declined to countenance support even for the prorepublican but putatively socialist Reichsbanner. This pattern of anathemas, Vogel suggests, helped define the context for the church's subsequent confrontations with National Socialism.

The value of Vogel's study derives in no small part from his effective use of sources. Drawing not only on official documents but also on a wide range of private papers and local materials, he succeeds in reconstructing much of the decision-making process that underlay official pronouncements.

Of particular interest is his stress on the importance of the parish clergy in defining and implementing policy directives. The various grass-roots incidents recounted in the book provide interesting insights into day-to-day ecclesiastical relationships. They also capture the ambivalence of churchmen who wished to affirm their place in the national establishment while at the same time holding fast to a belief in the necessity of preserving Catholic separateness. Although Vogel calls attention to differences between the Catholic hierarchy's special relationship to the Center party and Protestant churches' official claim to stand "above parties," many of the debates he discusses in fact echo themes often encountered in Protestant discourse of the same period. On this and other points, Vogel's

carefully documented conclusions invite further comparative exploration.

DAVID J. DIEPHOUSE
Calvin College

WOLFRAM PYTA. *Gegen Hitler und für die Republik: Die Auseinandersetzung der deutschen Sozialdemokratie mit der NSDAP in der Weimarer Republik*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, number 87.) Düsseldorf: Droste. 1989. Pp. 559. DM 98.

The dramatic events in the German Democratic Republic that led to a unification of the two German states have rekindled fears among some European countries about the potential political and economic power of the new state. Although the fear of the emergence of a new Nazism is small, the presence of neo-Nazi and ultra-conservative groups in the new Germany nevertheless presents a challenge to the German democratic parties on how to limit the appeal of such groups.

The Social Democratic party (SPD), which in the Weimar years faced a much more serious challenge in combating the Nazis' relentless drive to power, is among those concerned. A number of scholars have investigated the parties' responses to the rise of Nazism, but only two (Helmut Arndt and Wolfgang Saggau) have published works on the SPD and Nazism. Wolfram Pyta, who does not share their Marxist perspective, seeks to answer the question of how responsible the democratic parties were to the rise of the National Socialist German Workers' party (NSDAP). If the responsibility was minimal, were the Weimar institutions and political elites in the sectors of bureaucracy, justice, military, and economy guilty of failing to stop the Nazis?

Pyta focuses his attention in this voluminous study on the specific question of how the SPD reacted to the rise of the NSDAP. In this revision of his doctoral dissertation, Pyta seeks to respond to the criticisms of a number of historians that the SPD avoided an energetic struggle to contain the Nazis and capitulated to them without resistance. The volume, based on a painstaking perusal of SPD journals, newspapers, pamphlets, parliamentary debates, and a host of West German archival materials, is a recent addition to the excellent list of scholarly volumes issued by the Commission for the History of Parliamentarism and Political Parties in Bonn.

In the first part of his study, the author assesses the SPD's strong negative views toward the fascism of Benito Mussolini's Italy and the national socialism of Adolf Hitler's NSDAP. Pyta emphasizes that the SPD's views of the NSDAP were seen through red-colored glasses. SPD leaders considered the NSDAP to be a tool of the capitalist establishment, who wanted to roll back the economic and social gains made by workers in the early Weimar years. Pyta then rejects this thesis, contending that capitalist funds that supported the party

were negligible and that Hitler was a charismatic leader who was not just a puppet of the establishment.

In envisaging the future, the SPD chiefs feared that the NSDAP would capture power through a *Putsch* rather than through legal means. They did not envisage the totalitarian nature of the Third Reich that would crush all opposition and the freedoms of individuals. In order to prevent a Nazi victory, the SPD attempted to win over those groups in society that were the greatest supporters of the NSDAP. But the SPD, relying traditionally on its workers' base, had difficulty in gaining the backing of the middle class, the peasants, youth, and women. It relied too much on parliamentary actions rather than programmatic and organizational changes.

The author deals at length (often excessively) with SPD reactions to developments from 1929 to 1933. He looks at SPD strategy and tactics in keeping the Nazis from power (for example, toleration of the Heinrich Brüning regime). He notes that the SPD initiated a belated "socialist action" program in 1932 to win over anticapitalist voters supporting the NSDAP but was fearful of supporting calls for general strikes in the wake of Franz von Papen's ouster of the SPD-led Prussian government in 1932 and Hitler's assumption of power in 1933. Nevertheless, SPD policymakers in Länder governments issued a number of emergency decrees (for example, a ban on uniforms) to contain the Nazi menace, but often the decrees were not enforced in rural areas where the Nazis were in de facto power prior to 1933.

In the conclusion to this important study, Pyta notes correctly that the SPD and other committed republicans failed to stem the Nazi tide not because of a lack of commitment to the state and of a failure to see the Nazis as their chief enemy but because from 1930 on the conservative national government policy makers systematically undermined the fragile republic.

GERARD BRAUNTHAL
University of Massachusetts,
Amherst

KLAUS-JÜRGEN MATZ. *Reinhold Maier (1889–1971): Eine politische Biographie*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, number 89.) Düsseldorf: Droste. 1989. Pp. 544. DM 78.

In 1989, the year of Reinhold Maier's hundredth birthday, the Commission on the History of Parliamentarism and Political Parties published the political biography of this prominent Swabian liberal. As written by Klaus-Jürgen Matz, who researched the book as his *Habilitationsschrift*, there are two reasons for Maier's importance. For one, he was not only the father of the southwestern state of Baden-Württemberg but also one of the founders of the German Federal Republic and its third largest party, the liberal Freie Demokratische Partei (FDP). Secondly, Maier's life and political activity—he was Württemberg's economic minister and

Reichstag member before 1933—exemplify Germany's historical continuity from the Weimar to the Bonn republic.

Matz's argument that 1945 marks neither a brand new beginning nor a restoration but a progression from the Weimar years is well presented. During the revolutionary year 1918, following the collapse of the German empire, Maier stood for stability and order by promoting industrial capitalism and a civil service-oriented middle class. Maier pursued this policy in Württemberg during the 1920s but returned to his private legal practice after the National Socialists removed him from office. Following World War II, he succeeded in bringing these ideas to fruition when the American occupation forces appointed him minister-president of their newly formed administrative entity, Württemberg-Baden.

Although Maier's regional reputation catapulted him into the Reichstag in 1933, the Länderrat in 1946, the Bundestag in 1953, and the party chair of the FDP in 1957, he was unsuccessful as a national politician. His biographer takes great care in illuminating the reasons for this failure. Maier felt most comfortable in his Swabian *Heimat* where political gatherings occurred in *Wirtshäuser*, the Swabian equivalent of the smoke-filled room. He was too sensitive to be a dynamic leader. Instead he was a follower in high places who, however reluctantly, acquiesced when pressured to perform unpleasant tasks. In 1933, as the spokesman for the Deutsche Staatspartei, he justified the Empowering Act relinquishing all power to Hitler. Later, after the war and the founding of the Federal Republic, Maier, as leader of the Free Democrats, failed to provide effective resistance on the rearmament issue. Even during World War II, he was found wanting. Threatened by the Nazi terror, he divorced his exiled Jewish wife. In contrast, his most positive contribution came as minister-president of Baden-Württemberg where he enjoyed the role of benevolent patriarch.

The only weak point in Matz's book is the author's use of his abundant sources. Despite extensive footnotes and a fine bibliography, the work is basically a compilation of Maier's published and unpublished writings. Matz emulates them in structure and style as well as in content. The section concerning German-American interaction during the occupation, for example, follows exclusively Maier's outline. Without critical examination, Matz cites agrarian reform, freedom of trade, decartelization, and the denial of a partisan newspaper as the main points of dispute between German and American authorities. Ignored are such issues as party licensing, democratic voting, and reeducation. Moreover, extensive use of transcripts from Länderrat, party, or cabinet meetings might have illuminated more clearly Maier's understanding of democracy and politics.

Except in regard to Maier's vote for the Empowering Act, "this gravest political error" (p. 508), Matz usually finds Maier's integrity and uprightness above reproach. On this issue the author cannot understand why Maier

insisted to his dying day that he had done the right thing. To answer this question the author would have done well to employ his analytical skills. By comparing Maier's views with those of such contemporaries as Carlo Schmidt, Konrad Adenauer, and Kurt Schuhmacher, Matz could have commented on Maier's choice as part of Germany's inability to confront the past (*Vergangenheitsbewältigung*).

Despite these drawbacks the book provides a comprehensive look at a local political culture. Matz is at his best analyzing the literature surrounding specific controversies. These include Maier's choice of a liberal party as his political vehicle, his stand on denazification, and his fight for a unified Baden-Württemberg. Commendable also is the highly readable quality of this book. Students of German democracy, Württemberg politics, and postwar issues will find the volume a contribution to the field.

VERENA BOTZENHART-VIEHE
Westminster College
New Wilmington, Pennsylvania

MICHAEL BALFOUR. *Withstanding Hitler in Germany, 1933-45*. New York: Routledge. 1988. Pp. xxii, 310. \$49.95.

Michael Balfour was acquainted with a leader of the German opposition to Adolf Hitler, Helmuth James Count von Moltke. During the war, Balfour served in the British Political Warfare Executive and after the war in the military government in Germany.

In part 1, Balfour treats the development of underground opposition, its methods, difficulties, and aims, and the Allies' refusal of support, which they offered every other European resistance movement. Part 2 consists of twenty-four biographical studies of resisters. Part 3 poses six questions directing students to the fundamental issues raised by Hitler's criminal regime.

The introduction intends to show why Hitler "was allowed to come to power" (p. 3). Balfour offers a sociological analysis of the 37.4 percent of the electorate who supported Hitler's party in a free election, but he gives little consideration to the 62.6 percent who did not. Equally, the three million Germans held for part or all of the twelve years of Nazi rule in concentration camps for political reasons must be part of the answer to the central question of why so few Germans withstood Hitler: millions of those who tried or were likely to do so were imprisoned; tens of thousands were executed.

Nationalism was, before 1914, no less intense in Germany than in other countries; it became embittered by Versailles; from 1939 it was once again intensified by war, thus greatly compounding the difficulties of withstanding Hitler. Opposition to the government more than ever counted for treason and lacked substantial internal support. In countries occupied by German forces, the situation was reversed: resistance was commonly regarded as patriotic. The Allies sup-

ported resistance in those countries but believed that they had reasons not to encourage the small internal resistance in Germany, which needed commitments for an acceptable peace in case Nazism was overthrown from within. In January 1941, Winston Churchill ordered "absolute silence" vis-à-vis any resistance attempts to contact the British government. Balfour suggests (p. 223) that acceptance of the fact that Germany was losing the war might have produced a more favorable response; he does not give any weight in this context to Dietrich Bonhoeffer's, Moltke's, and Adam von Trott's (not "Freiherr," p. 179) clear statements to their Allied contacts that they expected and wished the defeat of Germany. He declares Bonhoeffer's revelations to Bishop George Kennedy Allen Bell in 1942 inaccurate and misleading. Balfour suggests that Bonhoeffer was poorly informed when he mentioned to Bishop Bell the names of persons publicly associated with the anti-Hitler fronde instead of names such as Hans Oster and Hans von Dohnanyi in the military counterintelligence service, or Moltke in the international law section of Armed Forces Supreme Command, or Henning von Tresckow in the staff of Army Group Center. Balfour professes to understand the nature of a terrorist police state, but he appears here to overlook the need for conspirators in such a state to keep secret their membership in "key positions."

But it was not a question of information, as Balfour's book reveals on close examination. Concrete British and American war aims are obscured by Balfour's suggestion that "remembering 1917–19" made the Allies "reluctant to make promises" (pp. 184–85). The British War Cabinet did not oppose in 1942, and endorsed in 1943, massive annexations of German territory in favor of Poland as well as the expulsion from their homelands of up to 6.8 million Germans (which eventually amounted to some fourteen million); this plan and the proposed division, long-term disarmament, and control of the rest of Germany, conditions that no German representatives could accept, must have had more weight than vague resentments as a motive for not treating with the resistance. It was not the untrustworthiness of Bonhoeffer, Moltke, or Trott that excluded consideration of the conspirators' needs but the difference between the conspirators' need for a minimum of political credibility at home and the severity of the Allies' war aims.

Although there are gaps (Balfour does not address the disturbing nature of the case of Arthur Nebe, who served as commander of a mobile SS killing division in Russia while involved in the conspiracy), the work is on the whole comprehensive and fair. Balfour's thoughtful book can serve serious and well-informed students as one of the few available surveys broadly based on published primary sources and secondary works.

PETER HOFFMANN
McGill University

MICHAEL H. KATER. *Doctors under Hitler*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 426. \$32.50.

Michael Kater's study of German doctors under National Socialism adroitly blends statistical analyses of the economic, demographic, professional, and political indices of physicians and medical students from 1878 to 1945 with detailed career portraits of numerous leaders and followers. The result is the definitive demolition of the position taken by such German medical apologists as Karsten Vilmar, Hans Schadowalt, and Günter Huwer, who argue that only a few criminals besmirched the high reputation of German medicine through collaboration with the Nazis. Kater shows that support for the Nazis and involvement in their projects were widespread among physicians. At the same time, however, he stops short of the even more damning critique by young German doctors and historians such as Karl Heinz Roth and Götz Aly, who see the crimes of the medical profession under Nazism as symptomatic of a fundamental malaise of Western medicine and society.

Kater is an indefatigable researcher, and we are once more profoundly in his debt for scouring the archives for invaluable new documentation. His analysis is equally admirable, free of statistical jargon and showing a fine eye for differences over time in doctors' affiliations with various Nazi organizations among age cohorts, social classes, regional groupings, and medical specialties and by sex. Kater also contributes a fine chapter on the general deterioration and dehumanization of medical care in Germany between 1933 and 1945. On the other hand, his discussion of the fate of Jewish physicians breaks little new ground, although Kater, typically, also brings to this subject a wealth of illustration. And his treatment of medical resistance falls short of that offered by Robert Proctor's *Racial Hygiene* (1988), especially with regard to the émigré activities of the Verein sozialistischer Ärzte.

Although there are few errors (psychiatrist Ernst Kretschmer did not maintain "institutional ties" with the "institute of Martin [sic] Göring" [p. 144]; Robert Jay Lifton is not a psychoanalyst [p. 5]), one can take issue with Kater's tendency to slight some recent work on the institutional history of Germany and the Third Reich as his narrative skips from the doings of political and corporate organizations to occupational statistics and on to case studies. He largely dismisses the work of Martin Broszat and Tim Mason on degrees of "resistance" (pp. 74–75 and p. 297, n. 2) because of his (necessary) emphasis on the moral culpability of doctors in the crimes and operations of the Third Reich. In so doing, Kater truncates discussion not only of Nazi "polycracy" (he ignores Broszat's important analysis of Leonardo Conti's empire building in the Reich Interior Ministry) but also of more general features in the professional and social evolution of modern Germany. This leads to a less comprehensive moral and historical context for the study of doctors in Nazi Germany than

should be the case. Kater comes close to implying a contradiction between "normal" professionalization and the radicalization and "coordination" undergone by German doctors after 1918 and 1933, respectively. In what ways did corporate interest combine with the demand of social institutions for a "positivistic and ultrarationalistic" medical system (p. 225)? What were the consequences of professionalization (income, status) and what Konrad Jarausch has termed "deprofessionalization" (politicization, ethical and scientific deterioration) under Adolf Hitler for subsequent professionalization after 1945? This is to ask not for a different book but for a drawing out of the historical implications of Kater's own conclusion that the compromises and derelictions of doctors in Nazi Germany hold "the gravest consequence for future medicine" (p. 240). For example, given the fact documented by Kater that most doctors under Hitler were involved in one way or another with the party or the regime and that both before and during the war enrollments in medical schools were way up, one necessarily wonders about the postwar effects on doctors, patients, and German society as a whole. One also thinks in this regard of the continuities in the history of doctors and socialized medicine from 1871 (and 1933) to the present detailed by Florian Tennstedt and Stephan Leibfried. Therefore, because this book, unlike Lifton's *The Nazi Doctors* (1986), raises the issue of the grays of the profession as a whole as well as the blacks (and some few whites) of the extremes, there is some summation but more stimulus in Kater's observation that among doctors "the vast majority carried on as they had before and would again" (p. 6).

GEOFFREY COCKS
Albion College

ANDREAS LIXL-PURCELL, editor. *Women of Exile: German-Jewish Autobiographies since 1933*. (Contributions in Women's Studies, number 91.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1988. Pp. x, 231. \$35.00.

The extraordinary history of refugees from Nazi Germany has been overshadowed by the uniquely horrifying accounts by victims who did not escape. Compared with death in Auschwitz or Treblinka, life in Palestine, Shanghai, or Havana pales. Against the background of narratives from the Resistance, the travails of escapees seem quotidian. And yet, by conventional standards, the refugees' experiences were harrowing indeed. Andreas Lixl-Purcell excerpted twenty-six memoirs from three major archives and a few printed sources in order to, in his words, "commemorate the silent ruptures of history" (p. 5).

Although Lixl-Purcell does not discuss the basis for his choices, the resulting anthology suggests that his goal was to give English-speaking readers an idea of the staggering diversity of Jewish women's responses to Nazism. The authors' experiences spanned five continents. In the 1930s, a few were teenagers, whereas

others were mothers of grown children. Some expressed an abiding faith in religion; others relied with reckless courage on their own almost superstitious faith. A few were famous (such as Marta Feuchtwanger, Toni Sender, and Hilde Domin), but most saw themselves as ordinary citizens, thrust brutally into a tide of events beyond their control. Although 1933 in the title implies that the Nazi takeover instantly transformed Jews' lives, these accounts suggest quite the opposite conclusion. A few Jews felt immediate persecution as victims of terror against the Left or of strictures against particular professions. But most of these authors made the agonizing decision to leave in the late 1930s. Given their attachment to Germany and the inhospitality of a world caught in the throes of a depression and endemic anti-Semitism, their hesitation is understandable.

Whatever the circumstances, exile constituted a traumatic break with the past: "The whole structure of our life has crashed down with a bang" (p. 126); "in part our husbands had died from the shock" (p. 92); "this tenth of November (1938) was the most horrible day of my life" (p. 82); "My World Fell to Pieces" (p. 22). Nevertheless, to a few of these autobiographers, leaving Germany seemed almost like ordinary emigration marked by concerns about purchasing a home in Switzerland, learning Hebrew, finding employment, transporting money out of Germany in 1933, or storing the family heirlooms safely. These benign memories cast into bold relief the autobiographies marked by illness, anguish at leaving family and friends, disorientation in new surroundings, and fear of denunciation. Watching impotently as sadistic guards brutalized fellow prisoners, cowering in tiny attics during police searches, traveling with forged papers, trusting criminals for protection, and saying final goodbyes to loved ones—these experiences marked the lives of ordinary women wrenched from their bourgeois security. Despite terrible hardship, the women remember fleeting moments of happiness and express their gratitude to the courageous few who aided their escape.

Out of this collection no unity emerges. And therein lies the chief contribution of the volume. These authors vividly describe the blind choices that by pure chance enabled them to escape death. Women exiles experienced both helplessness and new-found autonomy. The chronic sense of urgency mandated split-second decision making. Yet utter chaos implanted a deep skepticism about all received wisdom. For example, these women, who prided themselves on their honesty, learned to deceive, and they taught their children the art of selective lying. And yet, against a Nazi regime that inverted morality, victims kept their integrity intact. Several memoirs pay tribute to individuals who themselves risked death by protecting those more vulnerable, even as they worried that the people they aided might well be Gestapo spies.

The narratives of persecution, flight, clandestine communities, betrayal, and dauntless courage leave the

reader eager for more detail than these brief selections can supply.

CLAUDIA KOONZ
Duke University

REINHARD SCHIFFERS. *Zwischen Bürgerfreiheit und Staatschutz: Wiederherstellung und Neufassung des politischen Strafrechts in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1949–1951*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, number 88.) Düsseldorf: Droste. 1989. Pp. 390. DM 78.

When the Federal Republic of Germany was founded, it lacked the legal instruments to defend itself against treason and subversion. In 1945, the victors suspended sections in the German criminal code dealing with treason, because the Hitler government had rewritten them to give a veneer of legality to the swift unconstitutional repression of its opponents. The gap in the criminal code was bridged temporarily in the Basic Law of 1949. In general terms, it outlawed the use or threat of force to alter the constitutional order or territorial status of the state. In order to equip the republic with the legal means to defend itself against internal enemies (*wehrhafte Demokratie*), detailed provisions against treason and subversion had to be reintroduced in the criminal code. These efforts are the subject of Reinhard Schiffers's study. The Bonn government took up the revision of the criminal code in 1950, when the Social Democratic party (SPD) opposition brought in a bill against enemies of democracy, who were then thought to be on the Right. This SPD initiative drew on legislation debated earlier in the state of Hesse.

The government's legal experts in Bonn dominated the drafting process in which the legislative committees of both chambers and the states, the parties, high court justices, professors of law, and the association of German jurists all took part. Schiffers offers a comprehensive, lucid account of the intricate legal issues addressed by this host of highly qualified experts. By frequent cross references and skillful summaries, he keeps the central issues and the progress of the discussion before the reader.

The revised criminal code specified traditional threats such as high treason (*Hochverrat*, or coup d'état) and treason (*Landesverrat*, or betrayal of state secrets). But, because it was widely believed that an excess of liberalism had opened the Weimar Republic to gradual subversion from within, the code also introduced a new category, that is, crimes against the constitutional order (*Staatsgefährdung* and *Verfassungsverrat*). These concepts addressed the threat of long-term subversion, or "cold revolution," from home-grown rightists or communists with backing from abroad.

In defining high treason and treason, the experts elaborated on past practice. Treason (passing state secrets), however, became a concern to the occupying powers, who demanded to be informed of most anything they wished to know about German affairs. Out

of concern that their German sources might dry up, the Americans insisted that the Allied High Commission issue a decree exempting German informants from prosecution under the new criminal code. This needless high-handed intervention advertised the subordinate standing of the Federal Republic. The new crime of *Staatsgefährdung*, or endangering the state's constitutional order, rounded out the Federal Republic's self-defense. Here the problem was to distinguish legitimate dissent from subversive intent when there was no overt use of force. The SPD was particularly watchful that this new crime was defined precisely, so that a government could not stifle loyal opposition or restrict political liberties. After 1951, the courts used the new provisions of the criminal code most often to curtail communist activity. This preventive application drew strong criticism. Subsequent revisions made the code less of a political instrument of the cold war.

Schiffers demonstrates easy familiarity with a wealth of sources, ranging from federal and state archives, cabinet papers, parliamentary records, and personal papers to specialized legal and historical writing. His elegant study, the first based on such a comprehensive use of archives, does not stint on technical detail. He addresses jurists as much as historians interested in the legal and political history of the modern German attempt to define the right of a pluralistic democracy to active self-defense.

ERICH J. HAHN
University of Western Ontario

ANTON KAES. *From Hitler to Heimat: The Return of History as Film*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1989. Pp. xiii, 273. \$25.00.

The title of Anton Kaes's book, a fine analysis of West German political film making during the last two decades, alludes to Siegfried Kracauer's famous *From Caligari to Hitler*, which tried to prove a German propensity toward fascism through a close analysis of themes and villains in the films of the Weimar Republic. Like Kracauer, Kaes sees a nation reflected in its films but also film's influence on the nation.

Through a close examination of five major films—Hans-Jürgen Syberberg's *Hitler, A Film from Germany*, Rainer Werner Fassbinder's *Marriage of Maria Braun*, Alexander Kluge's *Patriot*, Helma Sanders-Brahms's *Germany, Pale Mother*, and Edgar Reitz's *Heimat*—Kaes demonstrates not only why these films work as cinematic art but also how they echo the ideas and issues that have dominated West German intellectual and political life for the past forty-five years: how should Germany come to terms with a shameful past? how can the past be forgotten? and how should it be remembered? The recent furor over Helmut Kohl's reluctance to guarantee Poland's western border underscored the continuing significance of these questions for Germany and for the world.

Kaes's analyses of text are insightful. His consider-

ation of Syberberg's mammoth film on Hitler clarifies the sources of its cinematic evocativeness as well as its aesthetic and sociopolitical context. Kaes's chapter on Reitz's *Heimat* illuminates not only the film's restatement of latently fascist "homeland" traditions but also its ultimate subversion of those traditions. Kaes evokes the sentimental power of *Heimat* and, as a serial television film viewed by 25 million West Germans, its alarming potential as a historical sanitizer.

A brief history of German film since World War II provides an introductory context for the five individual chapters of the book. Kaes's thoughtful introduction skillfully lays out the influence of the little-seen collective film *Germany in Autumn* (1978), a microcosm of the political and aesthetic themes found in later, less hermetic, and better known films. Kaes makes the complex social issues of *Germany in Autumn* accessible to a non-German reader or viewer. Less predictably, Kaes also describes the reception in West Germany in 1979 of *Holocaust* (viewed by one out of two German adults) and the impact of this American television film on the continuing debate over questions of national guilt and the proper function of mass media. Kaes's work excels in elucidating the interplay of politics, history, film, and memory. He understands the power of films to evoke the anxieties of a nation.

One caution for the reader: Kaes intentionally limits the scope of his study, and this inevitably misrepresents the range of recent West German films. Kaes mentions only briefly, if at all, significant film makers who strive to work with more universal themes. The gay activist films of Rosa von Praunheim; the neomystical visions of Werner Herzog; Wim Wenders's stories of human motion and emotion; the sweetly optimistic tales of Percy Adlon—all look beyond narrowly German social issues.

Kaes's work succeeds precisely because it so thoroughly examines a limited, undeniably significant subject. But remember there is another, international, and most human West German cinema. Encourage your own optimism; check it out!

JAMES FRANKLIN
Case Western Reserve University

DAVID B. RUDERMAN. *Kabbalah, Magic, and Science: The Cultural Universe of a Sixteenth-Century Jewish Physician*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1988. Pp. viii, 232. \$30.00.

Premodern Jewish culture in Europe was, at one and the same time, intimately related to and radically separated from the intellectual development of European society as a whole. Especially from the sixteenth century, Jews could not but be aware of the ideas, assumptions, and scientific achievements of their ever more secular environment. On the other hand, Jews also had a sophisticated culture of their own, with its own language, history, and referential contexts. The confrontation between these two cultures could be-

come a stimulus to creativity or a cause of self-destruction; these two poles define the extremities and much of the interest of modern Jewish history.

As in his first book on Abraham Farissol, David B. Ruderman here explores the life and works of a previously little studied Italian Jew and places them in the context of Jewish and general intellectual history of the late Renaissance. Ruderman sees Abraham Yagel (1544–c. 1623) as a kabbalist, a magus, a doctor, and, above all, "a masterful architect of an integrated view of reality that fused his religious identity with his medical-magical and scientific aspirations" (p. 162). In this integrated system, all authoritative sources—Jewish and non-Jewish, philosophical and magical, scientific and kabbalistic—were "bundled" together so that each could be used to interpret and expand the other (p. 145). Within this syncretistic intellectual universe, Yagel sought always to affirm the superiority of Jewish knowledge and tradition. And, within Jewish tradition, the supreme science was that of kabbalah, understood largely as theosophical speculation and expressed often in philosophical terminology. This divinely revealed science ultimately provided the keys to unlocking the secrets of both lower and upper worlds.

Ruderman has performed a valuable service for Renaissance scholarship in providing the first systematic treatment of Yagel's thought. Each chapter of the monograph elucidates an area of Yagel's interest (medicine, zoological research, astronomy) or a specific problem with which he dealt (metempsychosis, or the place of magic in Judaism). In the dusty manuscripts that Yagel left us, Ruderman has discovered a well-read "country doctor" quite familiar with major intellectual currents in surrounding society and eager to make these fit into the contours of contemporary Jewish thought.

Historians dealing with Italian Jewry during the Renaissance have traditionally emphasized mutual openness and influence in an atmosphere of relative tolerance and great cultural creativity. This approach drew on significant strains in both Renaissance historiography and modern Jewish apologetics: Italy's culture was idealized as a source for our own, and its welcome to the Jews was therefore seen as a model for today. This approach has remained dominant in recent years despite the significant demur of Robert Bonfil, and there have been increasingly sophisticated presentations of Jewish social and economic integration (Michele Luzzati and Ariel Toaff), the influence of Jewish mystical and magical thought (Moshe Idel), and so on. Ruderman's study of Yagel should be seen in this context as an enthusiastic and eloquent attempt to extend the traditional approach into the realm of science and to see Jews as active participants in a living cultural dialogue.

One can, however, use Ruderman's own data to argue the opposite case. Yagel was, after all, typical of many sons of Italian Jewish bankers who, in response to a changing business climate in the later sixteenth century, either failed as moneylenders or abandoned

the enterprise in favor of intellectual pursuits: Yehiel Nissim da Pisa polemicized elegantly against preoccupation with secular philosophy and against abuses in the internal Jewish credit market; Leone Modena turned to the rabbinate; and Yagel turned to medicine. This generation retreated intellectually as well as economically: with the obvious exceptions of such areas as Hebrew and kabbalah, Jews became the consumers of secular culture rather than its providers, the students of the gentiles rather than their teachers. Translation was into Hebrew rather than from it. Small-town doctors like Yagel could do little more than try to stay abreast and defend their own tradition by appeals to authority, by awkward compromises, and, when all else failed, by simply ignoring the latest discoveries. Rather than an active participant in a continuing cultural dialogue, Yagel seems one in a long line of medieval Jewish scholars bent on defending the Jewish intellectual tradition against the appeal of an apparently superior culture. But the intellectual tide has passed him by. Yagel's major scientific works—two massive encyclopedias, an epistolary-cum-diary-cum-medical-case-book, and an autobiography—went unpublished and virtually unread to our own day. Jews who needed to know science studied it not in Hebrew but in the original, and the debate with secular culture was carried on by men such as Joseph Solomon Delmedigo, far more acute and far more critical than Yagel.

We eagerly await Ruderman's transition from dealing with what is usually considered "a curious footnote" (p. 163) with "ultimately little influence on either Jewish or Christian intellectual life" (p. 4) to his larger planned work "on the meeting of Jewish thought and early modern science" (p. 3).

BERNARD DOV COOPERMAN
University of Maryland,
College Park

MARY D. GARRARD. *Artemisia Gentileschi: The Image of the Female Hero in Italian Baroque Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1989. Pp. xxv, 607. \$49.50.

Artemisia Gentileschi (1593–1652) was the most widely acclaimed and professionally successful Italian woman painter of the seventeenth century. For forty years, after training by her father Orazio, she exercised her traditionally male craft throughout Italy and at the English court. Gentileschi's celebrity was tinged with a sensationalism beyond her apparently anomalous union of gender and artistic talent. She was hailed as a beauty in her own right, and she specialized in naturalistic female nudes, exploiting the unlimited access to women models denied to her masculine counterparts. Contributing to this notoriety was her rape at the age of eighteen by the painter Agostino Tassi, resulting in an excruciating public trial and the ordeal of judicial torture. In the years that followed, she produced (among other works) some of the most compelling

images of female heroism and female victimization in baroque art.

Mary D. Garrard's project is ambitious and timely. Notwithstanding the current interest in baroque art, Gentileschi is one of a surprising number of major painters still without a monograph or even a rudimentary *catalogue raisonné*. As a historical figure, she has long borne a heightened significance for feminist writers and scholars, achieving as she did both artistic distinction and economic independence against daunting odds. Her life and art can surely reveal much when measured against social, cultural, and aesthetic norms.

The author's fundamental premise is that "women's art is inescapably, if unconsciously, different from men's, because the sexes have been socialized to different experiences of the world." She evades writing a *catalogue raisonné* of this painter's notoriously elusive work "because I have been more concerned with defining the expressive character than in pursuing the connoisseurship of Artemisia's painting. . . . But it is worth noting that in identifying Artemisia's pronounced female perspective, we are given another dimension of the artist's 'hand,' another tool for connoisseurship judgments" (p. 5).

The first chapter, "Artemisia Gentileschi and Her Time: Life and Art," describes the painter's long career in Rome, Florence, Naples, and England, flushing out her scantily documented life with often highly speculative biographical deductions from her work and its historical context. The second chapter, "Historical Feminism and Female Iconography," successfully traces an old tradition of feminist and antifeminist polemic linked to an evolving imagery of admirable or diabolical "strong women." The third through sixth chapters, subtitled "Artemisia's Heroic Women," present interpretive case studies of some of the painter's most distinctive themes: "Susanna," "Lucretia and Cleopatra," "Judith," and "The Allegory of Painting." Two valuable appendixes offer the first English translations (undertaken by Efreem Calingaert) of twenty-eight Gentileschi letters and much of the testimony from her rape trial.

The author finds her chief evidence in the works of art. In the last four chapters, "the core of the study" (p. 10), Garrard proposes a dozen pictures of female heroes as expressing Gentileschi's message at its most authentic and subversive, her meaning coopted relatively little by the demands of male patrons. She seeks to isolate this essentially female point of view by defining a mainstream of male-dominated representations of the same themes. In Renaissance and baroque art, as the author cogently demonstrates, acts of female heroism often suffered an extreme dislocation of meaning. The staunchly moral Susanna was thus transformed into a lubricious tease, the dutiful and patriotic Judith into a deceitful courtesan, and the virtuous and home-loving Lucretia into a perverse *débauchée*.

Unfortunately, Garrard's extended analyses of individual pictures can seem loosely subjective. "I devote a great deal of attention to the behavior of the characters

in the paintings . . . to the states of being created by artists in their pictorial theaters that imply not only the events that precede and follow, but also the entire historical and psychological ambient of their figure's immediate situation" (p. 8). In practice, the author relies on personal and intuitive psychological insights, making little reference to the literature or methods of clinical psychoanalysis. The reader is thus hard put to confirm or deny her findings.

Although the book is largely free of explicit ideological jargon, its arguments are often circular and burdened with special pleading. The author piles up circumstantial evidence, hoping to demonstrate Gentileschi's crucial influence on Rembrandt and Velázquez. She struggles to unearth unnecessarily recondite meaning in Gentileschi's art and to elucidate "the consummate sophistication of her pictorial strategies" (p. 275). The resulting iconographic discourses are baffling although ingenious in their search for "associational attributes and shifting secondary identities" (p. 325).

The ultimate test of this or any work of historical interpretation is that of sheer plausibility. Although it is dangerous to rule on Garrard's broader premises because our understanding of the reception of art in baroque Europe is still highly imprecise, it is not encouraging when she over-reads the implications of standard iconography (p. 48), fails to recognize normal Renaissance typographical practice (p. 48), and insists on wringing intense meaning from the blandishments of conventional literature (pp. 172–73).

As Garrard acknowledges in her dedication, this adventurously conceived and laboriously studied monograph is also a deeply felt homage with a conspicuously personal point of view. "This book is dedicated to its subject Artemisia Gentileschi, artist *prima inter pares*, with admiration, gratitude and affection." Her subject could have been better served if she had tempered her commitment with more scholarly discretion.

EDWARD L. GOLDBERG
Brooklyn, New York

DAVID I. KERTZER and DENNIS P. HOGAN. *Family, Political Economy, and Demographic Change: The Transformation of Life in Casalecchio, Italy, 1861–1921*. (Life Course Studies.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1989. Pp. xvii, 270. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$19.50.

This book will be of interest to historians studying interactions among economic, social, and demographic change in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century European industrialization. It focuses on Casalecchio, an industrializing suburb of Bologna, in the years from 1861 to 1921. David I. Kertzer and Dennis P. Hogan make use of a large quantified data set drawn from censuses, population registers (*anagrafe*), and registers of births, marriages, and deaths and adopt an interdisciplinary approach between social and demographic history. Casalecchio emerges as a significant community study, larger in scope than a village studied

through parish registers and more detailed in its assessment of complexities of community life than is possible for studies of fertility decline at an aggregate level of the type of Ansley J. Coale and his group. The book's chief areas of interest are family, migration, and decline of fertility. Casalecchio's family experience of large multiunit households caused by the underlying pattern of sharecropping provides a needed corrective from Italy for the view that the more nucleated households of England were typical of family life on the eve of industrialization. In 1871 more than a third of Casalecchio males lived in sharecropping households, 14 percent were agricultural wage laborers, and a third were nonagricultural wage laborers. In 1921 half of the males were nonagricultural waged workers, but 44 percent of the population still lived in complex family households. The subpopulation of agricultural wage laborers was most subject to change as industrialization advanced, more likely to shift to industrial work, and more likely to be affected by modernizing influences of the unified Italian state: expansion of primary education, improving health, beginnings of labor legislation, and the spread of socialism in the countryside. The assessment of migration through individual life-course analysis shows the sophistication of this book and reveals largely local migration but increasing interaction with the city of Bologna (its town walls began to be pulled down in 1902). Fertility decline is studied by group. The property-owning and mercantile elite were the first to limit births, and sharecroppers continued to have high fertility to maintain a large domestic work force, while the middle class and agricultural and industrial workers showed a continuing decline. The authors debate the relative causal importance of cultural factors and change in the family economy in this transition, and their evidence shows that the family economy was more important. The life of agricultural and industrial workers improved slightly with industrialization, service outside of parental households declined for young adolescents as it became more possible to work while living at home, and school attendance (made compulsory in 1904) helped to undermine the economic rationale for large families. There was an increase in prebridal pregnancies, but cultural factors such as literacy of parents and secularization—church marriages continued to receive precedence over civil ones—were less important. One might argue that, on the whole, cultural life in Casalecchio changed in this period, but this model study demonstrates the difficulty of imposing facile generalizations on the complex interaction of subgroups in this multifaceted community.

R. BURR LITCHFIELD
Brown University

DENIS MACK SMITH. *Italy and Its Monarchy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 402. \$29.95.

This is a book in the tradition of Christopher Seton-Watson's classic *Italy from Liberalism to Fascism* (1967). It

is a welcome addition to libraries in the English-speaking world and perhaps also to the private collections of scholars unable to read recent Italian works on this period. As always, Denis Mack Smith shows masterful command of political and diplomatic sources and balanced historical judgment.

Although useful as a substitute for the dated work by Seton-Watson, this book is disappointing. The title leads the reader to expect an analysis of modern Italian history through the lens of the Savoy monarchy, a significant and still-controversial institution. In the first couple of chapters, the approach seems to work, perhaps because many Italian and foreign contemporaries of the first king of Italy, Victor Emmanuel II, recorded their impressions of him. But, as the narrative moves on from political crisis to political crisis and from war to war, the author appears less at ease with his topic. The familiar documentary sources on which he has relied during his long and distinguished career yield little information about the role of Victor Emmanuel II's successors. It is not that Mack Smith lacks command of printed and archival sources or that he is unable to weave interesting biographical material into the more familiar political and diplomatic narrative. The problem seems to lie in the very structure of his project.

Not quite believing that "of all that human hearts endure [small is] that part which laws or kings can cause or cure," Mack Smith sets out to investigate the course of modern Italian history "at the summit." Obviously, Italy's four constitutional monarchs were at the summit in the years from 1861 to 1946. Not unreasonably, Mack Smith assumes that they had much to do with the successes and failures of Italian unity and Italian liberalism.

From beginning to end, however, the summit remains shrouded in fog. Mack Smith's solid history of liberal Italy does not enhance our understanding of the role of the monarchy in the development of modern Italy. Surprisingly, the book is also devoid of new insights and new information concerning the lives of the rulers themselves, their families, and their closest associates. The biographical material is sketchy, richer in clichés and stereotypes than in psychological insight.

The introduction makes clear that Mack Smith knew the perils of this particular historical journey. Scholars have long known that Italy's monarchs wrote very little, that their archives were systematically purged of sensitive material, that Victor Emmanuel III and Humbert II left Italy for exile with trunks full of documents. Standard political and diplomatic sources, such as those cited in Mack Smith's copious notes, generally are not rich in the anecdotes and details that are useful for the analysis of character and the understanding of personal relationships. In the Italian case, the sources, as Mack Smith knows well, are especially unrewarding in these matters.

In the end, we must settle for a useful, readable narrative that breaks no new ground. I hope that other historians, equipped with different scholarly tools and prepared to explore less conventional sources, will take

up the challenge that this volume does not quite meet.

CLARA M. LOVETT

George Mason University

ROBERT C. MEADE, JR. *Red Brigades: The Story of Italian Terrorism*. Foreword by RICHARD N. GARDNER. New York: St. Martin's. 1990. Pp. xxviii, 301. \$24.95.

SIDNEY TARROW. *Democracy and Disorder: Protest and Politics in Italy, 1965-1975*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. xvi, 400. \$59.00.

The violence and disorder that shook Italy from 1967 to the early 1980s is just beginning to be examined in detail by English-language writers. The two books under consideration are particularly interesting because they represent readings of the period by an attorney and a political scientist.

The legal aspect of the "years of lead" was a very important part of the Italian emergency, interesting not only in itself but also as a possible model for other Western democracies that may find themselves in similar situations. From this viewpoint, Robert Meade's book is particularly disappointing. The reaction of the legal system is discussed, but the author provides no special insight into the problem of how modern societies might protect themselves from the terrorist threat with minimal damage to civil rights.

The book is readable and contains much information on the day-to-day activities of leftist terrorists. A general reader with no knowledge of events of this period will pick up information, but the discussion of the political and social roots of terrorism is superficial and overly present-minded, with very poor grounding in the country's history. This lack is especially obvious with regard to the intellectual roots of terrorism. For example, the role of ex-Socialist New Left thinker Raniero Panzieri and his group is not mentioned.

Discussion of postwar politics in general and the Center-Left in particular rarely penetrates beneath the surface. Although the book cites the periodical press and the writings and pamphlets of terrorists, the author did not make use of primary materials on the all-important history of the Left (socialists and communists) during the post-World War II period. Even worse, the general works dealing with this particular topic are usually only tangentially concerned with the issue. Paolo Spriano's readily available multivolume work on the Communist party, for instance, is not mentioned. This lack of good primary sources and secondary works gives many of Meade's interpretations a commonplace, superficial character.

One example here might be Meade's treatment of the Aldo Moro kidnapping, which is certainly the dramatic culmination of the book. Meade carries the reader along but, perhaps to heighten the drama, constantly overrates or misinterprets Moro's politics and stature. In his account of Moro's role in the coming of the Center-Left, Meade suggests that Moro's progressivism and the mechanics used to bring the Social-

ists into the government (pp. 115–18), the “second phase,” were a harbinger of the “third phase,” bringing the Communists in during the 1970s. Not only could one quarrel with Meade’s unhistorical use of language—the “second phase” could only be read that way after the phrase “third phase” was invented—but Meade also misses the central points that Moro and the Christian Democrats aimed at coopting both leftist parties, were generally successful, and ironically, thus helped set the stage for terrorism of the Left.

The same might be said of Meade’s conclusions on Moro’s death. The book suggests that, had Moro lived, he might have been able to smooth over the differences between Communists and Christian Democrats, thus preventing the collapse of the national solidarity government and successfully bringing the “third phase” to a conclusion. Of course, no one can read the future, but it is unlikely that Moro alone would have accounted for the success or failure of the “operation.” Moro has enough stature in Italian history without unnecessarily inflating his image in order to arouse interest in a book; interpreting him with a detailed knowledge of his actions is preferable to rhetoric.

If Meade’s work is marred by unsubstantiated statements, the core of Sidney Tarrow’s book sticks very close to “the facts.” Tarrow gives us a fine example of what we might call “micro-political science.” His thesis is that the disorder so prevalent during the decade from 1965 to 1975 allowed for the venting of popular dissatisfaction with the political system and adjustments that actually strengthened Italian democracy.

In contrast to Meade, Tarrow carefully describes his method, parameters, and aims. In brief, the author has used the *Corriere della Sera* as a newspaper of record and has carefully culled all of the events that brought about disruption, confrontation, or violence. He then proceeds to analyze them, extracting a number of propositions. For example, Tarrow dismisses deprivation as a primary motivating force for disorder. Cycles of protest, he argues, are just as likely to occur in times of prosperity as in those of crisis. Then what causes them? According to Tarrow, crisis occurs when “social conflict is transparent and political opportunities are expanding” (pp. 48–49). In democracies, these conditions are fulfilled especially during periods of transition and major change. The author then goes on to a discussion of Italian conditions that fit his model.

Through use of this method, Tarrow comes to a series of conclusions about the Italian context that historians would be well advised to consider. For example, he argues that the “Italian ‘68” began in 1967, before the “French May”; moreover, although the disruption peaked in 1968, it continued until 1975 and affected all strata of Italian society. Some of this dissatisfaction spawned leftist terrorism, but only a very small part of the disaffection had that result. Most people engaged in various types of disruptive behavior not for ideological reasons but in order to get more, to use one of Tarrow’s categories, or for other aims that could be considered legitimate.

The book is also organized in a clear manner with chapters on various actors in Italian society during the period (for example, the workers, the students, the church); the chapters also sport conclusions.

From the micro-viewpoint, then, Tarrow’s book is well conceived, solid, and useful. When it comes to his general conclusions, however, historians will find much to quarrel about. For example, his thesis seems reasonable enough, but one is led to the question of comparing the period under discussion with the Biennio Rosso of 1919–21. Before one declares that subject beyond the scope of the book, we might legitimately ask why in one case disorder and disruption led to a more stable democracy, while in the other case it produced the end of democracy. No doubt there is a fine line, but where is it?

This kind of issue affects the book’s thesis. For example, in comparing the political efficacy of the young Italian republic with that of the United States and Britain in the early years of those nations, the author makes the incredible statement that Italy before 1945 “had enjoyed true parliamentary government for only three years before Fascism snuffed it out” (p. 345). This statement either suggests ignorance of a historiographical debate that has agitated several generations of historians or, worse, illustrates an inability to deal with the issue raised above.

There are other serious problems of this kind. In setting the tone for his book, Tarrow has not done his historical homework (a statement confirmed by a glance at his bibliography). Tarrow blames both the Christian Democrats and the Socialists for the Center-Left’s “failure.” According to him, the Christian Democrats wished to coopt part of the Left, whereas the Socialists were “more concerned with readying themselves for a future role in government than with understanding the future of Italian capitalism” (p. 53). These views unfairly absolve the Communists, who were primarily interested in sabotaging the experiment for their own narrow political aims. To cite just one example, the Communist-controlled union, the Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro, refused even to consult with the Socialist budget and planning minister Giovanni Pieraccini on reforms and frequently resorted to the strike for political reasons and not primarily to improve social conditions. Furthermore, to argue that the Socialists were more concerned with entering the government than with social issues ignores the party’s primary reasons for proposing the Center-Left, the agonizing debates over this issue, the roles of Riccardo Lombardi, Antonio Giolitti, and Pietro Nenni, and the thinking of John Kennedy’s advisor Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

In brief, it would be useful for historians to become familiar with Tarrow’s narrower conclusions, but his wider ones seem frequently off the mark and should be used with caution.

SPENCER M. DI SCALA
University of Massachusetts,
Boston

LAWRENCE SONDHAUS. *The Habsburg Empire and the Sea: Austrian Naval Policy, 1797–1866*. West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press. 1989. Pp. xvi, 326. \$24.50.

Historians talk a great deal about filling gaps in the record of one subject or another, and this carefully researched and well-written work by Lawrence Sondhaus does exactly that. Until now there has been no study of the early years of the Austrian navy. Sondhaus carries the navy's story from its origins to the Battle of Lissa in 1866 when the Austrians, under the redoubtable vice admiral Wilhelm von Tegetthoff, defeated the fledgling navy of the Kingdom of Italy.

The Austrian navy was a neglected child of the Habsburg monarchy for practically all of its existence. Although a navy had been discussed during the reigns of Charles VI and Maria Theresa, it did not come into being until the Austrian annexation of Venice and its fleet. Even then the navy amounted to little until it was improved and expanded by Napoleon after he took it from the Austrians in 1805 and 1809. In 1814 that fleet fell back to Austria, and it became the foundation of the modern Austrian navy.

Even then, however, most Habsburg ministers saw no need for a navy in the post-Napoleonic period. As Clemens von Metternich noted, the seas were a British preserve, and, if Austria entered any struggle on Britain's side, British warships would protect Austrian interests. Likewise, if Austria entered a struggle against Britain, no Austrian ship would dare venture into the water. So why have a fleet at all? Metternich even tried to sell it after the Napoleonic wars but could find no buyer. The revolutions of the early 1820s convinced Metternich that there could be international incidents of importance to Austria in which the British were on neither side or in which warships could be useful. Hence, he endorsed an increase in funding for the navy, and it was during his tenure that the fleet first saw action and joined with British ships in raiding Muhammad Ali's forces along the Lebanese coast in 1840.

From then until the Battle of Lissa, the navy's fortunes went up and down. An attempted mutiny led by two sons of the third-ranking admiral in 1844, followed by the fleet's own doubtful loyalty in 1848, prompted Vienna to begin a policy of de-Italianization in the navy that continued throughout the rest of the monarchy's existence. At the same time the slow introduction of steam-powered vessels caused the fleet to fall behind technologically, even behind the ships of the Austrian Lloyd Company in Trieste, whose shipping the navy was supposed to protect. In the 1850s, however, the navy became the darling of Ferdinand Maximilian, the younger brother of Emperor Francis Joseph, who was able to convince his brother's ministers to expand it in order to contend with the new Italian fleet that made its appearance in the Adriatic after 1860. These ships defeated the Italians at Lissa two years after Ferdinand Maximilian resigned as head of the navy and a year before he was executed as Emperor Maximilian of Mexico. Sondhaus rightly points out that Ferdinand

Maximilian's failure in Mexico has blotted out his success as a naval builder and reformer.

Essentially this history is a traditional one: the navy seen from the top down. It includes little on the social aspects of the fleet such as relationships between officers and men, desertion, crime and punishment, or the interaction of sailors and society. There is also no discussion of the public perception of the fleet or of how the Austrian navy was viewed among the other great powers. There are some statistics on the national composition of the navy but only a few on how the nationalities got along with one another, especially after 1844 when Vienna deliberately set out to reduce the proportion of Italians.

The author, editor, and layout artists are to be commended, for this handsome book is clear and has the appendixes and other helpful devices that a reader appreciates. It lacks only pictures, and that is too bad because a reader likes to see the ships and the portraits of the people who sailed them.

KARL A. ROIDER, JR.
Louisiana State University

ADAM WANDRUSZKA and PETER URBANITSCH, editors. *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*. Volume 5, *Die bewaffnete Macht*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. 1987. Pp. xi, 864. DM 170.

The reader discovers the timeless quality of history in plowing through the eight-hundred-odd pages of volume 5 of this series. Dedicated to the armed forces of Austria-Hungary between 1848 and 1913–14, the book's overall orientation reveals the usual traits for a *Handbuch* and a great deal of empathy with the subject matter. Chapters such as "Austria's Heroic Age at Sea," which culminates in a description of the naval battle at Lissa on July 20, 1866 ("probably the most famous [naval battle] in the century between Trafalgar and Tsushima" [p. 697]), or reprints of maps on recruitment cantons from the late nineteenth century are indicative of the volume as a whole. We have here a rare case of unadulterated general staff history, taken over wholesale from the nineteenth century. Insofar as we can detect a civil tradition in this volume at all, it is reflected by the heavy emphasis that Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch place on bureaucratic organization and administrative matters. The particularity of Austria-Hungary is celebrated with reference to the multinational (imperial) quality of the officer corps. If we infer from the latter the existence of a "national character" or, in any case, of a *genius loci*, this approach reveals once again a venerable tradition of an age that some may still admire.

Such novelistic license notwithstanding, the massive volume will be useful most of all for those scholars who are interested in the organizational schema and operational tasks of the *Kaiserliche und königliche (k.u.k.)* army (pp. 142–633) as detailed by Walter Wagner. Tibor Papp provides us with a coherent and nicely

compiled chronicle of the Honvéd. Lothar Hölzl presents us with a loving account of the (re)building of the imperial navy that points us to the overlooked naval arms race between the monarchy and Italy in the Mediterranean. In fact, this particular chapter is so encompassing that it can only be faulted for not presenting the reader with a picture of the naval ministry at the Donaukanal, one of the more charming administrative buildings of Vienna. Lest we gain a wrong image of the volume, it provides us mostly with a detailed chronicle of the various institutional compartments of the imperial armies. Even the casual reader will recognize in the administrative detail some common features of all European military institutions. The army is presented as a highly structured, institutionally organized, and male society all its own. It gained its own apparatus that reached from the center to the very bottom of society and to the very margins of the empire, replacing a formerly territorial and de-centered schema of organization in the 1860s. The (re)constitution of the army as a single, cohesive, and encompassing institution amid such heterogeneity of empire evokes amazement about the powers of bureaucracy. The end result of such organizational zeal may not have been rational or efficient, but it was surely systematic.

This said, it takes a military spleen to enter the world of the various branches of the armed forces, particularly if we choose to follow the flow of administrative changes during a half-century. Altogether, these changes point to a systematization of unit formation in the context of an increasingly functional division of labor and an overall trend toward specialization within the armed forces. The reader will find a brief account of recruitment and armament, although both are unfortunately weak and lack the precision of research that one can admire elsewhere in the volume. One also finds chapters on military courts and on military education and training (which are very well done) as well as on tactical doctrine, campaigns, and mobilizations before and after 1866, although the most important mobilization, in 1914, is left out. Since World War I is not covered, we find among campaigns the year-long, arduous operation against the counties of Catarró and Ragusa that resisted the introduction of universal military service in 1868. There is also an account of the military takeover of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the ensuing guerilla war that provides glimpses into a forgotten area of military action in Europe. These rediscovered accounts should eventually be integrated into more comprehensive studies on national liberation struggles in Europe. Of course, there are other parts of the book, such as the description of the accounting system and of the *Beschäl- und Remontierungswesen* that are only there because they had existed in the first place.

Such chapters reinforce a sense of utter completeness and closure. I cannot help but gain the impression that the authors think that this history is truly past and

that they like it for that very fact. I tend to think of Austro-Hungarian history and particularly of the history of its armed forces as less closed. Then again, I would not even have considered it feasible that this kind of general staff chronicle could still be written today, but I was wrong.

Sadly, the authors neglect one very important dimension of Austro-Hungarian military history, which is of considerable comparative and contemporary interest, in the main body of the text, and the authoritative introductory account by Johann Christoph Allmayer-Beck does not entirely redress this lacuna. Allmayer-Beck raises the issue of the armed forces not as a military institution but as a peculiar social body. Although the military historian should be careful not to talk prematurely about a profession of arms in this particular case, the elements of cohesion of the officer corps as social body are, nonetheless, worthy of more serious exploration. This is all the more so since Allmayer-Beck provides us with some of the highlights of the extraordinarily heterogeneous imperial officer corps, exemplified by both the variety of ethnic and national backgrounds and the diversity of social origins of officer recruits. Allmayer-Beck stresses the remarkable cohesion of the corps and uses this theme to indicate some of the peculiarities of the imperial army. Its formative feature consisted in its increasing segregation from civil society on the one hand and the simultaneous "lowering" of the social origins of its officer candidates on the other. In recruiting officers from the lower strata of society, the empire anticipated the rest of Europe by about forty to sixty years and, indeed, foreshadowed a trend particularly in the various East Central European armies that some military sociologists later analyzed as a particularly "socialist" trait. In Austria-Hungary, however, this trend was not, as commonly argued for the more contemporary armies, a manifestation of the specialization and functionalization of the officers' role. Instead, it was the product of a quite extraordinary neglect of the armed forces. The imperial army possessed an exalted position because of its closeness to the emperor, but this proximity to the symbolic center of the empire did not guarantee funds.

The imperial armed forces thus became representatives of the Austro-Hungarian empire in more than one sense. Not only was it an empire with limited interests in mobilizing human and material resources, but it possessed an even less developed sense that the resources, which were mobilized, should be used for the military. This story is remarkable in view of general European development during the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, all the more so because it had nothing to do with a lack of administrative capabilities as this volume amply testifies.

MICHAEL GEYER
University of Chicago

WILLIAM O. MCCAGG, JR. *A History of Habsburg Jews, 1670–1918*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 289. \$27.50.

In 1972 William O. McCagg, Jr., published his first study dealing with Jews living under Habsburg rule, *Jewish Nobles and Geniuses in Modern Hungary*. In this present volume, he extends his coverage to all Jews living in all Habsburg-ruled lands that were part of what became, after 1867, the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Although the bibliography lists only titles in German, Hungarian, and Czech, the footnotes indicate an even broader linguistic coverage of a great variety of primary sources and secondary works. The topic around which the entire book is built is the attempt to answer the following question: to what extent did the Habsburg authorities make it possible for Jews to modernize and assimilate, and to what extent did Jews take advantage of the chances that were available to them?

The time span covered takes the reader from the late seventeenth century, when Jews had to get special permission to reside in major cities such as Vienna or Prague, to the years in the nineteenth century during which the Jews became members and, in some cases, leaders of the emerging urban middle classes, and finally to the last decades of the Habsburg monarchy in which modern, political anti-Semitism made its appearance. By this time “national” identification of Jews, even those who were traditional or orthodox in their religious practices, was with other ethnic groups among which they lived, making the Jewish response to the hostility they faced during the last half-century prior to 1918 painful, difficult, and unsuccessful. Jews were a mobile segment of the population under Habsburg rule. The major direction in which they moved was from the north and east to the south and west, from Galicia and the Czech lands to Austria and Hungary. Although Prague had the largest number of Jews of any major city in the seventeenth century, by the outbreak of World War I it was Budapest that Karl Lueger and his followers repeatedly called “Judapest.” Habsburg Jews had entered occupations that had been previously closed to them by the time the Habsburg state fell apart. They had better schools, were financially stronger, and had produced leading intellectuals for every national group of the empire. They had, indeed, become modernized and, to a considerable extent, assimilated. The price that they paid for this change in their lives and social position was “national self-demolition.”

The treatment of Jews in this volume does not follow the usual manner scholars use in working with the history of a group of people. McCagg takes the chronological road and moves from city to city or region to region and focuses on those lands and provinces that at a given period appeared to him to be the most central in the development of their Jewish communities. Furthermore, he concentrates on the leading families and professions of the urban population in each of the chapters devoted to different time periods and loca-

tions. The latter approach is understandable; poor, dispersed rural Jews did not leave memoirs or other documents with which the historian can work. The first mentioned limitation is the volume's only weakness. The reader may ask what happened in other major population centers, while that of a given region occupies the author's attention.

Easily readable print, careful proofreading, a good index, and a detailed bibliography add to the volume's value. In spite of the criticism voiced above and the feeling that much of the Jewish story in the Habsburg monarchy still remains untold, the present volume is strongly recommended to those interested in either Jewish or Habsburg history.

PETER F. SUGAR

University of Washington

STEVEN BELLER. *Vienna and the Jews, 1867–1938: A Cultural History*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. x, 271. \$34.50.

In his very suggestive and provocative book, Steven Beller raises several important questions about the role of the Jews in modern culture. Beller takes issue with Carl Schorske, whose *Fin-de-siècle Vienna* (1980) ignored the Jewish dimension to Viennese culture, and with Peter Gay, who overtly denied that Jewishness had any impact on Jews who participated in modern culture. Instead, Beller argues that Vienna at the turn of the century became a center of modern culture because of the Jews, that assimilated Jews seeking to flee their Jewish origins in a profoundly anti-Semitic environment created Viennese modern culture, a culture concerned with the moral stance of the individual. Thus, Beller argues, Viennese modern culture was Jewish—Jewish because nearly all of its practitioners were Jews and Jewish because it reflected concerns that derived from Jewish tradition.

Beller grounds his argument both in the sociological position of the Jews in Austrian society and in the nature of Jewish tradition. After demonstrating the incredible participation of Jews in Viennese culture (using criteria for Jewishness that even the Nazis avoided), Beller explains that this participation resulted from the fact that Jews formed the majority of the liberal, educated middle class from which the cultural elite derived. On the surface, this is an excellent and appealing argument. Unfortunately, Beller grossly exaggerates the role of the Jews in this class. In the first place, he has defined it too narrowly, restricting it to the capitalists and the free professionals, arbitrarily eliminating that section of the middle class that was not “liberal” and thus guaranteeing himself a larger Jewish base. Even within this narrower definition, Beller exaggerates the Jewish role. Many professionals may have been Jewish, but Jews—numbering only one hundred seventy-five thousand in 1910—could not have dominated the middle class.

More important, in a tour de force of circular

reasoning, Beller has used the *Gymnasium* registration records to "prove" that Jews formed two-thirds of the educated liberal bourgeoisie in the city. Noting that 65 percent of the Jewish students had fathers in commerce or in the professions, Beller then asserts that that distribution must mean that Jews formed the same percentage of the entire educated bourgeoisie. It is true that Jews provided 30 percent of all *Gymnasium* students in Vienna, but that statistic only proves that Jews formed 30 percent of educated Viennese. In a city in which Jews formed 8 percent of the population, and most Jews were uneducated and poor, it was simply not numerically possible for Jews to form almost the entire educated middle class.

Beller reveals a profound misunderstanding of Jewish tradition in the section of his book in which he argues for Jewish influence on Viennese culture. When he argues that Jews participated in culture because they transferred traditional Jewish respect for learning to the secular realm, he is standing on firm (if unoriginal) ground. When, however, he argues that Jews brought to Viennese culture a concern for ethical individualism that derived from Jewish tradition, he is simply wrong. Certainly Judaism contains ethics, but so, too, does Christianity. More important, traditional Judaism is not individualistic, certainly not in the Enlightenment sense of that word. Judaism is concerned with the law and with following God's commandments. Indeed, Enlightenment spokesmen criticized Judaism, fearing that subservience to ritual and law would cripple the moral individual. I fear that Beller has mistaken nineteenth-century liberal Jewish polemics for Jewish reality. He is a victim of his sources, the memoirs of assimilated Jewish intellectuals, generally unacquainted with Jewish tradition.

In addition to more minor errors, two other unrelated problems must be noted. Beller has made the traditional mistake of confusing the cultural elite with all Jews. Most of the Jews of Vienna had no desire to abandon Jewish identity in the manner of a Karl Kraus or an Otto Weininger. Most Jews sought integration in Austro-German society while they continued to participate in Jewish culture. In addition, Beller has not adequately explained why non-Jews participated in Viennese culture.

Despite these serious problems, Beller's book makes an important contribution to the world of scholarship. He reminds us that Viennese culture was concerned not just with feelings and the psyche but also with the moral individual. And he does well to raise the question of the role of the Jews in modern culture once again. Even if his explanation is flawed, the question still remains an important one.

MARSHA ROZENBLIT
University of Maryland,
College Park

MICHAEL P. STEINBERG. *The Meaning of the Salzburg Festival: Austria as Theater and Ideology, 1890-1938*.

Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1990. Pp. xvii, 253. \$24.95.

Michael P. Steinberg's study is a subtle and ambitious book; Steinberg defines his task as something more than "theater history" or even "ideologically informed institutional history" (p. 76). True, the empirical focus of the work is the inception of the idea for a music festival at Salzburg in the decades before World War I and the realization of this idea in the years after 1922. Yet, as Steinberg convincingly demonstrates, for its founders and supporters, the Salzburg idea implied far more than a music festival. According to its chief architects, Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Max Reinhardt, the festival had the mission to reconstitute "a transcendental Austrian cultural heritage which would help bridge the gulf that separated the empire from the small republic" (p. ix). Ultimately, what was at stake at Salzburg was nothing less than "the invention of a national culture, the invention of a state of mind" (p. 76).

Not surprisingly, Bayreuth remained an ever-present point of comparison. Like its nineteenth-century German predecessor, Salzburg's aesthetic ideology had essentially conservative political implications. It, too, was based on a passionate critique of liberal culture and the search for an all-embracing aesthetic totality that could heal the breaches of modernity as well as the trauma of World War I. In this, Steinberg concedes, there exists an "intellectual—and in many cases political—continuity between the Salzburg ideology and Austrian Nazism" (p. 78). Far more interesting, however, are the subtle differences and internal paradoxes that differentiated this particular vision from more conventional versions of right-wing nationalism. For Steinberg, it is the survival and adaptation of the theatrical, totalizing culture of the Catholic baroque that constituted the unique, distinguishing feature of the Salzburg ideology in the interwar years.

By reaffirming the importance of baroque theatricality for early twentieth-century Austrian culture, Steinberg provides a new angle of vision on a number of interrelated, though usually distinct, fields of historical inquiry. He argues, for instance, that Austrian national identity, as it developed in its more conservative version at Salzburg, should be seen as a complex mixture of German nationalism and cosmopolitanism whose roots reach back to the German Enlightenment of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Unlike its English and French counterparts, this German Enlightenment supplied Austrians with the distinct notion of a "national cosmopolitanism," which saw German nationalism as the privileged bearer of cosmopolitan culture rather than its antagonist.

Steinberg's treatment of Austrian modernism, which has received so much attention in the wake of Carl Schorske's work, is equally fresh and provocative. He argues that it was the culture of the Catholic baroque rather than liberal rationalism that constituted the major antagonist for the critical modernists of the turn

of the century and that, in a sense, determined the specific development of Austrian modernism. For obvious reasons, Steinberg devotes particular attention to the case of Hofmannsthal, whose famous language and aesthetic crisis of 1900 found resolution not in a revolution of poetic forms, as was the case with many European modernists, but in a conservative, allegorical theater aesthetics, devoted to the task of cultural reconstruction and collective redemption.

Unavoidable in discussion of Viennese modernism is the tangled question of Jewish participation, and Steinberg's handling of this issue, too, is subtle and sensitive. He convincingly argues that the common identification of Viennese modernism with Jewish culture is based on a fallacy that is shared by both anti-Semitic and philo-Semitic historiography. In his words, "Both create historical reconstructions that reduce cultural production and variation to uniformity and problems of meaning to formulations of deterministic causation" (p. 174). Steinberg's efforts to suggest an alternative approach to the nature of the Jewish contribution to Viennese culture are brilliantly suggestive and sensitive to the particularities of individual biography and cultural disciplines in ways that most work in the field has not been.

Steinberg's consistent refusal to accept conceptual commonplaces is the great strength of this book but also its inevitable weakness. Precisely because he touches so many vital issues in the field, because he probes so many different levels of analysis, his work remains a little fragmentary, tentative, lacking in full development. And yet this tentative, pluralistic approach is probably ideally suited to the task of exploring a historical phenomenon as paradoxical as the Salzburg Festival, which was "both cosmopolitan and nationalistic, of the enlightenment and against it, both baroque and, ultimately, *völkisch*, both Catholic and Jewish" (p. 224).

MARY GLUCK
Brown University

ADAM BUNNELL. *Before Infallibility: Liberal Catholicism in Biedermeier Vienna*. Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 1990. Pp. 239. \$37.50.

JACQUES LE RIDER. *Modernité viennoise et crises de l'identité*. (Perspectives critiques.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1990. Pp. 432. 195 fr.

Jacques Le Rider's remarkable book on Vienna in 1900 reflects fifteen years of interpreting the Viennese thinker Otto Weininger (1880–1903), whose book *Sex and Character* (1903) probed issues of gender, race, and creativity with alarming outspokenness. Building on his earlier *Le Cas Otto Weininger* (1982), Le Rider here enlarges the analytical categories of Weininger and several dozen others to reinterpret turn-of-the-century Vienna from the ground up. After examining theories of "postmodernity" (pp. 35–38), Le Rider construes major Austrian thinkers as precursors of the postmod-

ern crisis. Le Rider argues that Viennese thinkers articulated at least three different crises of identity: they unseated the concept of personhood; they redistributed gender roles; and they reassessed supposed differences between Jews and non-Jews.

Relying on the work of Carl Schorske, Stephen Toulmin, Allan Janik, and myself, Le Rider elaborates the first full-scale postmodern analysis of Viennese thought. Part 1 explicates reformulations of the notion of identity. Citing Paul Ricoeur, Le Rider defines the "crisis of identity" as a breakdown in an individual's sense of personal continuity. Once the classical notion of identity began to totter, Ernst Mach replaced the ego with a void, while Freud substituted for a fixed identity the process of "identification" with images of parents and authority figures.

Among his innumerable reinterpretations, each more illuminating than the next, Le Rider reconsiders the figure of Narcissus in a light more favorable than that of Freud (or Christopher Lasch). Using insights from Lou Andreas-Salomé about how genius may incline toward narcissism, he construes Hans Makart and Gustav Klimt as devotees of "dionysian" narcissism. Part 2 explores crises of masculine and feminine identity, evoking a range of thinkers from the sexual renegade Otto Gross through Weininger and Freud to interpreters of archaic Greek images such as Hugo von Hofmannsthal and, less expectedly, Rosa Mayreder. Parts 3 and 4 examine Jewish identity through highly original comparisons of Freud and Theodor Herzl, Karl Kraus and Richard Wagner, Richard Beer-Hofmann and Arthur Schnitzler. No one except perhaps Steven Beller has written more subtly on ambiguities of Jewish identity around 1900 than Le Rider, who shares Weininger's gift for creative outspokenness.

Pervading Le Rider's inquiry is a question: What have *fin-de-siècle* Viennese thinkers to say to the 1990s? He answers that Austrian virtuosity in disentangling and recombining identities, whether of gender, race, or heritage, can help us play the postmodern game of recombining opposites in productive ways. Authors such as Beer-Hofmann and Stefan Zweig, who up to now have seemed relatively tame, emerge from Le Rider's pages as champions of new identities along with Freud and Hermann Broch, Kraus and Robert Musil. The boldness of Viennese thought here receives its finest accolade.

In a field that has exploded in the past twenty years, how does this book advance beyond its predecessors? Moving effortlessly between primary and secondary texts, Le Rider beams new light on nearly every figure of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna. This book digests the richest range of reading of any work on the subject. Quotations from at least one hundred different authors—some obligatory, others applied to Austria for the first time—enliven the analysis. Among non-Austrian thinkers, Immanuel Kant, Wagner, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Theodor Adorno play a preponderant role. The scholarly virtuosity of a *normalien* weaves Austrian, German, French, English, and American

scholarship into a seamless web. The result is analysis at once original and thorough, provocative and reliable, up-to-date and grounded in tradition. If you read only one book about Vienna in 1900, read this one.

It seems unfair to couple a masterpiece of erudition and imagination like Le Rider's book with Adam Bunnell's straightforward biography of two priests in pre-1866 Vienna. Bunnell's protagonists, Anton Günther (1783–1863) and Johann Emanuel Veith (1787–1876), came from Bohemia to pursue careers in Vienna, where their charismatic colleague Klemens Maria Hofbauer redirected their careers. Bunnell traces their many vicissitudes, which culminated in the condemnation in 1857 of all of Günther's works by the Congregation of the Index. An enigmatic figure, renowned for a vivacious literary style that ill accords with theological gravity, Günther emerges from this narrative almost as elusive as ever, while Veith, a convert from Judaism, prompts questions about conversion that go unanswered.

This account of ecclesiastical careers contains too little social, intellectual, and political history. The introduction and conclusion evoke not Vienna but the campaign of the Roman Curia against the Enlightenment. Although the Catholic apologetics are not offensive, they provide no substitute for historical analysis. Bunnell could have learned a lot from two other historians of Viennese Catholicism, neither of whom he mentions. John Boyer's *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna* (1981) examines the next two generations of Catholic leaders in vastly greater complexity. If Bunnell did not wish to stress social history, as Boyer does, he could have adapted the eclectic approach of Friedrich Heer, who dramatized the dilemmas of Viennese Catholicism from a panoramic knowledge of European cultural history. Compared to Boyer and Heer, Bunnell seems timid.

For historians who wonder why Günther and Veith deserve study, it would have helped to connect them to successors such as Alois Liechtenstein, Karl von Vogelsang, and Karl Lueger. The narrative just peters out without broaching how its protagonists anticipated the Christian Social movement that followed after 1870. No amount of archival research or empathetic biography can compensate for failure to explore some of the questions that preoccupy historians today.

Le Rider, by way of contrast, excels at every variety of argumentation. His accuracy of scholarship and acuity of insight transfigure an entire generation of research on Viennese culture. Le Rider's magnum opus is now the work of choice for anyone interested in turn-of-the-century Viennese thought. It should be translated into English immediately.

WILLIAM M. JOHNSTON
University of Massachusetts,
Amherst

DIETER STIEFEL. *Die Grosse Krise in einem kleinen Land: Österreichische Finanz- und Wirtschaftspolitik 1920–1938.*

(Studien zu Politik und Verwaltung, number 26.) Vienna: Böhlau. 1988. Pp. ix, 428. S 686. DM 98.

The nature and impact of economic policy during the Great Depression is an enduring issue in the historiography of the interwar world economy. More recently, economists have plowed the field, largely to test the relative power of Keynesian as opposed to monetarist theories of macroeconomic behavior. As a contribution to the literature, Dieter Stiefel's economic history of Austria in the 1930s is doubly important. First, it brings to light a lesser-known but fascinating case, and, second, it puts the narrow economic issues into their larger historical and political setting.

Most accounts of Austria's economy between the wars stress two main features: its stagnation, especially the high unemployment in the 1930s, and its deteriorating market position as the "rump" state of the dismembered Habsburg empire. Stiefel agrees that Austria was one of the worst performers among European states. By 1937, the level of GNP not only was below its predepression peak but also was 10 percent below the level attained in the same territory before World War I. In contrast, he challenges the standard view that the political collapse of the empire marked a major break in Austria's economic links to the former Habsburg territories. For Stiefel, the economic disintegration of the Habsburg empire came in the Great Depression, not with its dismemberment in 1919. Yet even in 1937 the successor states remained Austria's main outlet for trade and investment and were substantially more important than Germany on the eve of *Anschluss*.

These same accounts of interwar Austria tend to judge government policy harshly. Successive governments allegedly made bad policy because of two widely held misconceptions: the First Republic was not economically viable (*lebensfähig*), and government intervention was not needed to bring the economy out of depression. With the advantage of hindsight, it is easy to punch holes in these views, but Stiefel resists the temptation to center his analysis on the ignorance of policy makers. Instead, he focuses on the constellation of domestic and international forces that shaped and constrained policy formation.

Stiefel agrees that many observers in postwar Austria romanticized the Habsburg empire as an economic union. Yet he correctly points out that doubts about Austria's viability reflected a fundamental reality. Austria could not have thrived as a small state in isolation and needed to develop strong international economic links to replace its former structure of trade and investment within the empire. Awareness of this reality fueled a drive for liberal trade and investment policies in the 1920s that ran counter to protectionist tendencies elsewhere in Europe. It also stimulated Austrian initiatives to form either a customs union with Germany or to join a Danubian federation among the successor states. In the Great Depression, both domestic opposition, especially from the agrarians, and for-

eign opposition stifled these initiatives. All states turned protectionist, France opposed an Austro-German customs union, and the successor states endeavored to be "los vom Wien" in both an economic and a political sense.

In the depression period itself, macroeconomic policy surely mattered. The combination of decreased government spending, increased taxes, and an overvalued schilling must have deepened and lengthened the downturn in Austria. Yet even after Stiefel's exhaustive work we still have no formal test of how much it mattered. The test is important because, in contrast to the United States where the nominal money supply dropped by one-third in the depression, in Austria it barely fell between 1929 and 1934. Stiefel's main concern, however, is the politics, not the economics, of government policy. His work shows that the League of Nations was not the only advocate of deflationary policies in Austria. For quite different reasons, interest groups from Left to Right supported fiscal orthodoxy and a strong schilling. In the end, the cause may lie in Austrian doubts about *Lebensfähigkeit*. The desire to maintain Vienna's role as a major financial and commercial center in East Central Europe meant sacrificing domestic goals for international political objectives. Austria's international orientation was, of course, inconsistent with the spirit of interwar Europe. The price for its approach was an unusually severe depression that accelerated the drift toward authoritarian government and helped pave the way for Adolf Hitler.

By having excellent command of the secondary literature and by carefully mining the archival material, Stiefel has significantly advanced our understanding of the interwar European economy.

DAVID F. GOOD
University of Minnesota,
Minneapolis

IVÁN ZOLTÁN DÉNES. *Közüggyé emelt kiváltságörzés: A Magyar konzervatívok szerepe és értékvilága az 1840-es években* [Protection of Privilege Raised to a Public Affair: The Role and Value System of Hungarian Conservatives during the 1840s]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1989. Pp. 194. 98 Ft.

The definition of a conservative in Ambrose Bierce's *Devil's Dictionary* is a statesman who is captivated by existing evils, in contrast to the liberal, who wishes to replace them with others. This aphorism, in a deliberate exaggeration, reflects both conservative resignation to human frailties and the palpable limits of liberal optimism. In the context of British and American politics, such bipolarity has existed within a constitutional framework that allows for peaceful fluctuations and cyclical changes between the two trends. In that setting and for the most part, mainstream centrism has produced mutual acceptance, a recognition that prompted Walter Bagehot to counsel his fellow British

conservatives in 1856 to turn away from fear and embrace reflectiveness instead.

The date is important because conservatives in the mid-nineteenth century were still keenly aware of what to them were frightful memories of the great French revolution. These memories accentuated fears on the Continent, in the Habsburg empire for instance, where absolutistic paternalism kept the lid on strivings for freedom and national aspirations.

Hungary was something of a special case during the first half of the nineteenth century: while its constitutional independence was enshrined by law, the country was also an integral part of the Habsburg empire. Hungarian conservatives bore the brunt of this anomaly as they tried to keep their steadfast loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty and their claim on Hungarian patriotism in balance. Such ambiguity has cost them dearly as their role has been minimized in Hungarian historiography, certainly in comparison to the much larger literature on the liberals.

Iván Zoltán Dénes's thoughtful analysis rectifies this imbalance in a book whose very title mirrors a twisted aspect of Hungarian conservative politics. Although the author's sympathy for the liberals is never in doubt, his scrutiny of the various conservative strains and personalities is admirably objective. Conservative arguments ran along the familiar lines of the need for preserving order, privilege, traditions, and dynastic loyalty. Nevertheless, the clash between them and the liberals was sharper than in contemporary Britain for instance, because the nation's existence was perceived by both sides to be at risk should their opponents prevail. The liberals viewed the conservatives as lackeys of Vienna who lost sight of critical national interests, and the conservatives believed that the liberals' recklessness would lead to mob rule, the destruction of the nobility, and, therefore, to the "nation's death" (p. 114). Indeed, Dénes shows that most conservative leaders sided with the Austrians and Russians during the War of Independence in 1848–49 and were eager to avenge themselves on their liberal enemies.

Nonetheless, conservative thinking and political behavior were complex, and Dénes gives a good account of both. As their own preferred label "deliberate progressives" shows, most conservatives were in favor of certain reforms, such as manumission compensation, revision of the penal code, improvement of the county administrations, and so forth. These reforms were in line with efforts initiated in Vienna, and, as Dénes conclusively demonstrates, they fell short of the liberal demands for dismantling serfdom and for a universal and proportionate sharing in taxation.

The conservatives' aristocratic aloofness, partially accounting for their insensitivity to social concerns, combined with their close identification with supranational dynastic interests made them relatively tolerant toward the linguistic and cultural aspirations of the ethnic minorities. On all accounts therefore, the liberal and conservative leadership—it was impossible for Dénes to find data on the conservative rank and

file—remained far apart and never more so than during the War of Independence. Dénes, tracing their subsequent fate, describes how, during the strict centralistic regime that followed Hungarian defeat in that war, the conservatives fought for the restoration of the country's pre-1848 autonomy. Eventually, reconciling themselves to the population's overwhelming desire for the reinstatement of the 1848 constitution, they became part of the post-1867 dualistic regime characterized by the fusion of liberal and conservative interests.

This trajectory shows that the Hungarian conservatives did play a national role; after all, even before 1848, their activities, dependent as they were on Vienna, presupposed a relatively free constitutional framework. To say then, as Dénes does in his conclusion (p. 184), that their conservatism was fully related to the empire and only appeared to be Hungarian is an exaggeration. And their relationship to Count Stephen Széchenyi, who was so tragically caught between the two camps, merits more attention. Apart from these minor objections, Dénes's book stands out as a model of historical analysis and scholarship.

GABOR VERMES
Rutgers University,
Newark

ANITA KRYSZYNA SHELTON. *The Democratic Idea in Polish History and Historiography: Franciszek Bujak (1875–1953)*. (East European Monographs, number 267.) Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1989. Pp. ix, 315. \$37.50.

This monograph focuses on the prominent role of history and historians in Poland, but it is primarily a study about Franciszek Bujak and the political, social, and academic environment in which he functioned, especially in the period between the two world wars. Overall, it concentrates on Bujak's contributions to the Polish democratic tradition.

Consisting of seven chapters, Anita Krystyna Shelton's study is subdivided into two almost equal parts. Chapters 1–3 focus on broad developments in Polish historiography and on the persistent political activism of prominent Polish historians from 1772 to 1919. The author incorporates much information into these three chapters. Unfortunately, her opening chapter is carelessly written and edited, and numerous errors of fact prevail. For example, the most glaring errors regarding Joachim Lelewel include references to Leopold von Ranke's influence on him (p. 12) and to the challenge to Lelewel of the failure of the Polish rebellion of 1863–64 (p. 14). There is no evidence in the sources of Ranke's influence on Lelewel, and Lelewel died in 1861—two years prior to the rebellion. Such discrepancies (and I include but two examples) are embarrassing to writer and reader alike and could have been avoided.

The two chapters that follow are more carefully

documented and structured. The reader is informed about the status of the historical profession in the period of new developments and challenges as Poland approached and then experienced independence and reunification. Basically, these two chapters aptly justify Shelton's concentration on Bujak, the focal point of her study.

Chapters 4 through 7 are devoted to Bujak, a prominent historian of peasant background who served as a delegate to the Paris Peace Conference (1919) and briefly as minister of agriculture (1920) for newly independent Poland. Committed to educational reform and "democratic agrarianism," he also created the ephemeral "Bujak School" of social and economic history at the University of Lwów in interwar Poland. These are the most substantive chapters of Shelton's study. Competently documented, they thoughtfully and clearly demonstrate the complex connection that existed between Bujak's commitment to democratic reform (agricultural and educational) and his emphasis on the importance and relevance of social and economic, rather than political, history.

A brief epilogue informs the reader that Bujak survived World War II, but his school of economic and social history did not. It also suggests that his last five isolated years until his death in 1953 paralleled the establishment and growth (under state auspices) of Marxist historiography, which he opposed. More details would have been welcome here. An even shorter conclusion affirms Bujak's democratic legacy. Shelton affectionately concludes that the seed Bujak sowed was a love of truth, a respect for the individual, and his willingness to work hard to protect both.

Indeed, the tradition of democratic ideas in Polish historiography is formidable, and serious literature on the subject continues to grow, despite the fact that the fruits of this democratic tradition have been minimal and continue to await institutionalization. The monograph further attests to this.

Shelton's extensive bibliography reflects primarily Polish- and English-language sources, both archival and published. The three-page index is inadequate, and careless typographical errors abound throughout the text.

JOAN S. SKURNOWICZ
Loras College

NEAGU DJUVARA. *Le Pays Roumain entre Orient et Occident: Les Principautés danubiennes au début du XIX^e siècle*. Paris: Publications Orientalistes de France; distributed by Distique, Paris. 1989. Pp. 389. 210 fr.

The wars and invasions that spread misery in the Danubian Principalities at the end of the eighteenth century also had, according to Neagu Djuvara, progressive results. They led to Westernization and the awakening of the Romanian national movement. In this genial survey of foreign observers' testimonies, Djuvara seeks to illustrate how "between 1800 and

1848 the Romanian lands went quickly from the middle ages to the modern age" (p. 14). The author uses the memoirs and documents of consuls, travelers, and soldiers interspersed with his own comments to sketch a broad, impressionistic canvas that depicts the transition.

After giving a quick overview of the Romanians under the Ottoman yoke, the author offers selections and observations dealing with Phanariote princes, Moldavian and Wallachian nobles, the church, city life, peasantry and rural economy, gypsies, the impact of some of the wars, and the national movement under the aegis of the national princes. This historical travelogue, which in some parts has the pace and catholicity of a Michelin guide, is a delight to read.

Djuvara, who has had a distinguished career as a soldier, diplomat, and intellectual, does not seek to replace or improve on the existing scholarship. His bibliography is adequate for what he chooses to do, which is to portray his native land's entry into the Western orbit. He rarely challenges or expands on the works of scholars that he cites, such as Vlad Georgescu.

What fascinates Djuvara are the rapid changes that came at the turn of the nineteenth century in Wallachia and Moldavia, which are the sole subjects of his study. The years between 1800 and 1848 are to him the time of transformation, with "the first signs of a capitalist economy appearing" (p. 14). Djuvara has a narrow, Paris-based interpretation of Westernization and its sources. He gives cursory credit to General Paul Kiselev and notes the irony that Russia, by adopting French as a language of international communication, found itself to be one of the main channels of French culture into the Romanian Principalities in the course of its successive occupations of the Principalities. Other sources of innovation such as Austria and Poland are barely mentioned.

Djuvara writes with an almost eighteenth-century detachment. He is comparatively gentle in his criticism of the excesses and depredations of the Phanariotes and the upper levels of the boyars. Although their lives may have been exploitative, the author notes that nonetheless participants in both groups introduced the study of French and read Montesquieu. He believes that, given the options available, the Phanariote government was the lesser of a number of substantial evils.

Djuvara's discussions of country life and the gypsies are the most interesting parts of the book. He has a wide-ranging curiosity that allows him to give the reader information about cattle and horse exports, women's fashions, transportation networks, libraries, diet, and burial habits. With an air of cold rationality, he cites accounts of the wretched life of the peasants in Romania and then states that, after all, peasants suffered everywhere in Europe (p. 224). An acquaintance with the works of David Mitrany might have helped him understand the truly monumental suffering of the peasants in the Principalities.

Djuvara is an impressionistic guide, dominated by Francophilia and a certain elitism. He gives the bizarre

details, the flashes of insight, and the absorbing anecdotes that will serve lecturers and researchers well as they develop their carefully honed hypotheses.

GEORGE F. JEWSBURY
Oklahoma State University

LOTHAR MAIER. *Rumänien auf dem Weg zur Unabhängigkeitserklärung, 1866–1877: Schein und Wirklichkeit liberaler Verfassung und staatlicher Souveränität.* (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 88.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1989. Pp. 514.

Lothar Maier provides a thoroughly documented and scholarly account of Romania's politics, economy, and—to a somewhat more limited extent—diplomacy from the advent of Prince Carol of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen to the throne in 1866 to the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877. His objective is to study the material foundations and the internal organization or condition of the state in connection with diplomatic considerations. His theme is not "Romania's way to independence . . . but Romania on the way to the declaration of independence" in 1877 (p. 15). Maier has examined many archival sources, especially in Romania and Germany and to a lesser degree in Austria, France, and Great Britain. Archives and libraries in the Soviet Union were apparently unavailable to him. His exploration of published documentary materials and erudite secondary accounts is indeed remarkable but not complete. His essay on the accomplishments of his predecessors is insightful and reflects much research.

In an introductory chapter on the bases of his investigations, Maier briefly shows how Romanian national consciousness awakened as a result of the influence of the Phanariote Greek rule of the Romanian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia in the eighteenth century, the Russian protectorate over the Principalities in the first half of the nineteenth century, and the national programs of the Romanian revolutionaries in 1848. He also describes political groups and cities—with emphasis on the role of Western values and traditions—and the union of the Danubian Principalities under the native prince Alexandru Cuza in 1859.

Maier's second chapter is devoted to the Romanian peasantry, who constituted four-fifths of the population in Danubian Romania, from Cuza's agrarian reform of 1864 to the mid-1870s. He clearly spells out difficulties faced by the peasants and repressive measures taken against them by landholders and local bureaucrats. The author follows this with a highly detailed scrutiny of Romanian railroads, including their construction by foreign contractors as well as their political and diplomatic consequences for the Romanian regime before the Russo-Turkish War. Here Maier indicates the intervention by the German chancellor Otto von Bismarck on behalf of his personal banker Gerson Bleichröder, who had heavily invested

in the railroads and who demanded that the Romanian government purchase these lines.

The next chapter is devoted to Romania's deficit spending program and financial crises before the war. The last two chapters tell about Romania's political development from 1866 to 1877 from the viewpoints of foreign diplomats and Romanian statesmen. The stress is on the policies of the various parties—liberal and conservative—that led the state at one juncture or another along with matters addressed by the various cabinets. Maier concludes that Romania's declaration of war was a "flight forward" (p. 483) because foreign creditors recognized this situation, and the state thereby avoided the political disadvantages of bankruptcy.

Maier gives useful introductions and conclusions to each chapter. His chapters, however, do not fit well together. That is, he does not fully demonstrate how each of his topics led Romania to declare independence. He nonetheless contributes an illuminating account of Romania before 1877. Scholars will find much to learn in his pages, and for that we are grateful.

FREDERICK KELLOGG
University of Arizona

ROLAND J. HOFFMANN. *T. G. Masaryk und die tschechische Frage*. Volume 1, *Nationale Ideologie und politische Tätigkeit bis zum Scheitern des deutsch-tschechischen Ausgleichsversuchs vom Februar 1909*. (Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum, number 58.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1988. Pp. 290. DM 98.

Tomáš G. Masaryk, the greatest figure in modern Czech and Czechoslovak history, was for almost a half-century officially condemned in his native land as a bourgeois and antisocialist philosopher and politician. A new generation grew up knowing little of Masaryk's works or his political career. There was a revival of interest in Masaryk during 1968; a biography by Milan Machovec was published but immediately withdrawn. It is not surprising that since the democratic revolution in 1989 there has been a rebirth of respect for "the father of the nation."

The rediscovery of Masaryk began a decade before the overthrow of communism in Czechoslovakia, in conferences convened and books and articles published abroad about him and at home in *samizdat* journals, books, and a four-volume symposium. An early example of this reawakening is the major work by Roland J. Hoffmann. It is a product of painstaking research, using almost every article and speech of Masaryk as well as his major books, but it also presents an original interpretation of the work of Masaryk from 1882, the year of his appointment to the Czech university in Prague, to 1909. Although Hoffmann makes extensive references to the war and postwar years, he unfortunately omits Masaryk's prewar activities between 1909 and 1914. The book is marred somewhat by its linguis-

tic and substantive complexity and suffers severely from the lack of a subject index.

Hoffmann's work presents a coherent analysis based on what he regards as the inner logic of Masaryk's words and deeds and his bold attempt to elaborate a national and ideological program for the Czech nation. Although in many respects a foe and critic of nationalism, Masaryk, in Hoffmann's view, advocated an integral or enlightened nationalism. He was "a national Czech ideologist and politician" (p. 19), who gave his own interpretation of the meaning of Czech history. At the center of his thinking was the idea of humanity expressed in the Czech reformation in the fifteenth century and by the Bohemian Brethren and continued in the work of the enlighteners in the nineteenth century. The Czech question was therefore primarily a religious question. But it was also a social question and a question of democracy.

Hoffmann examines the many strands of this complex question—Masaryk's views on religion, anti-Semitism, education and scholarship, nationalism and nationality, Bohemian state right, the Czech-German question, democracy and theocracy, democracy and revolution, Austrian and Czech politics, and the Austro-Hungarian system. Several chapters are devoted to Masaryk's political career, as a Young Czech and as the leading figure of the People's and Progressive parties and an exponent of what he called "realism." Almost the only theme that is not given systematic treatment is the foreign policy of the monarchy, although this is regarded as a crucial element of Masaryk's thinking. In spite of his admiration of Masaryk, Hoffmann reveals the ambiguities and contradictions of his humanity program and of his approach to Bohemian state right, his intellectual isolation from the nation whose interests he was seeking to promote, and the failure of his efforts to win political support.

Although Masaryk was regarded as an Austrophile, he was a persistent critic of the evils and failings of the monarchy and pressed for radical reform. When he finally came to the conclusion that the system was incapable of reform, he adopted a hostile stance toward the monarchy and saw the only solution of the Czech question in complete political independence. The turning point, in Hoffmann's view, came in the spring of 1909 (pp. 447–48) and culminated in Masaryk's struggle for national liberation in World War I. Masaryk was thus "the archetype of a national champion and emancipator." In this sense he was "one of the great and exemplary figures of world politics," comparable to Mahatma Gandhi, Kwame Nkrumah, Ho Chi Minh, and others (pp. 449–50). In later years Masaryk became "a veritable symbol of the democratic leader, a defender and guardian of the world of democracy" (p. 13).

The only work that rivals Hoffmann's, although it deals with a more limited period, is Jan Opat's *Filozof a politik T. G. Masaryk, 1882–1893*, published first in *samizdat*, then abroad, and finally at home (1990). With a number of other studies that appeared in the 1980s,

these two books have built a firm foundation for the immense work that awaits Czech and Slovak scholars in reassessing this towering intellectual figure and seeking the relevance of his work for the present and the future. They also offer guidance to a newly liberated nation in its search for identity.

H. GORDON SKILLING
University of Toronto

DAVID MACKENZIE. *Apis: The Congenial Conspirator; The Life of Colonel Dragutin T. Dimitrijević*. (East European Monographs, number 265.) Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1989. Pp. xv, 401.

It is easy to imagine Colonel Dimitrijević smiling at this biography of him. David MacKenzie knows his Yugoslav history, and he has been over just about all of the available sources, most notably the papers that Apis left to his nephew, Milan Živanović. Yet much remains as mysterious as ever about the life of Serbia's head of army intelligence; like the good Black Hand organizer that he was, he observed the oath to take his secrets to the grave.

Thus, we have next to nothing on his youth and very little on the Sarajevo assassination. Just exactly what was his part in the event; how much of it was Apis and how much *Mlada Bosna*? Did he or did he not try to stop the assassins at the last moment? And perhaps most intriguing of all, did any thoughts of regret ever cross his mind? There are no answers here, and, in the absence of clear sources, the book perforce deals with theories and countertheories on these and other matters or with the general background against which Apis acted rather than with his life. Nor does a tendency on the part of the author to substitute judgment for fact—"the minions of the War Ministry" (p. 246), "the spider, Colonel Živković" (p. 238), also known as "the Yugoslav Rasputin" (p. 400)—help to fill the gaps.

Yet a picture of Apis does emerge, and, despite his biographer's obvious sympathy for him, it is less than flattering. His considerable qualities shine through as brightly as ever: charm, mastery at handling people, and patriotism. But they become overshadowed by his inability to stop plotting or trying to play the power behind the scenes. His two most fateful conspiracies either were inadequately thought through or based on a misreading of the facts. One was his involvement in the coup of May 1903 and the particularly messy murders of King Alexander and Queen Draga. Both were shot, then stripped and hacked with sabres, and finally thrown from the bedroom window into the garden below.

But it soon turned out that Apis really liked the Karadjordjević family no better than he had the Obrenovići and took to conspiring against them with equal gusto. "That man is indifferent to everything!" wrote an exasperated friend after the war of 1914 had thinned the plotters' ranks. "His friends and comrades

have died, but no matter, he seeks new people. All of us can die and sorrow will not overcome him. He will continue his work with new people and will not rest until he finds someone ready to struggle and intrigue" (p. 184).

The other key plot, Sarajevo, was based on a misreading of Austrian intentions that was doubly startling coming from a chief of intelligence. It was his belief that Franz Ferdinand's visit to Sarajevo was "heralding an invasion of Serbia and southward advance to Salonika." Hence, if the archduke were to be assassinated, "peace would be guaranteed indefinitely" (p. 125).

In the end, Apis's perpetual plotting had stimulated enough counterplots to bring about his downfall. The Salonika trial, which is well described here (for once the available documentation is plentiful), may have been no model of justice, and the charge that he had conspired to kill Prince Alexander remained unproven. Yet there was a degree of poetic justice involved. Prince Alexander had become convinced that his life was in danger from Apis and his "Black Hand" thugs and that "Apis was a paranoid criminal type too dangerous to be left at large" (pp. 216–17).

It is hard to blame Alexander for thinking that way. Throughout his life, it seemed, Apis had shown a consistent contempt for the normal political process with its give and take, just as he had refused to be accountable for his actions to anyone but himself and a few like-minded associates, none of whom possessed any more of a mandate for what they were doing than he did.

As contestable as the case brought against him at Salonika may have been, it still was more legitimate than that against either King Alexander Obrenović or Archduke Franz Ferdinand. Loose cannons, in the end, are as likely as not to roll overboard.

JOACHIM REMAK
University of California,
Santa Barbara

A. A. ZIMIN. *V kanun groznykh potriasanii: Predposylki pervoi krest'ianskoi voiny v Rossii* [On the Eve of Terrible Shocks: Preconditions of the First Peasant War in Russia]. Moscow: Mysl'. 1986. Pp. 332. 1 r. 90 k.

Before his death in 1980, Aleksandr A. Zimin published three volumes of a history of early modern Russia from 1505 to 1572. In 1982 his archive yielded a fourth extending the narrative back to 1480. And now the book under review covers the last years of Ivan IV (the Terrible) and ends with the extinction of the Daniilovich dynasty and the election of Boris Godunov as tsar in 1598. The editors say that the archive contains a sixth volume on the "feudal war" of the mid-fifteenth century. Despite the presence of clichés about feudal oppression, peasant wars, and class conflict that were obligatory in the discourse of his generation, Zimin writes traditional history, narrative in form and narrowly political in focus. Writing about

court politics, Zimin is in his element. He engages the sources in dense asides, assessing accounts of foreign observers or testimony about the death of Tsarevich Dmitrii that are spiced with caveats and criticism for other investigators. The result is a valuable study in collective biography both of kin and clientage alliances among the aristocrats and counselors who made up the Muscovite court and shaped its politics and of the development of the central organs of the Russian state.

Zimin has always contended that Russia was a "class representative monarchy" until the mid-sixteenth century, when Ivan IV's government degenerated into tyranny. In the present book he continues to regard as self-evident the doubtful propositions that aristocrats and lesser nobles were corporate bodies and that the coterie of nobles who governed with the tsar were an institutional entity, the Boyar Duma. His analysis of court politics, however, is nuanced and convincing. Against a background of defeat in Livonia and social-economic collapse, Zimin unsparingly depicts a court moved by the tyrant's erratic policies and the rivalry of established boyar families and newcomers such as the Godunovs, who came over from Ivan's *oprichnina* court (formally disbanded in 1572). Ivan alternated between bouts of depression and inaction, during which he asked Queen Elizabeth for refuge in England, and bizarre policies and sadistic murders to rid the court of imaginary traitors whom he blamed for Russia's ills. Such fears, Zimin concludes, caused him to abdicate as grand prince in 1573 in favor of the royal Tatar convert Simeon Bekbulatovich and explain the repeated marriages (five in twelve years) and divorces by which Ivan rid himself of in-laws supposedly plotting to do him in. Ivan naturally viewed his eldest son as a rival, and in 1581, in a rage, he struck and killed him, if the papal envoy Possevino is to be believed, as the son attempted to protect his pregnant wife.

This fortuitous act, Zimin shows, transformed Boris Godunov from a courtier of an appanage prince who would never rule into the father-in-law and mouthpiece of the heir apparent, the addlebrained and sickly Fedor. Henceforth Boris outmaneuvered the Shuiskii and other boyar families in order to dominate the court and finally to orchestrate his election as tsar by a "Council of the Land" when Fedor died in 1598. Zimin's Boris is an impressive statesman but also deceitful, ruthless, and lethal. Admitting the impossibility of knowing exactly how Tsarevich Dmitrii, Fedor's half-brother, died in exile in Uglich in 1591, Zimin demonstrates that, except for the attack by Dmitrii's family on Boris's officials after the boy's death, his fate resembled the scenarios of disgrace, exile, and then the quiet death that Boris arranged for other rivals. This was the same Boris who built forts on the Terek to cut Ottoman ties to the Volga and Nogai Tatars and in Siberia to consolidate Russian power; who rebuilt the Kremlin; whose diplomacy secured peace with Poland and Sweden; who used his fortune to alleviate famine; and who bolstered the class of military servicemen by, among other things, getting the state to regulate debt

slavery (but who did not initiate the "forbidden years" curtailing peasant movement, a practice that Zimin argues, contrary to most other historians, began in 1581–82).

DAVID B. MILLER
Roosevelt University

L. N. VDOVINA. *Krest'ianskaia obshchina i monastyr' v Tsentral'noi Rossii v pervoi polovine XVIII v* [The Peasant Commune and the Monastery in Central Russia in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta. 1988. Pp. 210. 95 k.

This monograph is essentially a study of the peasant commune's role in regulating land relations on the lands of two great monasteries, Iosifo-Volokolamskii and Pafnut'eva-Borovskii, up to the secularization of church lands in 1764. Historiographically, it fits within the framework of much Soviet research in the last fifteen years that has attempted to give a more nuanced and dynamic picture of the commune's development in the early modern period. What is distinctive here is both the source base (above all, 1108 peasant petitions addressed almost entirely to monastic authorities) and the meticulous, cautious analysis. L. N. Vdovina shows clearly the close interrelationship between the commune's waxing authority and its role as agent in ensuring fulfillment of dues to both state and landowner. This study also demonstrates how the territorial devolution from the commune-township to commune-village accompanied and abetted the increase in communal authority, especially in land distribution (household plot and field land), to achieve the "levelling" that aimed to ensure the performance of various dues. The author also substantially complements some recent work on customary peasant law (especially that of V. A. Aleksandrov) and monographic literature on the commune and rural economy in the early modern era (studies by N. A. Gorskaia, I. A. Bulygin, E. N. Baklanova and L. S. Prokof'eva provide the main frame of reference). For its dogged analysis of a valuable source base, this monograph demonstrates the very best in pre-*perestroika* scholarship in the Soviet Union.

This study also demonstrates some of its less laudable qualities. It narrowly defines its *problématique*; rarely is so rich a source—which has been the focus of much Soviet scholarship—exploited for all that it can reveal about peasant mentality and culture. Moreover, the analysis proceeds in an institutional vacuum, utterly inattentive to the development of ecclesiastical institutions. If one is to illuminate the interactive relationship of monasteries and their peasants, however, it is manifestly essential to know much more about the former, in particular, the changes in monastic status, finances, and leadership. Otherwise, monasteries are fated to remain the kind of inorganic constant so often imputed to "traditional" peasants. Broader economic dynamics—such as B. N. Mironov's thesis of an eighteenth-century "price revolution"—are not taken into account,

even if negatively, to illuminate monastic or peasant behavior. Furthermore, although the author salutes the need for a "regional analysis," she does not correlate the highly differentiated environment of particular holdings—splattered across the map from Tver' to Vladimir—with the analysis. It is also dangerous to generalize about the typicality of these estates because of the extraordinary size of aggregate holdings (doubtless a factor in the commune's autonomy, given the scale of management) and the small sampling involved (encompassing less than 2 percent of all church peasants by mid-century). Finally, as is so often the case, the author seems unaware of Western scholarship, referring only to one journal article and ignoring such works as M. Confino's *Domaines et seigneurs en Russie vers la fin du XVIII^e siècle* (1963).

Still, one must pay respects to such indefatigable, if myopic, scholarship, for it lays the ground for broader generalizations than made explicit here. Social theorists cannot fail to see the dynamics of downward institutionalization, the particularist complexity and indomitable force of customary peasant law, the devastating role of the levelling ethos (*uravnilovka*), the diverse strategies for land usage, and above all the expanding power of the village commune. Although the author's general conclusions about the commune do not deviate from the dominant view in Soviet historiography (which, like prerevolutionary *zapadniki* ["Westerners"], associates the rise of the commune with its function in ensuring the payment of taxes and feudal dues), this work graphically demonstrates how profoundly the commune regulated the lives and claimed the property of its members.

GREGORY L. FREEZE
Brandeis University

ELI LEDERHENDLER. *The Road to Modern Jewish Politics: Political Tradition and Political Reconstruction in the Jewish Community of Tsarist Russia*. (Studies in Jewish History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. ix, 240. \$34.50.

Jewish political activity in the modern period has been the subject of considerable scholarly interest. Researchers have studied the manner in which Jewish citizens in democratic societies have participated in the general political process as well as the nature of Jewish communal politics in the aftermath of the emancipation. Eli Lederhendler's monograph on the question of Jewish communal leadership in Polish and Russian lands from the middle of the eighteenth century to the last quarter of the nineteenth century is a welcome and important contribution to the literature on these subjects.

Lederhendler argues that the wide-ranging political changes taking place in Eastern Europe in the middle of the eighteenth century undermined the existing structures of Jewish political life in the area. Filling the vacuum were a variety of individuals from within the Jewish world who asserted themselves politically in the

name of the community and thereby claimed for themselves the mantle of Jewish leadership. Lederhendler identifies three different types of Jewish leaders emerging at this time: rabbis, businessmen, and intellectuals. He notes that these people were motivated mostly by personal factors, and these factors, in turn, led them to define contemporary Jewish interests in purely personal and subjective terms.

After describing the activities of several notable rabbinical and lay personalities, Lederhendler gives extensive treatment to the *maskilim*, the newly emergent cadre of Jewish intellectuals committed to a course of Jewish modernization. Instead of using the traditional methods of lobbying and interceding personally with the authorities, the *maskilim* presented themselves in a variety of public postures in order to emphasize their claim to represent a new style of leadership for the Jews of Russia. Such behavior included criticizing the community publicly through the Jewish and non-Jewish press, working for the government as censors of Hebrew and Yiddish publications, and even "informing," as Lederhendler calls it, the authorities of certain communal practices. Lederhendler describes the maturation of this group through the critical decades of the 1860s and 1870s as he analyzes their ever-increasing public role in Jewish life.

With this study, Lederhendler has not only traced, carefully and successfully, the evolution of Jewish political thinking and behavior in the premodern era but also shed light on the background of that sudden eruption of Jewish consciousness and political activity that burst forth in the aftermath of the pogroms of 1881. The strength of this presentation lies in the careful dissection of internal developments based on the author's close reading and understanding of communal records. Lederhendler has penetrated the world of traditional Jewish life, its discourse, and its modes of operation, and he has presented that world in a creative and intelligent manner. In fact, as a consequence of this study, we now have a clear understanding of the objectives and values at work in traditional Jewish communal interactions, and we can see the community as more than a passive respondent to stimuli emanating from the outside world.

If the strength of the study lies in the author's ability to present the dynamics of internal Jewish discussions, however, the work's principal weakness lies in the author's not paying sufficient attention to the larger context in which those developments were taking place. Thus, at a number of points, the discussions and interpretations offered here could have been developed and sharpened considerably by relating them to the broader social and political currents then existing in tsarist society. For instance, when Lederhendler tells us that the Jewish press was especially sycophantic in its presentation of the royal family and of the Russian government in the mid-1860s (pp. 129–30) and attributes this to internal Jewish developments, he overlooks completely the impact of the Polish rebellion of 1863 on the question of Jewish identification with the

regime and the assassination attempt on Tsar Alexander II in 1866 by the student D. Karakazov. In the wake of those events, it would have been foolhardy for any Russian-Jewish writer promoting the cause of Jewish accommodation and acculturation to be anything but patronizing when discussing the royal family. Likewise, the emergence of a Jewish intelligentsia with strong Jewish populist notions in the 1870s should be linked to similar developments in the general society. Clearly, the simultaneous surfacing of these movements was not purely coincidental. A mirror image in the Jewish world of events in the general society indicates the degree to which young Jews had become very much a part of the larger youth culture then emerging within the empire. Considering that the focus is on the impact of shifting structural forms, a discussion and analysis of this phenomenon is an important desideratum in a study devoted to the roots of modern Jewish politics in Eastern Europe. Although Lederhendler does not pursue these lines of inquiry, his work is important and effective. His study presents students of both the Jewish and the Russian experiences with a variety of new questions worth pursuing.

ALEXANDER ORBACH
University of Pittsburgh

ALEXANDER VUCINICH. *Darwin in Russian Thought*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1988. Pp. x, 468. \$45.00.

In the preface to his book, Alexander Vucinich promises accounts of "both the diversity and the unity of Russian responses to the Darwinian revolution" and of the "place of Darwinism in the growth of a modern rationalist tradition in imperial Russia" (p. ix). His special concern is to examine the role of scientific thinking in the formation of ideology. What Vucinich achieves is a thorough description of responses to Charles Darwin's theory in the scientific, philosophical, and theological communities and the radical intelligentsia.

The introduction to this volume presents several key issues in Darwin's theory that were influential in its Russian reception: the link between biology and history, the application of biological models in a broad variety of disciplines (sociology, theology, jurisprudence, philology, psychology, among others), and the transition from mechanistic thinking to quantum and relativity theories. Vucinich also mentions as a major issue the ways in which scientists, ideologues, and thinkers used Darwin's thought to enhance and develop their own ideological positions, and he stresses the importance of national patterns of reception. Enduring themes throughout the book are Russians' attraction to Darwin's historicism, their frequent resistance to the idea of struggle for survival, and the broader application of biological theory to social structures.

The first five chapters deal with the response to

Darwin from the 1860s to the 1890s, showing the emergence of a heated debate between positivists and materialists, such as K. Timiriazev, and more conservative idealist thinkers, such as N. Danilevskii and N. Strakhov. Vucinich starts with the conditions to Darwin's reception, noting particularly Darwin's Russian precursors, the scientists K. Von Baer, K. Rul'e, and A. Beketov. Vucinich gives a great deal of attention to delineating the position of natural science and the archetype of the naturalist in ideologies of the post-Crimean War era, particularly the radical nihilism of the 1860s, which powered the swift popularization of Darwin's first book, *On the Origin of Species*. He also discusses important effects of the official conservative response: the relatively active development of natural science in provincial universities, where such scientists as V. Kovalevskii and I. Mechnikov could find work, and the rise of an Orthodox theology partly in response to the Darwinist challenge, strengthened by the support of such secular thinkers as Danilevskii, V. Solov'ev, F. Dostoevskii, and N. Leskov, who were well versed in scientific argumentation. The further impact of these polemics on various social and educational institutions is documented, on the one hand, by efforts of Strakhov and V. Rozanov to defend an educational policy meant to reduce exposure to science in both *gimnazii* and university curricula and, on the other hand, by the popularizing work of Timiriazev that sketched Darwin the naturalist as a model scientist and human being and laid down "scientific objectivity as an ethical norm."

In the second half of his book, Vucinich traces the fate of Darwinism in the early twentieth century leading up to the October Revolution. Using popularizing essays and materials from various Darwin jubilees, he stresses the consolidation of a Russian Darwinian "orthodoxy" among natural scientists and the creation, particularly in the academic community of philosophers, of a firm anti-Darwinian stance based on neo-Kantianism. In these trends he finds an isolation of science from philosophy and an authoritarian streak in Russian scientific thinking, characteristic particularly of Timiriazev, that was detrimental to critical analysis and creative advances.

The final chapter gives an interesting picture of how Darwin's theory was assimilated in the various intellectual movements spawned by the nihilism of the 1860s. Here Vucinich singles out three main strands and their leaders: populism and N. Mikhailovskii and P. Lavrov, anarchism and P. Kropotkin, Marxism and G. Plekhanov and V. Lenin.

Although this volume contains an enormous amount of important material, its reach exceeds its grasp. More analysis, along the lines offered in the introduction, of how this giant of modern scientific thought was assimilated into and, indeed, influenced Russian cultural patterns would be welcome. In addition, speaking as a literary historian, I found singularly lacking a discussion of the role of the writers—from Gogol, who clearly provided subtexts, to the at times very amusing, even

grotesque, popularization of Darwin by Pisarev, to Turgenev, who created in Bazarov a Russian image of the naturalist, to Chekhov, whose naturalist propensities lay at the heart of both his world view and his literary style. All of these people played a central part of one kind or another in making Darwin's thought palpable to the lay reader and, thus, in formulating popular ideology. Moreover, a closer familiarity with the issues raised in current reception theory, such as the relative status of text and reader, the status of "truth" in scientific and literary texts, could have carried what is a very useful and learned study to a higher level of critical insight. Nonetheless, Vucinich's study fills a gap in Russian intellectual historiography and offers a firm foundation for further scholarship.

EDITH CLOWES
Purdue University

KENDALL E. BAILES. *Science and Russian Culture in an Age of Revolutions: V. I. Vernadsky and His Scientific School, 1863–1945*. Foreword by LOREN GRAHAM. (Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1990. Pp. xii, 238. \$29.50.

During the last three decades, Vladimir Ivanovich Vernadsky has been the subject of historical studies in his native land on a much larger scale than any other scientist. He has attracted more attention than other greats of Russian science such as M. V. Lomonosov, N. I. Lobachevsky, D. I. Mendeleev, and I. P. Pavlov.

Trained in geology, Vernadsky covered a wide spectrum of disciplines, ranging from crystallography and mineralogy to biogeochemistry and the philosophy of living nature. In crystallography he tried to fashion a structural approach; in mineralogy he made a bold effort to advance an elaborate evolutionary approach. His work on the paragenesis of minerals was one of his most lasting achievements. He combined empirical research, profound theoretical insights, and a deep sensitivity for both the structural unity and the historical dynamics of the "living substance," a generic name for the myriad of living forms and their components. His scientific reputation rests primarily on a massive effort to produce a grand synthesis of the multiple currents of scientific thought concerned with the biosphere. Since the time of Jean-Baptiste Lamarck, it has been customary to make the influence of the inorganic world on living nature a central topic of biological inquiry; Vernadsky, by contrast, made the influence of the living world on the physical environment the paramount topic of his research. In this field he accomplished much more in producing an effective synthesis of the existing material and in pointing out the lines of future research than in formulating new, or modifying old, laws of nature. Soviet scientists consider Vernadsky's study of the biosphere the theoretical foundation of ecology. They have produced a rich literature on the "noosphere," the term that Vernadsky used to desig-

nate the role of human knowledge and technical proficiency in geological development, in general, and in the evolution of the biosphere, in particular.

The attitude of Marxist scholars toward Vernadsky's more challenging theoretical ideas and general views on the dynamics of modern culture passed through two distinct phases. During the 1920s and 1930s, Vernadsky was a target of recurrent attacks and vicious ridicule. Marxist critics found enough suggestions in his scientific and philosophical thought to label him an apostle of "agnostic," "idealistic," "vitalistic," and "mystical" impurities. After his death in 1945, Marxist writers helped make the historical image of Vernadsky as both a great scientist and an embodiment of the moral principles that guide scientists in their dedication to and pursuit of scientific inquiry. Particularly after 1960, they placed strong emphasis on the proximity of his philosophical thought to dialectical materialism. As Bailes makes abundantly clear, Vernadsky was much closer to the general views of various neopositivist and neo-Kantian schools than to Marxist thought. The author does not deny, however, a pronounced element of materialism in the philosophical outlook of the eminent biogeologist. In comparison with Soviet interpretations, Bailes gives a much more realistic, objective, and complete assessment of Vernadsky's attitudes toward the modern currents in philosophical thought and their role in reflecting and stimulating scientific inquiry.

As the recent publication of his correspondence, uncompleted papers, and diaries shows clearly, Vernadsky directed two major criticisms at dialectical materialism. First, dialectical materialism was too deeply committed to the metaphysical features of Hegelian philosophy, steeped in idealism, to establish sound cooperative relations with science. Second, in the Soviet Union it occupied a monopolistic position that prevented its cross-fertilization with other philosophies. Philosophical thought, he noted, could prosper only in an atmosphere that encouraged diversity of opinions and continuous challenges to orthodox tendencies.

Newly published material has presented Vernadsky's valuable comments on Soviet politics, on the moral dilemmas of the Soviet scientific community, and on the interaction of science with philosophy, art, religion, and ethics. Most of this material gives added strength to the basic conclusions of Bailes's valuable and delightful study.

The content of the book reaches far beyond the life and professional work of an eminent scientist. It offers a penetrating analysis of social realities in twentieth-century Russia, which helped create an intellectual culture dominated by ideological extremes. Vernadsky sought a middle course between the mysticism and irrationalism of the old order and the excessive scientism of the Soviet system. The primary strength of this book is in portraying the remarkable depth and intellectual integrity of Vernadsky's search for a full spectrum of humanistic values connecting the fabric of society with the cultural realm of ideas.

Bailes's study presents Vernadsky as a man of many talents and versatile interests. He was an active member of a *zemstvo* in the Tambov region; a prominent participant in the Academic Union, which fought for wider domains of university autonomy; a founding member of the Constitutional Democratic party; and an eminently successful writer of articles on political and educational themes. In all of his activities, he was moved by a firm commitment to democratic ideals, a topic that the author analyzes with impressive thoroughness, lucidity, unalloyed warmth, and impeccable documentation.

Among the historical studies of the culture of Russian and Soviet scientific thought, this book, published posthumously, will occupy a place among the highest and noblest achievements. The community of scholars working in Russian history is much in debt to Loren Graham and his colleagues and assistants who helped in the transition of this work from an "entirely complete" manuscript to a superb publication.

ALEXANDER VUCINICH,
EMERITUS
University of Pennsylvania

W. BRUCE LINCOLN. *Red Victory: A History of the Russian Civil War*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1989. Pp. 637. \$24.95.

"But popular history isn't serious" responded a graduate student some years ago to my suggestion that he read Barbara Tuchman's *Guns of August* as an aid to understanding the origins of World War I. This attitude remains alarmingly widespread in our profession, which increasingly risks writing and talking only to itself, and it leaves the nonspecialist reader, who is curious about the past, to the tender mercies of journalists or authors specializing in sensationalism.

Yet good "popular history" can be both "serious" and fascinating as the recent biography of Catherine the Great by John T. Alexander attests. Certainly W. Bruce Lincoln has produced serious books in his popular history trilogy on early twentieth-century Russia. The first two volumes, *In War's Dark Shadow* (1983) and *Passage through Armageddon* (1986), covered the years 1900–18. This last volume deals with the frightful turmoil of the Civil War and foreign intervention in Russia between 1918 and 1921. Lincoln treats in a wide geographic arc all of the major battlefronts of the bloody struggle between the Bolsheviks and their White and foreign opponents. He includes revealing character sketches of the main protagonists on both sides, deals with internal developments within the beleaguered Soviet camp, and includes a chapter on the Kronstadt revolt of 1921. The author has consulted some 900 works, and the text contains 2,074 citations. Lincoln has rummaged widely through the literature, and his account is certainly serious.

Nevertheless, this work regrettably fails as popular history for several reasons. First, the reader is over-

whelmed with detail, some of it entertaining, to be sure, but much of it meaningless to the nonspecialist. For example, grisly accounts of both Red and White atrocities are provided, but little explanation or analysis of these horrors is offered.

The most serious drawback for both the general reader and the student is the author's failure to address the "why" questions that are essential not only to comprehending the meaning of this bitter turmoil in Russia but also to making the narrative challenging and interesting. For example, Lincoln treats the causes of the Civil War and foreign intervention only cursorily, and he neglects altogether the intriguing issues of how much this terrible experience shaped the institutions, values, and future course of the evolving Soviet society and how it affected the relationship of the Soviet leaders and people to the West.

Finally, the book has several minor but bothersome weaknesses. As the author admits in the preface, national minority issues receive too little attention. More puzzling is the omission of any treatment of the Comintern and of the world revolutionary efforts of the Bolsheviks (which helped to provoke, although certainly not justify, Allied intervention). Since there are only end paper maps, much of the military campaigning that is described is incomprehensible. In an effort to reach the general reader, Lincoln uses a style that borders on florid, and a typical paragraph will have as many words that are quoted from sources as those of the author.

Because I believe historians need not only to produce monographs but also to present clear, concise, and challenging accounts of major periods and events for a wide audience, it is particularly disappointing to conclude that this volume will not serve as a model for popular history and that students and general readers will be better off to turn to earlier studies of the Civil War by Peter Kenz and Evan Mawdsley to try to understand this tragic cataclysm in early Soviet history.

JOHN M. THOMPSON,
EMERITUS
*Indiana University,
Bloomington*

VERA BROIDO. *Lenin and the Mensheviks: The Persecution of Socialists under Bolshevism*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1987. Pp. viii, 216. \$29.50.

Despite its bad press in the Soviet Union until last year, Menshevism has for some time enjoyed a special place in Western scholarship on the Soviet Union, in part as a subject, in part as a point of view, and in part as a personal heritage. Vera Broido's monograph combines all of these qualities. The author's mother, Eva Broido, was elected to the Central Committee of the Menshevik party shortly after the revolution of 1917, left Russia in 1920, returned as a representative of the Menshevik Delegation Abroad in 1927, and was arrested and perished in the gulag under unknown circumstances.

Her father, Mark Broido, was one of the Menshevik members of the Central Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet who resigned in protest at the announcement of the Bolshevik takeover on October 25, 1917. A child of the revolution and its consequences, Broido brings the familial culture of Menshevism as well as several tantalizing collections of letters from prison and exile in the Soviet Union to her chronicle of the fate of Menshevism after 1917.

As one of the chapter heading indicates, this is a depressing story of "persecution and resistance." Broido's account follows the increasingly severe repression of Menshevism from the revolution through 1924, by which time most party activists or adherents were in concentration camps, exile (European or Soviet), or dead. She gives some information on the fate of Mensheviks in the USSR after this date—almost all were killed or died in their places of punishment—and she appends a brief account of the Menshevik show trial of 1931. The pathos of this tale is overt, for the Mensheviks generally relied on the tactics of moral suasion—critical articles in their suppressed and censored publications, declarations of principle, hunger strikes—and to this pacific, impeccably socialist opposition, the Bolshevik powers responded with viciousness, lies, spying, and violence. Although the persecution of Menshevism by Vladimir Lenin's government has been described before, notably by Leonard Shapiro as well as in several Russian-language memoirs (some translated in Leopold Haimson's edited volume on Menshevism), it is useful and important to have an account of Bolshevik actions toward left-wing critics during the revolution, the Civil War, and the New Economic Policy (NEP). Written well before the current reevaluation of Soviet history, Broido's book is a tragic reminder that Lenin, Leon Trotsky, Grigori Zinoviev, Anatolii Lunacharskii, Nikolai Bukharin, and lesser Bolsheviks were calculatingly cruel toward their loyal socialist opposition and that the persecution of Menshevism intensified harshly after the Bolsheviks' victory in the Civil War, precisely when the Bolsheviks adopted the Menshevik economic program, re-described as the NEP.

For all of its justice with regard to the dynamic of political persecution after the revolution, Broido's book leaves basic questions unanswered. Why this brutal repression? Why this outraged resistance? There is little here to explain the intense hostility on either side of the conflict apart from an introductory section on Lenin's undeniable distrust of democratic socialism. As for the Mensheviks, despite Broido's access to personal correspondence, she gives us no sense of why they acted as they did or what, for example, made young people pursue a life of underground opposition in the Menshevik Youth League after the end of the Civil War. As in so much of Menshevik history, the politics of martyrdom take over the story and substitute for other troublesome issues.

Perhaps Broido's reticence on these points reflects a broader problem: she cannot readily offer us a descrip-

tion of Menshevik ideology or strategy after the revolution because, contrary to her presentation, the party was not unified in its approach to Bolshevik rule. Broido's account ignores the deep divisions among Menshevik intellectuals and smoothes over the opposition of such prominent theorists as Georgii Plekhanov, A. N. Potresov, and Pavel Axelrod to the policies pursued by Iulii Martov and his Central Committee. The basic difference of opinion within Menshevism was over two vital issues: was the Bolshevik revolution "progressive," and should it be supported by socialists? Martov, with infinite qualifications, replied yes to both questions and tried to keep the party on a course of passive, moral criticism, but other Mensheviks from the beginning regarded Bolshevism in power as a betrayal of the most fundamental socialist ideals and called for more active opposition. The division over analysis had real meaning for action, and many of the strikes and rebellions described by Broido as part of a Menshevik opposition were in fact denounced by the party's leaders as counterrevolutionary. The fact that the question of whether the Bolshevik revolution was socialist has been so central to twentieth-century politics is all the more reason to recover with sympathy the bitter, complex, and significant struggles among Menshevik intellectuals and workers over what to do about Bolshevism in the years after 1917.

JANE BURBANK
*University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor*

PIERRE BROUÉ. *Trotsky*. Paris: Fayard. 1988. Pp. 1105. 198 fr.

There are a number of biographies of Leon Trotsky, but only a handful of Trotsky scholars have done systematic work in the Trotsky Archives at Houghton Library and other main repositories of Trotsky materials. Isaac Deutscher, of course, was the first. Pierre Broué, editor of Trotsky's *Oeuvres, 1933–1940* (1978–) and the *Cahiers Léon Trotsky* (1979–), has produced a voluminous study of Trotsky's career based on an even greater abundance of materials than was available to Deutscher, who had been given access to correspondence that was closed to other scholars until 1980. Broué used not only the previously segregated materials at Houghton but also a mass of correspondence in the Boris I. Nicolaevsky Collection in the Hoover Institution Archives, only recently (1987) identified and registered. Broué also delved into the riches of the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam, the other main repository of Trotsky's papers and correspondence. He had the advantage of close counsel with Jean van Heijenoort, Trotsky's former secretary and bodyguard, who died tragically in 1986 and to whom the book is dedicated. Finally, Broué benefited from émigré revelations and some very recent publications during the period of *glasnost*. Neither Broué nor Deutscher, however, used the correspondence of Max

Eastman and Trotsky deposited by Eastman in the manuscript department of the Lilly Library at Indiana University in Bloomington or the short memoirs collected by Eastman for his biography of Trotsky. Among other things, Eastman's papers contain letters shedding light on his collaboration with Trotsky on literary projects such as *The History of the Russian Revolution* (1932).

The beginning of Trotsky's career in Odessa and Nikolaev is the portion least satisfactorily studied by both Deutscher (who predeceased Eastman) and Broué because they did not use Eastman's papers. It should be noted, also, that we can expect more documents to appear in the recently announced *Political Archives of the Soviet Union*, a new Soviet quarterly promising material not available elsewhere. Thankfully, Soviet scholars have gotten down to the task of filling in the "blank spaces." How quickly this happens and how much access will be given to non-Soviet scholars remains to be seen. For the present, Broué's biography of Trotsky is the most scholarly and up-to-date.

One of the keepers of the flame of Trotskyism, Broué has produced a sympathetic biography that contains a running critique of Trotsky's detractors. He assumes that Leninism was benign, that Trotsky was its continuator, and that Stalin was its destroyer. These assumptions, as Broué is well aware, also have been questioned. Deutscher is taken to task for his approach, in which Stalin's service to the dialectic of history is the diapason to Deutscher's treatment of Trotsky, and for many smaller errors of fact and interpretation. On the other hand, Broué is not uncritical of Trotsky and points out a number of personal, political, and doctrinal failures. The biography details the whole story: the agonizing, schismatic history of Russian Marxism, both before and after 1917; Trotsky's heroic period; his failed partnership with Lenin; the short period of growth and then the suppression and disintegration of the Left Opposition; the efforts of Trotsky in emigration and his allies to create a viable alternative to Stalinism; the spectacle of the Moscow trials and Trotsky's vindication by the Dewey Commission; Trotsky's struggle against Nazism; the final splintering of Trotsky's movement; and the tragic outcome of the destruction of Trotsky's project, his family, and, finally, of Trotsky himself in one of the gruesome political assassinations of the era.

In several crucial areas, Broué treats Trotsky's role during the October Revolution and his partnership with Lenin in the spirit of a true believer. That is, the author's version of Trotsky's role and his relationship with Lenin roughly coincides with Trotsky's version. There are reasons to doubt, however, that Trotsky's defensive posture in the days preceding the October insurrection was merely a ruse and even stronger reasons to question the authenticity of Trotsky's conversion to Leninism. Even the perfidious "epigones," the party oligarchs who tried to discredit Trotsky after Lenin's death, had insight into Trotsky's *modus operandi*. Broué's book is marred by a number of small

mechanical errors that he will no doubt find and correct. Scholars will be annoyed to find that roughly half of the endnotes to chapter 25 are simply missing (endnotes 31 to 59), probably because of a typesetter's lapse. Such are the minor perils of writing a massive scholarly work. These mechanical errors do not significantly detract from Broué's scholarly achievement. Rather, one might have bones to pick with his larger framework: his faith in Marxism-Leninism, his sense of Trotsky's heritage, and his belief in the relevance of Trotsky's ideas in this new era.

PHILIP POMPER
Wesleyan University

MARY BUCKLEY. *Women and Ideology in the Soviet Union*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1989. Pp. xiv, 266. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$13.95.

Mary Buckley sets out to analyze Soviet ideology on the "woman question" from the revolution of 1917 to the present. She argues a familiar thesis: that this ideology has been shaped by the priorities of the regime, the exigencies of the moment, and the inadequacies of Marxism in ways that limited Soviet women's emancipation. The first half of the book sketches the period from 1917 to 1930; the second half covers the reemergence of the woman question since 1956.

Buckley is at her strongest when dealing with the later years. She employs a wide range of primary sources, including her own interviews with Soviet women, and her analysis is illuminating. In discussing *glasnost* Buckley points out that the loosening of controls has meant that not only feminist opinion but also conservative ideas about the position of women in Soviet society have been permitted expression. The resulting debate promises to be contentious.

Buckley's consideration of the earlier years is less successful. Here she relies heavily on Soviet secondary works and shows far too limited acquaintanceship with Western historical scholarship and feminist critiques of Marxist theory on the woman question. Consequently, her analysis is shallow and dated. Ideology is portrayed as created exclusively by the party, and the party is treated as a monolith, single-minded and remote from social forces. Buckley mentions from time to time the influence of traditional values on the formation of official attitudes toward women but does not analyze these values or the processes through which they merged with Marxist feminist ones. She also ignores the effects of social change on ideology and of ideology on social change.

And Buckley does not analyze the extent to which women themselves have shaped ideology. This is less true in the early sections of the book, but even here she tends to muffle women's voices. For example, Buckley works Trotsky into the discussion of Inessa Armand's conceptions of women's emancipation and Lenin into the summary of Aleksandra Kollontai's argument for the *Zhenotdel* (pp. 46, 56–57). By switching in mid-

paragraph from Armand to Trotsky and from Kollontai to Lenin, Buckley not only gives the women short shrift but also implies that their views are legitimated by the concurrence of the male theoreticians (who, it must be pointed out, said nothing original about women's emancipation). This inattentiveness to women's role in the creation and articulation of ideology persists throughout the book. When Buckley discusses the Brezhnev years, she fails to ask whether there were differences between the values and assumptions of female and male commentators on the woman question, even though differences are apparent in materials that she quotes.

Because of these analytical weaknesses, this book does not contribute to our general understanding of the history of women in the USSR over the last seventy years. It is useful primarily for its description of developments since 1956.

BARBARA EVANS CLEMENTS
University of Akron

V. Z. DROBIZHEV. *U istokov sovetskoi demografii* [At the Sources of Soviet Demography]. Moscow: Mysl'. 1987. Pp. 221. 1 r. 30 k.

The late V. Z. Drobizhev was the Soviet Union's leading authority on the history of the Russian working class in the prewar Soviet period and a key figure among the growing contingent of Soviet historians who turned from party history to social history in the 1960s and 1970s. Along with fellow social historians D. I. Kovalchenko, A. K. Sokolov, and V. P. Danilov, Drobizhev strongly promoted the use of quantitative methods, census data, and memoir literature to supplement the more traditional political sources in party and state archives in an effort to free Soviet historiography from its overly political focus and concentration on the state as the sole political actor and prime force in Russian history. The search for new historical sources kindled Drobizhev's interest in demography, the traditional servant of social historians the world over and the subject of this study, his last major work.

This brief but informative history of Soviet demography approaches its subject from multiple perspectives. We find herein a concise history of Soviet demographical scholarship from the Russian revolution of 1917 to the present, along with an account of early Soviet efforts to take over the collection of vital statistics from the church and to conduct its first censuses; an analysis of the demographic impact of World War I, the Civil War, the famine of 1921-22, and the New Economic Policy (NEP); and a discussion of Soviet demographic policies in the first decade of Soviet power, particularly the rash of new legislation affecting women, children, marriage, and the family.

Drobizhev not surprisingly divides the history of Soviet demographical scholarship into three periods: the fertile period of its initial development from the revolution to the end of the 1920s, marked by empir-

icism and methodological innovation; the interim Stalin years, in which ideological attacks on "bourgeois," that is, non-Marxist, demographers gradually supplanted empiricism by the eve of World War II; and the revival of Soviet demography in the 1960s and 1970s when Soviet demographers, inspired by earlier achievements, once again returned to the empirical concerns and quests for new methodologies characteristic of this discipline's initial years. According to Drobizhev, the revival of empiricism in demography began in the immediate postwar period before the death of Joseph Stalin and was prompted by the need to develop methodologies to calculate wartime population losses, although empiricism only came into its own with the increase of scholarly freedom in the post-Stalin years, particularly during the so-called stagnant Brezhnev era. In all periods, Soviet demography as an intellectual discipline has been shaped by demographic policies and the political imperatives of the Soviet state. By the end of the 1970s, however, Soviet demographers increasingly sought to shape state policies and argued persuasively for a reduction of the dual burden of working mothers and a restructuring of the Soviet economic planning process to take account of demographic realities.

In the process of outlining the history of Soviet demography, Drobizhev explores the limitations of early Soviet censuses, the limited ability of the new Soviet state to collect vital statistics in its early years, and early Soviet works in demography and medical sociology (such as pioneering studies of why women seek abortions). He also discusses the early Soviet legislation on women and the family and efforts to protect children from the ravages of the famine of 1921 and the Civil War. Like many contemporary Soviet intellectuals, however, Drobizhev tends to portray the NEP in an overly favorable light by giving us detailed statistical data on the growth of day-care centers and medical services for women and children during the Civil War, while failing to provide equally detailed information on the curtailment of such services under the market economy and cost accounting of the NEP. Nonetheless, this book is indispensable reading for anyone interested in Soviet historical demography, social history, and the history of women and the family.

ROBERTA T. MANNING
Boston College

ROY MEDVEDEV. *Let History Judge: The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism*. Rev. ed. Edited and translated by GEORGE SHRIVER. New York: Columbia University Press. 1989. Pp. xxi, 903. \$57.50.

In Roy Medvedev's own words, his book is a product of the "Soviet Sixties," that first flush of reform and debate that allowed silenced voices to be heard. Begun in 1962 in rough outlines and first published in the West in the early 1970s, this huge volume of reminiscences, analyses, and judgments was fundamentally

shaped as much by the Khrushchev "Thaw" as by Leonid Brezhnev's retrenchment when conservatives attempted to resurrect a sanitized Joseph Stalin. The "revised edition" is—again in the author's words—"in fact, a new book," at once an unconventional work of historical synthesis and a political act and part of a renewed offensive against the legacy of Stalinism. Medvedev worked under the threat of arrest and operated on the fringes of permissibility. He published a dissident journal, was twice searched by the KGB, and thrown out of the Communist party. His apartment became a repository for the unpublished memoirs and secreted archives of dozens of political activists, and from sources unavailable elsewhere Medvedev fashioned a rich and rambling portrait of the dictator to which all other scholars of Stalinism must turn, however cautiously. As this book appears, Medvedev has emerged as a respected public figure, an elected deputy to the Congress of People's Deputies, and a major player in the Gorbachev revolution.

Medvedev's Stalin does not differ significantly from the portraits drawn by the Western historians Isaac Deutscher or Robert C. Tucker, but the sheer volume of new material adds fascinating detail to the story of the crude and vicious manipulator who rose to dominate and distort the Communist movement. The sources are varied and often seem quite tenuous. Rumors and second- and thirdhand stories are interwoven with the written memoirs of participants and victims. One story, for example—that Stalin told an Armenian delegation that the poet Eghishe Charents should not be touched just months before his arrest—comes to us from the artist Martiros Saryan who told it to writer Ilya Ehrenburg. Medvedev valiantly attempts to separate fact from fiction, but an uncertainty about many of the incidents remains even as he carefully paints in a shocking landscape of arbitrariness, inhumane torture, senseless waste of human lives, and the corruption of the original ideals of socialism.

Medvedev's contribution to the debate over Stalinism is so unique and specific that ordinary academic conventions seem overly restrictive when evaluating his labors. Throughout the book he appears restrained, balanced, and critical in contrast to the more polemical accounts of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn or Anton Antonov-Ovseenko, but at the same time he remains a Bolshevik and attempts to make sense of the incomprehensible and to salvage what he can of Lenin's project. His lodestone is Vladimir Lenin, invariably the corrective and moral measure against which the excesses of the Stalinists are to be condemned. He often talks about policies being "correct" or "incorrect" and does not doubt the necessity and rightness of the revolution itself. His Marxism is expressed through his sympathies rather than in his methodology, and the work is largely a political history focused on the state and party rather than an analysis of broader social dynamics.

For Medvedev, the Bolsheviks failed to realize their ideals, not because the ideals were unrealizable but because of insufficient moral and cultural development

and a "failure to comprehend the contradictions in the new social system" (p. 719). "It was not the struggle with the autocracy, not jail or exile, that was the real test for revolutionaries. Much harder was the test of power, having the vast and powerful resources of the state at one's disposal" (p. 692). He argues that Stalinism was a pseudosocialism that existed alongside "truly socialist relations," state capitalist and even semifeudal forms. Stalin may have been an heir of Lenin, but he squandered Lenin's legacy and created a system "profoundly alien to Marxism and Leninism" (p. 872). Cut off from the people, the heroes of the revolution turned into a party bourgeoisie.

Medvedev has written neither a theoretical nor even a conceptual work and does not engage in the more general debates over the nature of Stalinism. For all of its narrative power and engaged energy, his compelling indictment of Stalin and Stalinism ultimately leaves historians much to ponder about the deeper causes, the hidden dynamics, and the seeds of destruction that lay within the Stalinist system.

RONALD GRIGOR SUNY
*University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor*

R. W. DAVIES. *Soviet History in the Gorbachev Revolution*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1989. Pp. viii, 232. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$12.95.

This volume by R. W. Davies is one of several works recently published that respond to the remarkable discussion of Soviet history in the Soviet popular press and in some journals. The subject is important and has attracted the fascinated interest of millions of Soviet citizens and scholars observing the Soviet scene from abroad. Western specialists have learned little that they had not known for years, but they have gained insight into the changes unfolding in the Soviet Union under what Davies perhaps incorrectly terms "the Gorbachev Revolution."

Davies and his graduate students have mined the Moscow press and journals for facts and views published since 1987 that were previously taboo. He has selected several issues and periods on which publicists and a handful of professional historians have concentrated. On these subjects, such as the New Economic Policy and Joseph Stalin's entourage, he has provided a useful collection of the revelations and discussions that have stunned Soviet society.

Analyzing a contemporary occurrence of this nature is a challenging assignment, and Davies has contributed a useful volume. For reasons he does not explain, however, he has relied entirely on the Moscow media, omitting not only Leningrad but also the press of the national republics, which would have provided some explanation concerning developments in these restless territories. He also ignored the flood of information concerning foreign policy, the Communist International, and the period since 1945, except for some

dramatic accounts of relations among Soviet leaders before and after Stalin's death. Thus, the omission of the Katyn forest massacre and the secret protocols of 1939 fails to help the observer understand some of the difficulties that plague Soviet-Polish relations and the emotional fervor behind the Baltic states' popular drive for independence.

Davies fails to explain the system of control of information that has broken down and even declares that the pressures on Soviet scholars were most severe in the 1970s. He also is unaware of the "revolt" against official history that began long before 1987. This expressed itself in the declining number of young men and women entering the profession, public disregard of the work of professional scholars, increased crowds in museums, the mass movement to preserve churches and other treasures of Russia's heritage, the popularity of historical novels, and the great interest in and large new editions of prerevolutionary historical works. He points out that professional historians have been very slow to enter this campaign, but he has examined only two historical journals, *Voprosy istorii* and *Voprosy istorii KPSS*. He does not explain why professional economists have been so active at a time when their colleagues in history have been silent. Finally, he does not note that some of the most prominent of the few historians who have joined the revolt against official history, such as Victor Danilov and Roy Medvedev, have remained Leninists. Davies's lack of sympathy for Iurii Afanas'ev, clearly the most active professional historian engaged in the controversy, may reflect that Afanas'ev has turned against Lenin.

The flood of new information provided by the Soviet media since 1987 has helped destroy the popular faith in the system's achievements that helped hold Soviet society together. The crumbling to which Gorbachev and his colleagues frequently refer is the result in part of the collapse of this confidence. If and when more Soviet historians begin to display a spirit of critical inquiry, this will proceed beyond revelation to revision, and the impact will become truly devastating.

ROBERT F. BYRNES
Indiana University,
Bloomington

NEAR EAST

AMNON COHEN. *Economic Life in Ottoman Jerusalem*. (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. vii. 179. \$49.50.

In this deceptively slim volume, Amnon Cohen has scrutinized the local economy of Jerusalem in the eight decades following the Ottoman conquest of 1517. His analysis rests on an exhaustive review of cases recorded in the city's Shari'a court archives. Cohen assumes that entries (*sijills*) in this archive constitute a comprehensive inventory of cases submitted to the district (*sancak*) *qadi* from 1530/31, when the court heard litigation on a consistent basis. Although Cohen justifies his presump-

tion of completeness on the unbroken series of *deftars* for each year of this period, his conclusion that no litigation went undocumented actually requires an act of confidence that the Jerusalem *qadi* exercised an effective monopoly. Whether all disputes did indeed make their way unresolved to this magistrate remains indeterminate. Yet Cohen has examined a body of data sufficiently replete to support the hypotheses that he offers.

The author correctly emphasizes the parochial nature of economic life in Jerusalem throughout the sixteenth century. Commerce was gradually recovering, after one hundred years of decline, from predatory measures imposed by the Mamluks reigning in Cairo. Nonetheless, even in auspicious times such as the early decades of Ottoman rule, the city never enjoyed the status of a cosmopolitan entrepôt. Jerusalem did not straddle the *Via Maris*, or high road, connecting Cairo and Damascus. Nor did it intersect with the Hajj route to the Hijaz. The city therefore attracted neither foreign merchants nor pilgrims en route elsewhere. It remained a small provincial town with a population ranging between nine and ten thousand. But Jerusalem's shrines assured it a spiritual rank that enhanced its stature in the Ottoman imperial hierarchy. Authorities in Istanbul were prepared to upgrade the town's security by surrounding it with walls or to improve the water supply by restoring its aqueducts, cisterns, and fountains. Economically, however, Jerusalem depended primarily on its own initiatives and was compelled to exploit indigenous opportunities in compensation for its strategic isolation and limited natural resources.

Cohen focuses his detailed analysis on three "sectors" of Jerusalem's local economy: butchers and meat production, olive oil and soap processing, flour and bread. He selected these three on the basis of their frequency in the archival records. Personnel involved with these professions appeared more often in cases adjudicated by the *qadi* than any of the others that he encountered. Cohen also found that individuals of prominent standing in the butchers' guild attained notable supervisory posts at the behest of city authorities. The *muhtasib*, or market inspector, responsible for ensuring adequate quantities of commodities, their quality according to approved standards, and sale at prices determined by the government, was often chosen from affluent members of the butchers' guild. Cohen's reconstruction of these individuals' multifaceted dealings qualifies assertions by such scholars as Robert Mantran who have argued that the Ottoman economy was rigidly centralized (Mantran, "La Police des marches de Stamboul au debut du XVI^{ème} siècle," *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* [1956], no. 14, p. 215). As Cohen's analysis of the butchers' interactions with other commercial sectors unfolds, he isolates persons who sought either appointment to regulatory offices for the prestige and influence that the offices brought or release when the financial burden they entailed outweighed any fiscal advantage previously envisioned. Cohen cogently discerns ten-

sions between Ottoman authorities, who expected regular payment of taxes on meat purchases, upholding of standards, and confinement of processing to licensed slaughterhouses, and ambitious butchers, who repeatedly sidestepped government edicts to broaden their clandestine sources of supply and fatten their profits through covert sales. Cohen illustrates how guild members were motivated by self-interest to build new facilities for their operations, establish wider contacts with Bedouin who often ignored admonitions by the regime to deal under its auspices, and sell meat outside approved shops at prices fixed by supply and demand rather than by fiat.

Cohen's descriptions of olive harvesting, oil pressing, soap making, flour milling, and bread baking are somewhat less replete but sufficiently detailed to depict similar patterns of local initiative. He therefore provides a probing investigation of a regional economy imbedded within a much larger political structure. Cohen has convincingly shown, within broader parameters of Ottoman imperial policies, how Jerusalem merchants and artisans (divided by no sharp line of demarcation) conducted their commercial endeavors with limited interference from central authorities. Such autonomous, self-directed efforts enabled local cadres to apply their own methods and stratagems to suit their specific circumstances of production and regulation.

CARL F. PETRY
Northwestern University

SAID AMIR ARJOMAND. *The Turban for the Crown: The Islamic Revolution in Iran*. (Studies in Middle Eastern History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 283. \$21.95.

In many ways this book forms the second volume of a survey of Iranian Shi'i religious institutions that the author began with his *Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam* (1984). The first book focused on the period between 1501, when the Shi'i Safavid dynasty conquered Iran, and 1890. This volume continues the story of the Shi'i clerisy in Iran from the nineteenth century to 1986. The first four chapters, nearly half of the book, deal with relations between state and religion before 1979, so Said Amir Arjomand is not simply writing about the Islamic revolution. Rather, he offers an interpretation of modern Iran's political development.

Arjomand, a sociologist, draws for his interpretive framework primarily from Emile Durkheim, and, although Max Weber also looms large in his footnotes, Arjomand tends to appropriate the more idealist aspects of Weber's thought, especially his emphasis on normative order. Arjomand combines this sociological tradition with an emphasis on the importance of the growth of bureaucracy and modern state making, drawing especially on the work done in the 1940s by Ernest Barker. Arjomand argues that, in the early twentieth century, expanding trade and then petro-

leum revenues freed the Iranian state from its nineteenth-century dependence on the small revenues collected from taxes on agriculture and gave the state the kind of income that allowed it to expand its bureaucratic functions and contribute to national integration. The rise of a modern state was bad news for the hierocracy, or Shi'i clerical corps, which had heretofore been an important partner with the Qajar state in supplying normative order. The secularizing shahs of the short-lived Pahlevi dynasty favored, first, étatism and, then, laissez-faire capitalism. Muhammad Reza Shah (r. 1941–78) destroyed the large landlord class through a land reform program urged on him by President John F. Kennedy, and he pursued policies inimical to the petty commodity producers and older sort of merchants in the bazaar. At the same time, he vastly expanded the educational system and brought into being a new middle class several hundred thousand strong. He monopolized power in his own hands, neglecting to give any class a real stake in his state and destroyed the authority over ordinary folk of pro-regime landlords and clergy.

Arjomand argues that the vast increases in the 1970s in petroleum income created anomie or a disorientation in values. This Durkheimian anomie appears to bear most of the burden of explaining the revolution of 1978–79. The discontents of rapid social change allowed groups shunted aside by the shah, such as the Shi'i clergy and its allies in the bazaars and universities, to become a revolutionary vanguard. By learning the tricks of modern politics from the liberals and from those in the Stalinist Tudeh party, both of whom supported the Ayatollah Khomeini, the clerics managed to isolate and destroy their chief competitors for power in the wake of the revolution. Arjomand concludes by comparing the revolutionary traditionalism of Shi'i Iran to reactionary European revolutionary movements supported by the clergy, such as the Spanish Carlists and Romanian fascists. He argues that most revolutions since the seventeenth century have had conservative aims and have attracted the support of traditional forces, such as the clergy and guilds, and that the paradigmatic status of the French revolution of 1789 should be questioned.

Arjomand has written an intelligent and important book, and I find his chapter on the Iranian revolution in comparative perspective breathtaking. I perceive a basic contradiction in his argument, however. He gives evidence of greatly increased national integration and the growth of communication networks in the Pahlevi era. He also describes the way in which rural immigrants to the shantytowns outside cities such as Tehran joined in neighborhood religious organizations that proved important to the revolution. In short, he appears to be depicting fairly cohesive social groups with real grievances and a sophisticated ability to mobilize for mass political action. This does not sound like Durkheim's anomie to me, although I have to admit that I have never encountered anything that did. Perhaps the work of neither Karl Marx nor Charles

Tilly is quite so irrelevant to an understanding of Iran's Islamic revolution as Arjomand appears to believe.

JUAN R. I. COLE
University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor

ERVAND ABRAHAMIAN. *The Iranian Mojahedin*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989. Pp. viii, 307.

Ervand Abrahamian's new book is a sober, and sobering, account of the history of one of the best organized and most experienced lay Islamic political movements active in the Middle East today. In eleven concise chapters he traces the history of the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran, from its origins in the early 1960s, through the upheavals of the revolution of 1978-79 and its aftermath, until the forced exile of its leadership and the bulk of its rank and file in the early 1980s. Relying chiefly on the Mojahedin's pamphlets and newspapers, Iranian and Western press accounts, as well as personal interviews with its leader, Masud Rajavi, and prominent members (conducted while they were in exile in Paris), Abrahamian has successfully attempted to dissect the development of the movement.

The organization was initially formed by a handful of young dissidents dissatisfied with existing opposition groups from the Right and the Left of the Iranian ideological spectrum. On the eve of the revolution, it emerged as a viable, popular, mass-based organization and played a vital role in the major events leading to the overthrow of the shah's regime. Although taking into consideration the rapidly changing sociopolitical and economic climate of Iran throughout these two decades, Abrahamian notes the evolutionary nature of the Mojahedin's ideology; the tensions inherent in the organization's views, which blend two intellectually incompatible systems, Islam and Marxism; and the resulting schism that fatally divided its ranks. More important, the author points to the gross disparity and inconsistencies in the leaders' official program and intentions and their public actions, or lack of action, at crucial times when the fate of the revolution and the political future of the country were at stake.

Abrahamian's stated purpose is neither to praise nor to damn the Mojahedin, and, indeed, he refrains from doing so whenever possible. Nonetheless, the history of its relationship with other groups and with Khomeini himself, as meticulously analyzed in this work, sharply reveals not only its strength but also its weaknesses, which, more often than not, displayed the opportunistic tendencies of some of the leaders, especially Rajavi. Thus, at the height of the power struggle that inevitably erupted once the Pahlavi regime collapsed and the various opposition groups, which had so triumphantly united in a common revolutionary cause, broke ranks, the Mojahedin consistently failed to support those secularist and other lay Islamic parties whose programs and ideals the movement shared. In the deadly fight

against Khomeini's ascension to absolute power, the Mojahedin not only witnessed but also contributed, directly or indirectly, to the merciless destruction of most viable groups and parties until its turn, too, came to be even more ruthlessly eliminated from the political scene in postrevolution Iran.

This book is of great importance to all historians of modern Iran and modern Islamic political movements. In fact, it constitutes a perfect case study of the interaction of religion and politics in the twentieth century. The Mojahedin episode in Iranian history from the 1960s through the early 1980s is complete. It has a beginning as a clandestine group; a full development with its active participation in the revolution, interacting with other forces simultaneously at work; and an end, since its members went into exile and its future remains hypothetical. It therefore lends itself to a systematic analysis, with results conclusive enough for the comparative historian of Islam in modern times. It sheds much light on the characteristic features of so-called Islamic, especially Shi'i, fundamentalism and dispels the notion that lay Islamic ideologies are culturally antimodernist, untainted by Western concepts, and socially conservative, not to say reactionary. Islam, the universal faith, is totally different from Islam ideologized by Muslim individuals and groups.

Abrahamian, assessing the reasons for the Mojahedin's failure to transform a mass movement into a successful political action, asserts that its ideology could not appeal to various social groups: the working class, the peasantry, and the bazaaris, on the one hand, and the more Westernized secular intelligentsia, especially the older professionals, on the other. The Mojahedin's brand of Shi'ism was either too modernized, too leftist, or too religiously oriented in its political program. The Mojahedin's constituency, according to the author's research findings, basically consisted of men and women born into traditional middle and lower middle classes, anticlerical and modern-oriented, though still permeated by the Islamic values and morality in which they were reared. Here a comparative historian might ask whether such groups could not have provided as well, given different conditions at different times in history, a strong constituency for the secular liberal or the secular Marxist parties? Liberalism at the turn of the century and Marxism in the 1930s and 1940s did appeal to such social groups as well as to others. Moreover, as the history of other radical Islamic political movements throughout the Muslim world, including Muslim Central Asia, indicates, the success or failure of an Islamic lay ideology depends not so much on the size of its constituency and the impact of its broad mass appeal as on other political forces acting from within and without the Muslim society itself, beyond the control of such social groups.

But the present state of the art of the comparative modern Islamic history of ideas may not as yet be conducive to such definitive observations. One awaits

more studies as lucid, dispassionate, and thoroughly researched as Abrahamian's.

MANGOL BAYAT
Newton, Massachusetts

J. LEIGH DOUGLAS. *The Free Yemeni Movement, 1935-1962*. Edited by GIOVANNI CHIMIENTI. Beirut: American University of Beirut. 1987. Pp. xix, 287. \$19.95.

J. Leigh Douglas's book is a thorough, comprehensive, insightful, and highly readable account of the rise of the Free Yemeni Movement (FYM). He succeeds in creating an enlightening but very personal study of the movement and the social conditions under which it emerged and through which it operated until the creation of the Yemen Arab Republic in 1962.

Douglas's treatment begins with an insightful account of the socioeconomic conditions that gave rise to the FYM under the Mutawakkilite kingdom. Douglas gives a short but nevertheless important description of the traditional economy and the social structure of the kingdom and shows how, bit by bit, a political movement emerged through a small number of educated, middle-class, urban intellectuals. Over time as the kingdom began slowly to increase its contacts with other Arab societies, ideas from those societies began to penetrate. New ideas combined with education eventually resulted in the realization among a small number of Yemenis that the kingdom would remain a backward fiefdom where illiteracy, high infant mortality, and despotism ruled unless some kind of opposition to the imamate was formed. Douglas's greatest success is in illuminating the personalities that led the FYM and in exposing the dynamics of both the Yemeni opposition and the environment in which the movement worked. His account of the rise of the FYM comes complete with short biographies of the pertinent members and analysis of how their backgrounds came to affect their allegiances and political actions. His discussion of how the changing Arab environment affected the movement is also well done and effective for showing how the movement was influenced from political and philosophical developments elsewhere in the Arab world.

More important for the book, and indeed for the FYM, is Douglas's analysis of how the traditional religious and social divisions in the kingdom imposed themselves on the movement and worked to prevent it from ever being a coherent and successful alternative to the imamate. In the same way that Yemeni society was divided between Shafi and Zaydi, the movement was torn between the sects. Each sect gave rise to its own organizations, which remained fairly autonomous because, as Douglas explains, both sects ran into difficulties when they tried to involve members of other confessional groups (p. 240). Members of the movement were never able to put aside the historical divisions among themselves (in terms of social status and societal roles) for a full-scale and coherent opposition to the monarchy. The movement was also vulnerable to

domination by powerful individuals, which is why Douglas's ability to dig into the history of the leaders is so important.

The inability to develop a logical ideology and the factionalism inherent in the movement all worked against its success. As Douglas concludes, all of the organizations that came to be part of the FYM initially agreed that Imam Yahya had to be replaced, but the question of who would replace him and what form the new leadership would take could not be answered with any degree of unanimity (p. 241).

Despite these problems, Douglas concludes that the FYM was the closest thing Yemen ever had to a national movement (p. 243). The pure power of traditional societal structures worked against the formation of a real national movement. Douglas's study makes this clear enough.

TAREQ Y. ISMAEL
University of Calgary

URIEL DANN. *King Hussein and the Challenge of Arab Radicalism: Jordan, 1955-1967*. (Studies in Middle Eastern History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. x, 206. \$29.95.

This volume is a concise, knowledgeable, judicious, and often witty political history of Jordan from 1955 to 1967. The work relies heavily on external (that is, non-Jordanian) sources. The most important primary materials employed are American and British archival records of the period. Extensive use is also made of the contemporary press and of secondary works. Although cited periodically, Arabic-language materials appear to have been less central to the composition of the study. The sources used obviously influence the substance of the work, which is most authoritative on the internal dynamics of the regime and its relationships with its friends, particularly with the United States, which came to play the major role in supporting the Jordanian monarchy from the late 1950s on; the discussion of the presumed Arab radical enemies of the regime, on the other hand, is often more speculative.

The essential question that the book addresses is "how [King] Hussein survived, and why" (p. ix). Dann explains Hussein's durability as a result of a combination of his own strengths and the weaknesses of his opponents. In terms of his strengths, the diplomatic and occasionally military support as well as the financial backing of first Great Britain and then the United States are thoroughly documented (including instances when the United States came close to abandoning Hussein), as is the role played by key Jordanian individuals and groups from the East Bank in particular. Above all of these are the personal qualities of the monarch himself, which proved up to the task of gaining and maintaining the necessary external and internal support. Dann's portrait of Hussein is quite favorable, presenting him as a man with important political skills: personal bravery, shrewd political judg-

ment ("an eye for the essential" [p. 72]), magnanimity toward opponents, skillful diplomacy in the regional and international arenas ("it is true that Hussein found backers who proved indispensable, but it was he who rallied them, rather than the reverse" [p. 67]), and particularly the ability to function effectively in situations of stress ("an instinct for making decisions and accepting responsibility" [p. 166]). These traits are an impressive assemblage of strengths, convincingly presented.

Although often less conclusive, the analysis of Hussein's opponents is in some ways more interesting. Given both the innate character of clandestine activities and the limited range of Arabic materials presently available, the precise nature and extent of the radical threat to the regime in many instances is still an open question. Whether in regard to allegations of subversion by Egyptian military attachés in the late 1950s, the extent of externally promoted antiregime agitation during the period of the Egyptian-Syrian Union, even the nature of antiregime internal plots by dissident army officers in 1957 and 1958, the available evidence is inconclusive, and the author carefully suspends judgment. What he does indicate is that there is much less clear proof of a concerted radical campaign against Hussein than is often assumed to have been the case.

With regard to the leading "radical" of the era, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Dann adopts what amounts to a revisionist position. He points to some crucial moments—during the Nablusi crisis of early 1957, immediately after the Egyptian-Syrian Union in early 1958, and, most vitally, during the crisis prompted by the Iraqi revolution in July 1958—when Nasser could have pressured Jordan but appears not to have done so. Dann's conclusion on the Egyptian threat to Hussein is a minimalist one: "time and again, a purposeful lead by Abdel Nasser might have made the difference between Hussein's overthrow and a mere coup attempt, or a 'coup situation' that was not utilized. It is as good as certain that Abdel Nasser never gave the lead" (p. 169). Thus, Hussein may have survived in part because he faced less of a radical "challenge" than the conventional wisdom would have it.

JAMES JANKOWSKI
University of Colorado,
Boulder

AFRICA

DANIEL J. SCHROETER. *Merchants of Essaouira: Urban Society and Imperialism in Southwestern Morocco, 1844–1886*. (Cambridge Middle East Library.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xxi, 322. \$49.50.

This book presents a keenly defined and delicately shaded historical portrait of Essaouira (or Mogador, as it was known to Europeans), as seen through its mercantile community. The temporal frame within which this study is primarily—but by no means entirely—set

extends from the French naval bombardment of the town in 1844 to the military expedition of Sultan Mawlay al-Hasan to reassert the central government's authority over the dissident tribes of the region in 1886. This period was the heyday of Essaouira's commerce and, no less important, was the time when the seeds were being sown for later colonial subjugation.

Daniel J. Schroeter focuses on Essaouira as a case study of a precolonial society in the age of European capitalist expansion, a subject of particular sociological and historiographical interest today. In so doing, however, he eschews slavishly following current vogues and challenges some of the leading scholars of the past and present, including Bernard Lewis, Karl Polanyi, Germain Ayache, Jean-Louis Miège, and Immanuel Wallerstein. Most notably, he departs from the specific historical views of Miège with respect to Morocco's absorption into the world economic system, as well as from the more general theoretic models of Wallerstein with regard to core and periphery and of Polanyi with regard to the separation of market and trade. Schroeter also questions Ayache's assessment of both the effects and the severity of inflation in later nineteenth-century Morocco and points to some interesting exceptions to Lewis's generalizations regarding the conditions of Jews in the Islamic world during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Instead of looking at Moroccan socioeconomic history from a Eurocentric perspective, Schroeter examines it from within in terms of its own dynamics. He discovers that internal forces were often more dramatic catalysts for change than were external ones as posited by Miège and others. Furthermore, he argues that the continuities within Moroccan society and its economic life were frequently much greater than previously supposed. That is not to say that Schroeter denies that seaports were major foci of change in Moroccan history, but he feels that this factor has been greatly overstated.

Schroeter comes to his revisionist conclusions from his extensive study of Sherifan administrative documents and tax records and the private papers of native merchants (most, although by no means all, of whom were Jews), in addition to the usual printed sources and European documentary records. His use of Judeo-Arabic and Hebrew materials sets his study apart from those of most other students of Moroccan socioeconomic history. He demonstrates that, in Essaouira, Jewish merchants enjoyed a unique position in the social hierarchy, not just in the *mellâh* (or Jewish quarter) but in the town and surrounding countryside. Their special status as marginal men allowed them to play a significant role as mediators in urban life. They also shared common interests transcending confessional boundaries with the ruling class and with the Muslim mercantile elite, who of course could fulfill official functions in the town's administrative and political life that were closed to *dhimmi*s (non-Muslim subjects).

Schroeter belongs to a growing group of contempo-

rary historians who have been influenced by ancillary disciplines within what Fernand Braudel dubbed "the common market of the social sciences." Several chapters of the book are as much anthropological as historical. This thought-provoking, superbly documented study is greatly enhanced by numerous charts and tables. It is a significant contribution to historical literature generally as well as to Moroccan history.

NORMAN A. STILLMAN
State University of New York,
Binghamton

ANNE PHILLIPS. *The Enigma of Colonialism: British Policy in West Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press and James Currey, London. 1989. Pp. vii, 184. \$29.95.

Anne Phillips attempts the nearly impossible in this short, complex book. Her aim is to consider the course of British imperial policy in West Africa after the "scramble" established the new dependencies. To do complete justice to the subject requires a much longer and even more detailed work. The author relates in detail only a portion of the history of imperial activity, choosing to concentrate on the Gold Coast and Nigeria without much comment on Sierra Leone and almost none on the Gambia. This leaves the reader with the belief that to understand policy direction one could simply shift from one dependency to another. Another criticism arises from the author's use of "colonialism" to denote the system of imperial rule in the dependencies. One is not simply being petty in pointing out that at no time were there plans to colonize any of these protectorates. Using South Africa as a counterpoint to the dependent areas leaves the reader with the idea that capitalism had the same opportunity to develop in West Africa as in this "colony."

These negative comments do not mean that the work is without value. Phillips's analysis is particularly good in the sections dealing with slavery and its central role in the introduction of a capitalist system of free labor in British West Africa. The accommodation with slavery not only modified the moral position of the government but was at the heart of the native policy that operated under the somewhat erroneous title "indirect rule." Equally valuable are the author's discussions of the makeshift character of British rule. The general goal of British administrators was the establishment of a two-tier economic system with the newly created capitalism superimposed on the older native systems. This ambition foundered for many reasons; chief among them were the lack of cheap labor, the land tenure system, and the need to placate the chiefs and village heads if the main objective of maintaining law and order was to be met. Accepting this thesis, one can then understand why governors such as Sir Hugh Clifford opposed the avowed capitalistic ventures of establishing plantations. Although not all governors were "eccentric," it is true that the generalized nature

of British control allowed individual governors to follow different approaches to common economic problems. Policies in all of the territories were examples of a balancing act. As the author notes, "strategies they adopted arose from the interplay between private interests and public disorder" (p. 159). Given the cheapness of the various British metropole governments, the fear of an inability to contain "disorders" with the few personnel available was always present.

Despite its shortcomings, Phillips's book can be an excellent, detailed introduction to the complexities of British administration in West Africa. It illustrates very well that, far from having a consistent West African policy, the Colonial Office after initial failures approached each area pragmatically and allowed different governors, within wide parameters, to establish their own policies. Although capitalism obviously developed in each area, it was generally at a low level that accommodated itself to commodity production.

HARRY A. GAILEY
San Jose State University

J. B. PEIRES. *The Dead Will Arise: Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle-Killing Movement of 1856-7*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press; Ravan Press, Johannesburg; or James Curry, London. 1989. Pp. xv, 348. Cloth \$37.50, paper \$17.50.

It is extraordinary that the history of the Xhosa cattle killing has not been previously the subject of a book-length study. The episode is so widely known, and so remarkable in terms of both its scale and its tragic dimensions, that one would have thought that it would have received more scholarly attention. Nonetheless, the fact remains that little has been written about the episode other than a few scholarly articles and references in older histories and biographies. J. B. Peires's study surpasses these earlier works, providing the first detailed historical analysis of these events.

Yet the value of this book is based on more than the fact that no one else has studied the cattle-killing incident in depth. Peires's analysis of why thousands of Xhosa followed the apocalyptic prophesy of a young girl, destroying their cattle and crops in the hopes of bringing about the resurrection of the dead and the end of white domination, is a measured study that provides new perspectives on this well-known story.

One of the great strengths of this study is the rich biographical material that Peires provides on the various personalities involved in the incident. Many of these participants, and particularly Africans, have either received inadequate coverage or been presented in ways that reflected the ethnocentric and racial prejudices of contemporary observers. By presenting fuller and more sympathetic treatments of these participants, Peires enriches our understanding of the events leading up to the cattle killing.

Peires's account of the early life of Mhlakaza, the uncle of the prophetess Nongqawuse, is particularly

revealing. Far from being the shadowy, manipulative figure that appears in contemporary accounts, Peires shows Mhlakaza to have lived an earlier life as a Christian convert and the servant and companion of Archdeacon Merriman. During this period, Mhlakaza, known then as William Goliath, engaged in long discussions about religion. Goliath preached to other Xhosa and eventually became the first Xhosa member of the Anglican church. Yet Mhlakaza's Christian aspirations were curtailed by his dismissal from Merriman's service. He eventually turned his back on the church and left the colony in 1853. Three years later he took up the role of preacher once more, preaching a new message of resurrection following the tragic prophecy of his niece Nongqawuse. Peires's account strongly suggests that Mhlakaza's new role was greatly influenced by his earlier experience.

Also of considerable interest is Peires's discussion of the lung sickness epidemic that ravaged the Xhosa herds just before the cattle killing. This epidemic appears to have convinced many Xhosa of the validity of Nongqawuse's prophecy. It may also have reduced the costs of participation because the cattle were already dying.

If there is a weakness in Peires's account, it is his failure to pay serious attention to the way in which Nongqawuse's prophecy and the events leading up to the cattle killing related to wider ontological concepts held by the Xhosa. Although Peires refers at several points to ideas about witchcraft, ancestors, pollution, and death, the study would have benefited from a more coherent effort to understand how the Xhosa themselves viewed the events of the 1850s and the prophecies that emerged during this period in terms of their wider cosmological ideas. Reconstructing cosmological ideas from the nineteenth century is a difficult task, but there may be enough ethnographic and historical material available for one to begin to understand how the Xhosa viewed the events that Peires describes. Without such a framework one is still left asking why the cattle killing occurred. We have a better sense of the personalities involved and the destructive events leading up to the incident, but we need to have a clearer idea of how the Xhosa viewed these events, how they translated this experience in terms of their existing ideas about time, space, the living, and the dead. Peires acknowledges the possibility that subsequent studies might provide an alternative view of the events he has described. One such view would be that of the Xhosa themselves.

Finally, the book, though valuable for historians of southern Africa, could have been made more useful for a wider readership had Peires drawn comparisons between the cattle killing and similar events elsewhere, such as Melanesian cargo cults and the ghost dance of the American Plains Indians.

RANDALL M. PACKARD
Tufts University

ASIA

BEATRICE FORBES MANZ. *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*. (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 227. \$39.50.

The career of Tamerlane (from Temür-i leng)—more correctly Timur or, better yet, Temür—has been an object of scholarly and even artistic interest for centuries. Temür first rose to power within the political system of the Chaghatay khanate in the mid-fourteenth century, where he became leader of one of the four aristocratic tribes of this state (pp. 27–31). The balance of power within the state, founded by Chinggis Khan in the previous century, was upset, however, and Temür became the dominant political actor. Early in Temür's career, a new elite of his loyal followers began to assume key positions, and the Chinggisid rulers, whose political legitimacy was acknowledged, were his puppets (so we are told by the court historians sponsored by Temür and his descendants). It is to this process that this work is devoted.

Beatrice Forbes Manz is to be commended for focusing on a single issue rather than writing yet another description of Temür's campaigns (see earlier works on specific campaigns by scholars such as F. B. Charmoy and M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru or more popular accounts in English by authors such as H. Lamb, H. Hookham, and E. Sokol; these works are not cited). Her goal is to analyze Temür's career as "the founder of a nomad conquest dynasty" through a description of "the logic underlying the politics of a tribal confederation and the practice of personal government" (pp. 18–19). Manz argues that Temür removed lands from the control of the tribes and placed them under emirs of his own Barlas tribe (pp. 80, 109, 151), undertook constant campaigns that prevented the organization of independent centers of power (pp. 84–85), and brought in nomadic units from conquered lands and resettled nomadic Chaghatay units abroad on these same conquered lands (pp. 80, 102, 105, 150).

We must also consider how successfully Manz argues her thesis that Temür "changed the Ulus Chaghatay from a tribal confederation into an army of conquest, in which tribes played only a subordinate part" (p. 74). The author's own words offer a clue: Temür and his society share with earlier nomadic rulers and societies an "apparent confusion of their political systems," which "seems to be a government of overlapping structures and undefined institutions, in which personality and opportunity are the determining factors." Although she writes that one can regard this as "a sign of primitivism," she concludes that political fluidity and institutional confusion "were part of a system which worked" (pp. 19–20). We must observe that, at best, such a view can serve to explain why the argument in this work never emerges clearly; at worst, it suggests that we should approach the author's analysis and conclusions only with the greatest caution. At the heart of the problem is the total absence of any theoretical framework, which is all too common in the study of

Central Asian history. Although this might go unnoticed in a work devoted strictly to political history, Manz's attempt at an analysis of the politics of tribal confederations based on the distinction between "tribal" and "non-tribal" groups (which the author herself considers "arbitrary" [p. 32]) is hampered by inconsistencies and the absence of a consistently applied definition of "tribe." Manz echoes the current thought that a tribe has a complicated and fluid structure (pp. 28–32), but in practice her application of the term throughout the work suggests that she believes that the tribes were, in fact, kinship-based groups (for example, pp. 80–81). Elsewhere she considers tribes as "groups which had not only a corporate name and identity, but also internal leadership: one or two families whose members had a hereditary right to rule the tribe" (p. 39; see also p. 31). A regular application of this last definition, however, would have eliminated any justification for a distinction between the "tribal" and "non-tribal" groups that she describes; in order to bolster her claims, Manz resorts instead to circular reasoning (for example, pp. 74–76).

Manz's research has resulted in a rich body of data, including highly useful appendixes, on "tribal" and "non-tribal" groups and institutions based on scrutiny of the major sources on the career of Temür. This is perhaps the work's most important contribution. It is a pity that these rich data were not presented within a more appropriate framework and more ably integrated with scholarship on the Mongol world empire as a whole. The result would have been a better-focused and better-argued case study of a process in Central Asian history that was not unique to the career of Temür.

ULI SCHAMIOGLU
University of Wisconsin,
Madison

CHIH-P'ING CHOU. *Yüan Hung-tao and the Kung-an School*. (Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature, and Institutions.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. x, 171. \$32.50.

In a broad sense, this book is a study of Chinese literary criticism as it developed from the early sixteenth to the early seventeenth centuries, with emphasis on the literary theories of the Kung-an school as opposed to those of the Archaist school. Through such a study, Chih-p'ing Chou intends to give a new interpretation of the Kung-an school's rise and decline in the late Ming period. I might add that a new interpretation of the twentieth-century revival of this school's literary views is also attempted in the last chapter of the book. In only 122 pages of main text, all important and relevant facts relating to the major theme of the book are adequately covered. The author's clear thinking, acute sense of balance, and commendable stylistic conciseness, among other things, account for this remarkable accomplishment.

The author's most significant contribution to knowledge is his success in singling out and correcting some serious misunderstandings or misconceptions about the literary theories of the three Yüan brothers, particularly Yüan Hung-tao, the leader of the Kung-an school. First of all, their theories are not as original and creative as many scholars have thought. Many, if not all, of their ideas can be traced to earlier sources. Even their hallmark, the term *hsing-ling* (innate sensibility) was not a creation of their own. A tremendous influence exerted on them by their predecessors can be detected throughout their writings. The author is by no means the first one to have done the tracing and detecting, but his findings are certainly the most objective and convincing ones.

A lot of scholars have the erroneous notion that the literary views of the Kung-an school and those of the Archaist school are diametrically opposite. As a matter of fact, many ideas in common can be found in the literary theories of the two schools. The Yüan brothers disapproved of imitating Ch'in and Han prose and high T'ang poetry, but they never ignored the value and quality of such prose and poetry so highly regarded by the Archaist school. They had a great deal to learn from the Archaist masters such as Li Meng-yang and Wang Shih-chen. Moreover, they did not always agree among themselves. Yüan Chung-tao, the reformer of the Kung-an school, actually modified and corrected some of the extreme views held by Yüan Hung-tao, and that helped narrow the theoretical gap between the Kung-an and Archaist schools.

Many Ch'ing critics denounced the Yüan brothers' writings as being vulgar and shallow. But, as the author has correctly pointed out, scholarship and learning were never neglected or belittled by the Kung-an school. Yüan Hung-tao's emphasis on the value of the vernacular language and on the importance of spontaneous expression of true emotion should not be interpreted as promoting vulgarity and shallowness in literature. It was exactly this emphasis that made him a towering figure in the realm of late Ming literary criticism.

Yüan Hung-tao was interested chiefly in poetry rather than in prose. Naturally, his literary theories dealt more with poetry than with prose. Strange to say, critics of the 1930s such as Lin Yutang and Chou Tso-jen focused their attention mainly on his prose when they discussed Yüan Hung-tao as a writer. In doing so, they seem to have given the wrong impression that he was just a prose writer. It seems to me, however, that from another viewpoint it stands to reason for Lin Yutang and Chou Tso-jen and other critics to have valued his prose above his poetry. After all, whether or not he was a poet of the first rate is still debatable, but his reputation as an outstanding essayist seems to have been firmly established.

The "select bibliography" included in this volume is an impressive list of important books and articles all arranged according to their authors in alphabetical order. It would be more helpful to the student of

Chinese literature if those writings had been classified into groups under appropriate headings.

On the whole, this book is without doubt a solid piece of scholarly work. It is one of the very few excellent studies on Yüan Hung-tao and the Kung-an school that have appeared both in and outside China. Its usefulness will indeed last for a long time to come.

TIEN-YI LI
Ohio State University

DAVID FAURE. *The Rural Economy of Pre-Liberation China: Trade Expansion and Peasant Livelihood in Jiangsu and Guangdong, 1870 to 1937*. (East Asian Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. xiv, 283. \$29.95.

David Faure pounds another nail into the coffin of the Theory That Will Not Die. Observers of China's rural economy in the 1920s and 1930s, shocked by the grinding poverty of the peasantry, concluded that their economic well-being had deteriorated since the mid-nineteenth century, primarily because of unequal land distribution and the increase in trade on world markets. Trade, they argued, destroyed the subsistence rural economy and brought in foreign imports, which drove out native products like handwoven textiles. Farmers received lower prices for their goods, while their rents increased, and they suffered additionally from exposure to the cyclical fluctuations of world prices. Owner-cultivators lost out to landlords and rural capitalists; tenants turned into landless laborers. Civil war, foreign encroachment, heavy taxes, and natural disasters only ground the peasants deeper into a vicious cycle of poverty.

Needless to say, such pessimistic views of the rural economy had political as well as scholarly motivations. Agrarian reformers studied the rural economy in order to promote policies they favored. Yet these biased studies are now our only available sources for examining the true conditions of the Chinese peasant in the early twentieth century. Faure's goal is to find his way through the thicket of unexamined assumptions, distorted use of evidence, and untypical cases to a more objective view, sensitive to regional variation. He first asks whether trade severely undermined subsistence agriculture, then looks at inflation, rural marketing, the successes and failures of cash cropping, and landlord-tenant relations, with concluding comments on the effects of the world depression.

The pessimists lose their case. The integration into world markets of the two regions he studies is shown to have had definite advantages for most of the farming population. Exports of silk, cotton, and flour from Jiangsu stimulated moves to cash cropping and a monetized rural economy. In Guangdong, wider markets allowed cash cropping without sacrificing subsistence needs. Despite the best efforts of local power holders, competition was widespread in rural markets.

Why then were the pessimists so upset? Although

trade grew, modern technology, from steam silk filatures to rice and flour mills, did not reach the farm. And not all integration was beneficial. China became vulnerable to flows in the world silver market, causing great price inflation when silver flowed in from 1928 to 1931 and rapid deflation when it flowed out after 1934. Competition from foreign production did destroy tea and sugar exports from Guangdong. There is no question that the world depression caused unprecedented hardship for farmers dependent on world markets. Gains from trade were certainly not equally distributed: owner-cultivators with fixed capital profited more from investments in silkworm rearing than did tenant farmers. Here the question of rural credit is crucial: why were loans more available to property owners than to the poor?

Faure argues for the irrelevance of the broad inequalities between landlord and tenant so important to contemporary writers. Such complex variations of land ownership as lineage ancestral trusts, permanent tenancy and "two-owners per field" arrangements, and scattered plots versus consolidated sand flat estates make gross statistics on tenancy rates unrevealing about the local bases of social and economic power. For the stratum of landless laborers excluded from all village rights, membership in the village community counted for much more than did tenant status. This much is well known. More controversial is Faure's insistence that landlords could not easily raise rents directly, because tenants insisted on maintaining customary levels. He cannot conclude definitely whether landlords were strengthened or weakened by the export economy.

Clearly, market exploitation, however defined, was the least of the Chinese peasant's problems. Then was China's problem in the 1920s and 1930s not too much trade but too little? Such an answer ignores all of the infrastructure that was missing then and is present now: national sovereignty, lack of internal and external warfare, a reliable currency supply, enforceable property rights—to take only the most obvious preconditions for a successful market economy. Faure tends to abstract from these major political changes, but the researchers of the 1920s and 1930s never did. They constantly had in mind China's weakness in the face of domestic turmoil and foreign encroachment. Can changes on the farm be easily isolated from the structure of political power? Faure raises such questions but provides no satisfactory answer.

Faure effectively destroys a simplistic pessimist theory, but one wishes he would advance a better model. Analogous issues raised by the contrasts between the studies of North China by Ramon Myers and Philip Huang hinge on much more subtle questions than a crude opposition of pessimists and optimists. Faure's own analysis fails to attain the sophistication of the North China debate, partly because Japanese sources on North China provide much richer household data than do Faure's scattered local studies and general surveys. He can prove that trade in general did not

harm the peasant, but he cannot explain why some areas lost and some gained. What we need is a theory of market variation, but we are left with scattered observations of specific villages combined with unreliable data on broad regions.

PETER C. PERDUE
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

KAMAL SHEEL. *Peasant Society and Marxist Intellectuals in China: Fang Zhimin and the Origin of a Revolutionary Movement in the Xinjiang Region*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1989. Pp. xvii, 265. \$35.00.

Kamal Sheel's study of the peasant movement in the Chinese Communist revolution is part of what might be called a "Wisconsin school of peasant revolution" in Chinese history. This school is composed of a group of scholars who find their inspiration in the writings of James C. Scott on the "moral economy" of peasant society and the works of the Sinologist Edward Friedman, among others. It is a school of thought that places central importance on the peasants' perception of justice and the new order in the revolution—greater importance than that given to the ideology and organizations of the Communist intellectuals who came to mobilize them. According to Sheel, the revolution was not a simple story of the emancipation of tradition-bound peasants by revolutionary consciousness. The transformation took place on both ends and was possibly greater for Communist intellectuals: revolutionary leaders could mobilize successfully only when they responded to local problems and concerns, used traditional lineage organizations, and appealed to a vocabulary of heroism that evoked less a new socialist society than a peasant utopia.

Sheel traces the beginnings of the peasant movement in northeastern Jiangxi, known as Xinjiang, to the restructuring of rural society wrought by the enormous destruction of the Taiping rebellion and the ensuing civil war in the mid-nineteenth century. The massive depopulation led to the destruction of landlordism and the resurgence of a rural economy dominated by small peasant freeholders (many of whom were new settlers) or tenants with permanent rights on the land that guaranteed their subsistence. Within fifty years, however, these peasants witnessed a decline in their conditions of livelihood as population growth and new economic and political factors eroded their initial advantages. Economically, the penetration of the world capitalist economy into China caused greater constraints on the growth of the peasant economy as the peasantry was forced to respond to unfavorable market forces.

Economic changes did not of themselves immiserize the peasantry; what really weakened in the twentieth century were survival strategies and traditional mechanisms of redistribution. This, according to Sheel, had to do with political changes. The feeble Qing, and later the chaotic Republican, state created conditions

whereby the landlord elite was able to appropriate state power at the local level and thus better able to siphon off rural surpluses through fresh taxes and levies. Discovering these new foundations for its power, the landed elite abandoned its paternalistic obligations, which led to a breakdown in the moral basis of the relationship between elite and peasant. It is under these circumstances that revolutionary intellectuals appeared on the scene. The Communists could make headway with the peasantry only when they were able to respond to the moral as well as to the politico-economic crisis of peasant society.

The school of thought with which Sheel's analysis is associated has not evoked much agreement or sympathy from the field. It is difficult to demonstrate the thesis that subsistence guarantees or survival strategies suddenly eroded everywhere, or even in most places, in the early twentieth century. And Sheel's evidence is not overwhelming. Evidence from the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries that peasants called their landlords "cannibals" and "murderers" does not prove that they did not call them such names before that period.

Nonetheless, the book has considerable strengths. Its greatest strength, perhaps, is the biography of Fang Zhimin, the revolutionary intellectual turned peasant leader. Particularly compelling is the account of Fang's ideological synthesis of revolutionary Marxism with the elemental imagery and emotionalism of peasant culture and even peasant nationalism. Sheel turns to Franz Fanon to make sense of this curious and fascinating synthesis and persuades us that in the cult of Fang Zhimin, "the liberating king" (p. 171), it is hard to say whether revolutionary ideology has appropriated the peasant or the other way around.

PRASENJIT DUARA
University of Chicago

DANIEL LITTLE. *Understanding Peasant China: Case Studies in the Philosophy of Social Science*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 322. \$30.00.

This book is not so much about China as about several theories that are employed by historians of China in understanding their subject. As a rare attempt to balance the books, to make scholars within the discipline take account of one another's arguments, the volume should contribute to continuing debates. It does not. Its discussion is narrow and its analysis trite.

The book divides evenly into four chapters dealing with arguments within Chinese studies and four treating the philosophy of science. The philosophy of science is Hempel's argument of the relationship of general laws to historical facts. Despite Daniel Little's avowed interest in cultural relativism, Claude Lévi-Strauss does not merit as much as an entry in the bibliography.

The four chapters on China each deal with a controversy. Chapter 2 discusses the "moral economy" debate; chapter 3, "regional systems in traditional China";

chapter 4, the “breakthrough” debate; and chapter 5, “theories of peasant rebellion.” Each chapter singles out several American authors who have written on these subjects, summarizes their writings, and argues their merits or shortcomings. Philosophy has little place in these chapters. The weight of the argument rests on how well the theories fit the facts. One wishes that Little knew the facts better. Confined to facts presented in the works that he summarizes, Little turns himself into an arbitrator on the authors brought before him. Thus, he tells his readers where in the moral economy debate Samuel L. Popkin might complement James C. Scott; he finds G. William Skinner’s evidence in support of his “regional systems” arguments wanting; he accepts both Kang Chao and Victor Lippit but sets them essentially as answers to the pseudo-question of why Chinese agriculture did not “break through to self-sustained growth, rapid technological innovation, and ever-higher levels of productivity” (p. 105); and, after a discussion of Susan Naquin, Robert Marks, and Elizabeth Perry, he advises historians of China that they should not see as “ultimate truth” any one of the three models that they resort to in their analyses of peasant rebellions—millennialism, class conflict, and local politics—but “should absorb the important insights each has provided into the multistranded fabric of rural collective violence” (p. 186).

The obvious objection to the selections discussed in this book is that they hardly do justice to any one of the positions assessed. That Skinner’s evidence is inadequate does not weaken the “regional system” argument for the simple reason that stronger evidence is available elsewhere, and not necessarily published in English. Chao and Lippit are indeed interesting but surely not the examples that historians of China look at when they consider the “breakthrough” argument. For a more relevant example, what about Mark Elvin? As for his discussion of the theory of class conflict as an interpretation on “peasant rebellions,” Marks’s study is the weakest of three monographs in English on the Haifeng incident, and the other two do not advocate a class conflict view of analysis. The objection is not the philosophy but the philosopher’s ability to judge the facts presented before him. After a nine-page discussion of Marks’s work, Little comes to the conclusion that, even if the class conflict model does not fit nineteenth-century rebellions well, it “seems to fit twentieth-century movements substantially better” (p. 167). This surprising judgment comes out of a one-paragraph discussion supported by one footnote, and, of all the writers on the subject, Chen Yung-fa is quoted in the note as the authority. Surely, Chen does not argue that the class conflict model fits the facts of the Soviets in central China, or even that the Chinese Communist party succeeded on the platform of a class conflict model, but that the party constantly bent its model to suit its political program.

Little may well retort, however, that such objection belongs to the nitty gritty that historians argue about and that he deals with the broader issues of method.

Indeed, that is how it should be, but that is not what this book does. The philosopher interested in method should ask what on earth a “moral economy of the peasant” might be and how it could be different from any economy, how a view of China as a collection of regional systems might make an impact on other approaches to Chinese society, how a question on a non-event in Chinese history, such as the lack of an economic breakthrough, might be answered, or why China’s rural rebels should or should not be regarded as peasants. The philosopher might also set the debates of historians of China in historical context: does not the history of science go hand in hand with its philosophy? None of these questions are dealt with in this book. Methodological issues are not sufficiently discussed in the China field; it is such a pity that a book that aspires to doing it fails so miserably.

DAVID FAURE
University of Oxford

ELLEN JOHNSTON LAING. *The Winking Owl: Art in the People’s Republic of China*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1988. Pp. x, 194; 14 plates. \$45.00.

The rocky relationship between the arts and the Communist party in China has been better explored for literature than for the visual arts. Communist rulers, in taking the arts seriously, supporting them, promoting them, and attempting to enlist them in the effort to change values, have often ended by stifling and weakening the arts but also making them important and potentially subversive (ask Vaclav Havel). If the title of this book suggests that the visual arts challenged political authority in China, however, the evidence presented shows the opposite, namely, that art was dominated by the shifting directions of party commissars, at least during the Maoist era.

Ellen Johnston Laing’s work is really about the Maoist era and particularly the effects of political control on art from the Hundred Flowers period of 1956–57 to the death of Mao in 1976. (The book overlaps hardly at all with Joan Lebold Cohen’s *The New Chinese Painting, 1949–1986* [1987], which concentrates on modern art between 1979 and 1983.) The strength of Laing’s work is in the juxtaposition of illustrations, well chosen and clearly reproduced, with lengthy quotations or paraphrases from contemporary articles about specific works of art. Flipping back and forth between the pictures and what was said in praise or criticism of them in official publications such as *Chinese Literature and Meishu* shows clearly how art was viewed by authorities at various times and just what the shifts in policy between tighter and looser political control meant for art.

During periods when political considerations outweighed aesthetic ones and content counted more than form, poster art predominated. The Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution featured realistic,

figurative, brightly colored (particularly with red) pictures of factories, railroads, dams ("socialist triumphs in public projects"), of happy peasants, workers, and soldiers in immediately intelligible poses at labor or perhaps studying Mao Zedong's thought, and of the great man himself in godlike poses. As in Jiang Qing's model operas, heroic figures with robust physiques calmly and confidently faced forward, center stage, bathed in warm light surrounded perhaps by violent nature. Art was encouraged from worker and peasant amateurs, often produced collectively. The style—Jiang Qing (Mao's wife) was antitraditional as well as antiprofessional—was apt to be derived from folk art or from Russian socialist realism, which was ultimately rooted in nineteenth-century European academic and realist art.

In more relaxed periods, particularly 1960–64, professional artists dominated, and there was room for individual style. A greater breadth of subject matter was permitted, including nonpolitical themes, decorative motifs, attractive young women, people at rest, landscapes with tiny figures or none at all, and somber night scenes or images obscured by mist or rain to give a poetic mood. The return in the early 1960s of traditional Chinese-style landscapes and bird-and-flower paintings was no doubt also connected to deteriorating relations with the Soviet Union; the continued attraction of traditional forms is one way in which the visual arts differ significantly from literature in China.

Laing writes interestingly about art (though her summaries of Chinese articles are sometimes mechanical and tedious) but is less sure of herself when it comes to explaining political background or such matters as theory realism or the point of the campaign against Lin Biao and Confucius. Working only from published materials and not interviews, she gives little sense of the personal rivalries and factions behind the politics. There are little slips such as calling Yan'an a village or intellectuals a class. She does not say much about the quality of this art as art; presumably it is important because of its wide impact on society, which makes one wish for more information on which works and which types of works were broadly disseminated and which were not. The writing is frequently less than graceful.

The main story of art and politics from the late 1950s to the mid-1970s is sandwiched between two somewhat incongruous chapters. One is on woodcuts in twentieth-century China, concentrating on the pre-1949 period and showing how the Western-derived style promoted by Lu Xun was later, during the war years, rejected by the Communists for a more colorful style based on folk art. The other chapter is a lengthy and not terribly interesting description of Mao Zedong's mausoleum (which fails to answer the question of why this shrine so resembles the picture on the back of an American five-dollar bill). A useful list is appended of brief biographical notices of two hundred or so artists

with names in Chinese and sources of information given.

R. DAVID ARKUSH
University of Iowa

MELVYN C. GOLDSTEIN. *A History of Modern Tibet, 1913–1951: The Demise of the Lamaist State*. Assisted by GELEK RIMPOCHE. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1989. Pp. xxv, 898. \$85.00.

By far the most interesting and revealing part of this book is the front matter (pp. xv–xxv, 1–37). Melvyn C. Goldstein, a professional anthropologist, goes to great pains to explain how his study, unlike previous treatments of the subject, is not only more complete but also less "obscured by current political expediency" (that is, unbiased toward support of either Tibetan independence or Chinese domination). It is certainly true that Goldstein's narrative of political events in Tibet during the twentieth century is more extensive than any previously published; whether it is more accurate, or less politically expedient, is questionable.

The author's sources are almost exclusively in Tibetan or English. Despite his excellent connections in China—he is to my knowledge the only American Tibetologist who has ever been given repeated permission by the current Chinese regime to do fieldwork in Tibet—he makes no reference to having even attempted to use any Chinese sources except a few that have been translated into Tibetan or English. This is inexcusable for a historian of Tibet. (If he is ignorant of Chinese, he could easily have hired Chinese students to assist him.) He has used a great deal of rare Tibetan written material but depends on oral interviews and on a series of heavily edited oral accounts published in Chinese-occupied Tibet. The reliability of much of this material, as he himself points out on occasion, is often uncertain.

In his discussion of the Tibetan religious-political system of reincarnation, he says of the Dalai Lamas, "The Bodhisattva . . . Avalokiteśvara's essence long ago emanated into a male fetus, which then became the manifestation of that deity on earth: the Dalai Lama" (p. 11). This description reveals a fundamental ignorance of the meaning of the Tibetan Buddhist terms and concepts involved.

In his discussion of Tibet and its relationship with the Manchu empire, the author continually confuses "Manchu" and "Chinese." It appears that he does not fully understand (or care?) that the difference, in connection with modern Tibetan history, is vital.

He goes into some detail on what he refers to as the "serf" system in Tibet, making no reference to the use of the term "serf" by the Chinese government for propaganda purposes or to the controversy in English-language periodicals over his own usage of the term, a controversy in which he has actively participated. In fact, Goldstein's own discussion of what he calls the "serf system" demonstrates conclusively that "serf" is a

misnomer. If what he is talking about, namely, *mi ser*, must be discussed in Western medieval terms, it might be relatable to "vassal," but "serf," especially in view of the numerous categories of "landless serfs," is misleading. One wonders about Goldstein's stubborn defense of this term and about his usage of the Chinese coinage "Lamaist," a pejorative term for "Tibetan Buddhist." Would a book on "the Papist state" be nonpartisan?

The bulk of the volume consists of a straight political narrative, filled with lengthy source quotations (much of the material previously unavailable or unknown), relating the history of Tibet from the thirteenth Dalai Lama (born in 1876) to the Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1950–51. In the first twenty pages, Goldstein summarizes the events up to Tibet's 1911 declaration of independence on the fall of the Manchu empire; the remainder of the text is approximately evenly divided between the thirty-three years up to 1944 and the six years after 1944.

The book ends with a number of comments that, like the front matter and remarks scattered throughout the narrative, cause doubts to arise as to its putative impartiality: for example, "in the end it [Tibet] felt compelled to accept Chinese sovereignty" (p. 813). Most dismaying of all is the postscript, which states that after the capitulation in August 1951, "the traditional Tibetan government continued to function, albeit with varying degrees of Chinese interference. A series of complicated events rendered this increasingly difficult after 1955, however, and in March 1959, the Dalai Lama and most of his key officials fled to exile in India. In the next two years approximately 80,000 Tibetans also fled" (p. 825). Goldstein does not mention that the number of Tibetans in Tibet who suddenly died after having been "compelled to accept Chinese sovereignty" has been estimated to have been as much as 1.2 million (out of a population of around 6 million). This "series of complicated events" is also known by another term, used by the International Commission of Jurists in 1960 in their condemnation of the Chinese actions in Tibet: "genocide."

C. I. BECKWITH
Indiana University,
Bloomington

GARY L. EBERSOLE. *Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 338. \$35.00.

From the earliest times recoverable by scholars to eighth-century Japan, the death of a monarch, heir apparent, or other crucial figure was a time of maneuver and stress at court as individuals negotiated personal needs and cultural rites. In particular, the "temporary enshrinement" of the dead in a *mogari no miya* for up to two years or more was an occasion for intrigue as observances were performed to recall the soul of a deceased ruler to the corpse and eventually to pass on the royal soul to the next ruler. Inside were

women crucial to political aspirations. Possession of them or of the shrine priestess at Ise (where similar soul-beckoning rites went on) was one way of capturing power. Outside the *mogari no miya*, princes and court ministers vied in praising the departed, recalling past services, and seeking to retain or augment power. Once an outcome had been reached, or forced, it was fitted into certain mythic patterns, which were in turn adaptable to new needs. Such a dialectic of event and ritual pattern also allowed for interruptions of given practices, but in any event design and change became historical reality in early Japan. It can be traced in the myths, annals, and poems of the two early histories (the *Nihon Shoki* in Chinese, the *Kojiki* in Japanese) and in the first great collection of Japanese poetry (the *Man'yōshū*, last datable poem from 759).

Such is Gary L. Ebersole's thesis in a book remarkable for clarity, revisionism, and daring. It is astonishing that so fully articulated and coherent an account is feasible for events so remote. Ebersole has sifted fragmentary, cryptic information with care and has employed ingenuity. Charts and diagrams explain. Japanese scholarship, work in English, and anthropological theory (for example, Clifford Geertz and Victor Turner) are enlisted. Ebersole fearlessly dismisses ideas of the best-known scholars, quickly commends those who are right, and attends to certain alternative explanations.

The dust jacket tells us that the author holds positions in East Asian languages and literatures, in humanistic comparative studies, and in religious studies. Historians will find his study important, and all students of early Japanese culture will have to consider it.

I have some reservations and criticisms. The enterprise illustrates too well David Erdman's sober dictum: the earlier the historical period, the less is deemed adequate proof. So little evidence (mere portions of three early works) could not possibly suffice for a study of Japanese culture two centuries later. Buddhism remains unclear in effect. Shamanism is recognized but insufficiently in my view. The same holds for women (although what we are given is a breakthrough), largely because attention is focused so sharply on whomever the annals and the poems are about. Chinese records show that there were important queens in what are now Kyushu and Niigata. Tensions with Izumo are minimized. The strong Korean presence seems nonexistent. The desire to make Kakinomoto Hitomaro into a wholly ritualistic poet seems not worth the effort, nor is it explained how a contemporary such as Ōtomo Tabito could suddenly think of nonritualistic subjects. Yamabe Akahito, who does fit the pattern, gets only one early mention. Poems of problematic authorship are given the one most convenient for the thesis.

My reservations and hesitations could be extended. But, if the purpose of a book is to require rethinking, and if internal coherence of an argument is important, this work deserves a prize.

EARL MINER
Princeton University

JAMES R. BARTHOLOMEW. *The Formation of Science in Japan: Building a Research Tradition*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989. Pp. xvii, 371. \$30.00.

In 1987, Nobel laureate Tonegawa Susumu, a biologist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, claimed that he might not have done his award-winning research had he remained in Japan. Other Japanese scientists have voiced similar complaints. They have argued that funding is biased in favor of privileged professors, that the remnants of Tokugawa-era feudalism stifle innovation, that groupism tramples the individualism necessary for creativity and promotes secrecy and factionalism, and that ascription (being the son-in-law of an influential scientist) rather than pure ability determines who gets good jobs in academia. These are not new criticisms; most were heard in the late nineteenth century and rose to a crescendo around World War I and again after World War II. Americans have occasionally joined the chorus, dismissing Japanese science as derivative and uncreative. Small wonder that there has been relatively little written in English about the history of Japanese science.

James R. Bartholomew's important book rescues Japanese science from obscurity among English-speaking scholars and provides ample evidence that many of the criticisms are unwarranted. He brings to light individuals and institutions unknown to most in the West and unappreciated by many, including scientists, in Japan. He discusses science, medicine, and mathematics in the Tokugawa period (1600–1868), not merely to show their incompatibility with the modern, Western-inspired scientific institutions developed after the Meiji Restoration (1868), but, more positively, to analyze the social origins of scientists and the limited, though important, institutional continuities from Tokugawa to Meiji. He treats the questions of groupism and loyalty to mentors and analyzes where they did and where they did not create factionalism and secrecy to the detriment of innovation. And he puts to rest the complaint made by some Japanese critics, especially in the Meiji and Taishō periods, that marriage to the boss's daughter was a sure-fire way for an ambitious but talentless aspirant to get an academic sinecure. A conspicuous number of young researchers may have been married to the daughters of influential men, but, Bartholomew notes, marriage usually came only after a young man had distinguished himself in school, thereby putting himself in line for a research job by his own accomplishments.

Bartholomew's synthesis of Tokugawa science prepares the reader for his important contention that, although the methods of modern scientific research in Japan were adapted from Western institutions and norms of scholarly conduct, both recruitment to the profession and the preferred areas of study were influenced by Tokugawa precedents. Physics and astronomy, because of their putative connection to the proscribed Christian religion, were under the watchful eyes of the Tokugawa authorities, and mathematics was

scorned by samurai-class scholars (though an important indigenous form of mathematics, *wasan*, was studied by commoners). By far the most successful scientific field was medicine, whose practitioners, operating relatively freely within the restrictive Tokugawa political system, displayed an interest, unseen in other disciplines, in the dissemination and debating of ideas. It comes as no surprise that medicine continued to be the most successful area in Meiji scientific research.

Bartholomew's discussion of the class background of Meiji scientists, physicians, and mathematicians as well as their education—training in Japan by Japanese and Western teachers, followed by graduate school in Germany or another Western country—is informative. So, too, is his contention that Japanese graduate students frequently replicated the laboratory setting, scientific methods, and even political persuasion of their particular foreign mentors. No single European or American model was emulated; rather, there was a diversity of approaches, which fostered competition (a good thing) but also factionalism (a bad thing).

The author's analysis of institution building in science is helpful. He uses a variety of sources, including memoirs, university histories, and Diet records, to indicate the sophistication of the debate about research institutions. Scientists, officials, and journalists debated the benefits of research universities, of research labs independent of universities, and of commercial applications of basic science, all against the backdrop of interministerial rivalry. Bartholomew enriches this discussion by fleshing out several of the protagonists. Scientists whose discoveries gave them renown in the West (though, oddly, not the Nobel prizes that Western scientists of similar accomplishment received) are presented as both researchers and real people with personal agendas and sometimes petty attitudes. We see how scientific institutions were molded through the clash of egos and ideas. The book's main story ends around World War I, when Japanese science could be said to have come of age.

This book contributes greatly to Western knowledge of the accomplishments of Japanese scientists. Many significant early breakthroughs in bacteriology and oncology and several other world-class discoveries in other sciences were made in Japan before World War I. Because Japanese scientists failed to earn the recognition they deserved, Japan has been known, until recently, as a country weak in science.

This fine book contains a few problems. A bibliography is sorely missed. There should be more balance in the coverage of the researchers mentioned; one of the medical researchers, Kitasato Shibasaburō, is presented as almost larger than life. One rather key sentence is incomprehensible to me: "The present term for science in Japanese, *kagaku*, refers less to content or method and more to the spectrum of specialized fields" (p. 4). The author gives us tantalizingly little about women scientists; a bit more about their absence from science

would be informative. And the term "feudalism" in reference to Tokugawa society should be defined.

BARBARA MOLONY
Santa Clara University

HELEN HARDACRE. *Shintō and the State, 1868–1988*. (Studies in Church and State.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1989. Pp. xvi, 203. \$24.95.

In Western minds, "Shinto" is inseparably linked to the country of Japan and the support of that country's militarism during World War II; there is good reason for such perceptions. With the exception of Shinto shrines built and used by the Japanese government in Japan's former colonial territories, Shinto has been a religion of and for the Japanese people; no other people, culture, or country has voluntarily practiced Shinto. And Shinto has been very closely allied to the Japanese government, especially after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 and during the policies leading up to World War II. Helen Hardacre's book examines in closer detail the interrelationship between Shinto and the state in the span of years between 1868 and 1988, in the process exploring the nuances of the history and nature of the relationship.

Her first task is to show that Shinto was a rather nebulous, very loosely organized tradition until it was transformed by the conscious attempt of the state to use Shinto and the symbol of the emperor to help unify and support the state. By definition, "The term *State Shinto*, as used here, designates the relationship of state patronage and advocacy existing between the Japanese state and the religious practice known as Shinto between 1868 and 1945" (p. 4). The collusion between state and Shinto, however, was never a matter of a clearly conceived plan agreed on beforehand by both sides. There were a number of alternative plans with supporters and detractors, both within the government and within Shinto. One of Hardacre's specific contributions is her careful historical research, using even the diaries of local priests to question the "supposedly monolithic character" of their support of State Shinto (p. 8). Here she is following the lead of Edward Shils in *Tradition* (1981), in which he notes in modern societies "a shift of focus from the center to the periphery"; Hardacre explores "the significance for popular religious life of the state's involvement in Shinto between 1868 and 1945" (p. 7).

Hardacre provides a convenient survey of the nature and role of Shinto in connection to the state but is primarily concerned with documenting and interpreting how State Shinto affected popular religious life. Toward this end, separate chapters show how Shinto was used to promote a national program of "doctrine" and how State Shinto affected the Shinto priesthood, shrines, and rites, as well as religious freedom. Hardacre also deals with Shinto and the state since 1945, demonstrating with case studies the continuing influence of the pre-1945 situation and the ambiguities in

religious freedom today. Generally she is pessimistic about the future prospects of Shinto, which depended so heavily on the state to provide its impetus from 1868 to 1945, and is cautious about its current attempts to "work towards establishing substantive links to the state" (p. 163).

The major contribution of the book is to document, in considerable detail, the process of the formation of State Shinto (especially the grass-roots aspects of Shinto participation) and the role of State Shinto in shaping the contemporary situation of Shinto as a religious tradition. One especially interesting aspect of this description and analysis is the discussion of the debate over whether Shinto is a religion, investigating not only the Shinto arguments that Shinto is really a suprarreligious entity providing the nation's rites and creed but also the Western (especially Protestant) notions of religion used to counter this argument and, after World War II, to promote the separation of religion and state in Japan (which has its own problems, as in the United States).

This work raises crucial questions about the current religious and political situation in Japan and will be of interest not only to specialists on Japan but also to other scholars ready for a fresh interpretation of the interrelationship between church, or religion, and state.

H. BYRON EARTHART
Western Michigan University

WILLIAM H. FREDERICK. *Visions and Heat: The Making of the Indonesian Revolution*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 1989. Pp. xxvi, 339. Cloth \$36.95, paper \$17.95.

In the mythology of the Indonesian revolution, the Battle of Surabaya in November 1945 appears as a high point of popular participation and fervor, but what struck the author of this book was the discovery that the city's public utilities continued to function more or less as they had in colonial days, right up to the eve of the battle (p. x). William H. Frederick concluded that what needed investigation was not the revolution's break with the past but its continuity. In consequence—and *pace* the title—this is a work not about visions and heat but about the evolving consciousness of interests among the Indonesian population of Surabaya from early in the twentieth century to 1945.

In the first part of the work, Frederick devotes care to conveying a sense of the city's social organization and the way its inhabitants viewed their world. In doing so he makes heavy use of oral history, which brings vividness and fresh views but, with interviews thirty years or more after the revolution, poses problems of reliability, although vignettes of individual Surabayans are skillfully woven in to lend conviction to the account. He identifies two social groups as central to his subject: the "kampung middle class," or those better-off residents of Surabaya's popular neighborhoods who had enjoyed some modern schooling, and the "new priyayi class," or modern-educated elite, also categorized

loosely as "intellectuals." From the *priyayi* class came the officials and technicians who kept Surabaya's utilities running, and they also provided local leadership for the nationalist movement. They saw it as their duty to enlighten and mobilize the common folk, in which mission they largely failed, for the kampung dwellers remained aware that, in spite of the intellectuals' romantic populism, they did not really seek anything from independence beyond replacing the Dutch with themselves.

The new *priyayi* class saw the key to progress in education and organization, and Frederick's discussion of the colonial period is increasingly given over to its activity in these spheres. In the process he tends to exclude other shaping influences. We might expect, for example, that the Great Depression affected Surabayan popular attitudes, because the city was the Netherlands East Indies' industrial center and was highly dependent on the fortunes of the Javanese sugar business, but the depression does not figure in his account of the 1930s.

With World War II and outbreak of revolution, the tale shifts decisively to the local reflection of national concerns. It provides a great deal of useful information on this topic but loses much of the originality and social sweep of earlier chapters. The Surabayan common folk, having failed to respond to the intellectuals' pleas, largely drop out of sight and then emerge abruptly in the outburst of "mobism" that preceded the Battle of Surabaya. The ethnic and religious divisions so characteristic of the city and its hinterland are scarcely mentioned; in effect, there are no actors save intellectuals of various nationalist hues, a mass defined by its response to their leadership, and Japanese, Dutch, and British interlocutors.

Frederick is critical of earlier historians, in particular Benedict Anderson, whom he sees as romanticizing the revolutionary experience. Indeed, a study stressing the revolution as a nonevent could be written for many parts of Indonesia, but the choice of Surabaya is not a particularly happy one for this theme. That focus leaves unexplained much that surrounded the battle, which is the culminating event in this account. Clearly not only the masses but also otherwise cautious intellectuals shared in the exaltation of violence. And why did a great part of the city's population, including its elite, abandon Surabaya for more than two years following the battle? Surely something beside calculation kept them for so long in difficult exile when they could have enjoyed relative security and prosperity in the city held by the Dutch. Perhaps we are still in the position of the blind men and the elephant in studying the Indonesian revolution. If ever we are vouchsafed a glimpse of the whole beast, we will discover that it is neither Anderson's trunk nor Frederick's tail but both parts that are integral to it.

RUTH MCVEY

*School of Oriental and African Studies,
University of London*

BURTON STEIN. *The New Cambridge History of India*. Volume 1, part 2, *Vijayanagara*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. xiv, 156. \$34.50.

This volume is a contribution to an ambitious series, "The Mughals and Their Contemporaries," the first part of a history of India covering the last six hundred years. Burton Stein's topic is the southern area of peninsular India under the hegemony of Vijayanagara, the "City of Victory," between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. Vijayanagara was notable in a number of important ways: it united all of southern India under one political system for a very long time; it represented the last really big polity based on indigenous South Asian concepts rather than on Turkic-Islamic administrative norms; it played a major role in the initial period of contact with European imperialism—first Portuguese, then Dutch and English. As a summary and synthesis of contemporary scholarship on this topic, the book certainly belongs on the shelves of libraries and scholars of South Asia. It is also an important statement by an influential writer.

Stein has been well known in South Asian circles for his persistent deconstruction of theoretical positions underlying historical research. He especially targets concepts such as "centralization" or its alternative, "feudalism," and is unwavering in his critique of Hindu versus Muslim ideologies as motivating factors in medieval politics. He remains committed to his formulation of the "segmentary state" as an avenue for fruitful insights into South Asian political economy. In this context the present work occupies a central position in the development of Stein's thought, linking his earlier work on the Chola state (ninth to thirteenth centuries) in *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India* (1980) and his later work on Thomas Munro and the early British colonial system.

The author bases his analyses on the geographic and ecological components of South India, then outlines the spread of localized agricultural zones. Although his main focus is not means and relations of production, he recognizes class stratification and the dominance of landholding or trading castes, exercising intensive, localized control. In his view, it is the tenacity of localized elites and "communal" bodies right into the colonial period that forms the substratum of political structure. A vibrant agrarian and trading economy expanded during Vijayanagara times into drier upland areas, moving at an accelerated rate into commodity production and Indian Ocean commerce. The political center of this dynamic world was the great capital on the Tungabhadra River, simultaneously administrative, mercantile, and regal-ritual hub. But hub of what? Stein looks hard at the data but cannot find proof of any direct administrative control emanating from the capital over the "empire." In his view, Vijayanagara was only the center of one segmentary unit built on regional economy and regional alliances among warrior families. Dominance over the remainder of the penin-

sula rested on ritualized demonstrations of prowess, notably military expeditions and religious largesse. Other segments within the polity were essentially independent areas in loose alliance with Vijayanagara "generalissimos" (pp. 55–58, 70–71). Vijayanagara was thus a larger and more heavily militarized version of the segmentary, ritual polity traced by Stein as far back as the seventh century in South India.

The author writes with great confidence and enriches the texture of his views by contrasting "communal" rights, manipulated by autochthonous leaderships, with the prebendal rights of "chiefs" who emerged from that leadership or received warrants to rule from the kings. Stein is most engaging when discussing the policies of Krishnadevaraya, the most successful of the kings, who in the early sixteenth century created prebendal alliances with brahman administrators and small-scale protectors (*poligar*), thus outflanking the bigger chiefs and generalissimos who were effectively independent rulers over entire regions. In this construction, the king became a great conqueror not because he strengthened bureaucratic control but because he manipulated personalized, nonbureaucratic ties, that is, played the segmentary game very well. Stein is more interested in Rama Raja—general, rebel, regent, and finally king—whose last campaign in 1565 led to the destruction of Vijayanagara by an alliance of Muslim rulers from the north. Rama Raja destroyed the kingdom by playing too well into the hands of the great chiefs, trading concessions in return for alliances that gained him the throne. By undercutting the weak prebendalism of the empire and encouraging a more "patrimonial" style, Rama Raja demonstrated all too well his own knowledge and command of the segmentary state.

The pattern is enriched further by the author's discussion of extensive "modes of administration" (p. 86) emerging from the households of kings and chiefs, village organizations, temple management, and networks of merchants. These administrative systems furthered the economic growth during the Vijayanagara period and formed the basis for consolidation under later petty kings and *nayaka* rulers, who are the focus of the last part of this book. Those interested in challenging or elaborating on the segmentary state will find plenty of work in these arenas, for the author often points out directions rather than providing detailed studies of his own.

Stein has avoided wooden debates on royal successions and sources, presenting instead living portraits of people competing for honor and authority in a changing world. The prose style is straightforward (though marred by a surprising number of typographic errors), the map aids in navigation among geographic names, and the index includes more than just proper names. A list of kings' names and regnal years might have been useful, and the bibliographical essay at the end seems quite inadequate in the absence of a more exhaustive

list of sources. The small problems detract little from a signal addition to South Indian studies.

JAMES HEITZMAN
Cazenovia College

SANDRIA B. FREITAG. *Collective Action and Community: Public Arenas and the Emergence of Communalism in North India*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1989. Pp. xvii, 328. \$32.00.

Historical works tend to fall into two categories, those that present knowledge we have not known before and those that provide the reader with new forms of understanding and interpretation. Sandria B. Freitag has done both in a complex study that demands the close attention of its readers but then rewards them with a carefully constructed vision of the forces that created communalism and nationalism in British India. The regional focus of this book is the United Provinces, from the last third of the nineteenth century through the first half of the twentieth, and its primary subject is urban riots. The author examines these with the purpose of exploring the formation of communities and communal identity. Freitag "looks to the realm in which community has been expressed and redefined through collective activities in public arenas" (p. 6). The concept of the "public sphere" and its role in the creation of different "communities," as well as what is expressed by a "range of actors" in this arena, is fundamental to the historical judgments presented here. The point of perspective studied by Freitag is that of the lower classes rather than the activities of literate elites, which are so often the point of departure for South Asian historians. Ironically, because the lower classes were illiterate, the sources for such a historical approach are primarily British, so we find history returning once more to documents written in the English language.

This volume is divided into three sections. The first, containing two chapters, sets the historical context and describes the methodological approach with particular emphasis on the concept of the "public sphere." The city of Benares provides a central point for the second chapter, which analyzes the relation of the state to "natural leaders," namely, those whom the British attempted to conscript as supporters of their state. Section 2 focuses on the cities of Bareilly and Agra, and Freitag turns to "structure and communities" created by action within the public sphere. The last section contains three chapters in which the politicization of communities and their relation to the concept of nationalism are examined. Freitag notes that, through the historical process, "invented traditions relied particularly on the interplay of public sphere and ritual. In this way collective behavior meshed with political behavior" (p. 187). Each section is prefaced by an introduction that discusses the theoretical and conceptual structure used within it. A conclusion follows that brings together the entire discussion from the nine-

teenth century through independence and points to the separatist struggles of contemporary South Asia. The author has included a glossary of South Asian terms, an appendix that contains a five-page chronology of the major events from 1555 to 1971, and an extensive bibliography of relevant literature.

Freitag has drawn on the writings of European historians of England and France as well as the "subaltern school" of South Asian history for her conceptual models. She states, "I think that studies of South Asia could prove very interesting to those who write European social history" (p. xiii). This book is then, at one level, a conscious contribution to comparative history. Although Freitag focuses on South Asian history, she writes for a wider audience in an attempt to transcend the relatively narrow limits normal to South Asian publications. This is a complex book that results from extensive research and intellectual endeavor. It should be read by all advanced students and scholars of modern South Asia as well as scholars of other countries who wish to broaden their own perspective by studying another—but, I hope, no longer "exotic"—region of the world.

KENNETH W. JONES
Kansas State University

PORTIA ROBINSON. *The Women of Botany Bay: A Reinterpretation of the Role of Women in the Origins of Australian Society*. North Ryde, Australia: Macquarie Library. 1988. Pp. xv, 344.

This monograph is a study of pioneer convict women in New South Wales from 1788 to 1829, women under sentences of transportation or free women who came to join convict husbands. Britishers looked on these convicts as scum, depraved people who could not be expected to be rehabilitated. Visitors, such as officials and soldiers, were surprised at the civilization that they found down under. Either by themselves or with male partners, these women often responded positively to the challenge of colonial society by setting up small businesses or working in various trades. Yet for more than a generation their British reputation as evil people continued. Portia Robinson traces the fortunes of these early women settlers in great detail.

Before transportation these women lived in squalor and disease. When first on convict ships, their physical appearance added to the conviction that they were morally unclean. The average age of the female convict was the mid-twenties; they were prostitutes, pickpockets, highway robbers, and burglars. Many of them were young girls who had come to London seeking employment and, finding none, turned to stealing until they were caught up in the harsh and cruel system of the criminal justice that prevailed.

Robinson pays a good deal of attention to women transported from Ireland, who formed a distinctive group within colonial society. Perhaps half of the women transported to Botany Bay were Irish. They

came from the lowest social order and had lived lives of desperation and hardship. In Botany Bay there was widespread fear of the Irish convicts. On average they were an older group than the English women, and all were aware that they were banished from their homeland for life. Following the rebellion of 1798, they were assumed to bring with them disruption, turbulence, and even rebellion. Every Irish convict was thought to harbor treachery, treason, and murder. The presence of Irish women encouraged that fear, but, in fact, they played the role of family builders. Leaving their children in the Emerald Isle, they resumed a family life style in the penal colony, helping to create stability and normality in convict society. Still in the minds of the colonial officials, the women and girls transported from Ireland were very dangerous. This opinion rested mainly on the fact of their Irish origin. Everyone knew of the rebellious and turbulent nature of the Irish. Contemporary observers did not notice the difference between the colonial lives of these women and their Irish lives.

Many convict husbands made great efforts to bring their families to the penal colony. Free convict wives became a unique group in Botany Bay, becoming part of convict society through the offenses of their husbands. The convict wife frequently became head of the household with her husband assigned to her as a government servant or a ticket-of-leave man, serving the remainder of his sentence as a servant to his wife. Because the husband was a convict legally ineligible to engage openly in many economic activities, frequently the wife found it necessary to apply for land grants, leases, or licenses. This was in complete contrast to activities of family women in England and Ireland. Like the women convicts, most of the wives of convicts were from the lower orders of English and Irish society.

Botany Bay was far from being the den of iniquity that English contemporaries thought it was. Undoubtedly, the need to control transported convicts imposed restrictions. But few of the women were confined. Both men and women had the possibility of making a life beyond comparison with those who served their sentences in British prisons. The opportunity for a respectable existence was there for the taking. Contrary to expectation, few of the women became involved in crime.

After sentence was served or after pardon, women had a wider choice of occupation than domestic service. The choice was open both to single and to family women. The occupation most attractive to colonial wives was that of farmer or landholder, either as recipients of land grants in their own right or as wives of convicts ineligible to own land. A free woman could be the legal owner of property or the master of assigned convict servants. Records show a number of women who in their own right obtained leases for land on which to build houses and conduct business. Women from the outer settlements were as deeply involved in trade and commerce as their urban sisters.

The ex-convict colonists outgrew the old class distinctions of England and built a new society based on economic achievement. The new class structure was marked among the women convicts.

This volume is a solid academic study, not hammock reading but clearly written and thoroughly researched. Serious students of British colonial and Australian national history will find it useful.

MARK NAIDIS
Northridge, California

KEITH AMOS. *The Fenians in Australia, 1865–1880*. (Modern History Series, number 4.) Kensington: New South Wales University Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 330. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$19.95.

Keith Amos has written a worthwhile and valuable book. Other authors have followed individuals or small groups of Fenians who were involved in the failed rising in Ireland, but Amos has gathered all of the Fenians together in this one book, detailed who was transported, and how each was treated in his new penal home in Australia, related the events leading to the escape of some of these convict Fenians by means of the *Catalpa*, and followed up on those Fenians who remained in Australia after receiving conditional pardons.

Amos also treats the complicated issue of what effect these Fenian convicts had on Australian-Irish relationships. He believes that the Fenian movement did not take root in Australia mainly because Australia was so far from Ireland, and, by the time the principles of the Fenian movement arrived in Australia, the movement in Ireland had spent its force. In addition, the Irish in Australia were finding economic and social betterment in their adopted country and were not anxious to place their new position in jeopardy.

But Amos believes that the Fenian presence did serve two main purposes. First, it supplied an antithesis for ultra-British loyalism and thus helped build a more balanced, moderate Australian-British relationship. In addition, he believes that the Fenians did provide one of the foundations for an Australian nationalistic position.

Amos suggests that Fenianism was the principal vehicle of Irish separatism in nineteenth-century Australia. I believe, however, that the seeds were planted earlier by Irish immigrants who came as either free citizens, soldiers, or convicts. In the 1850s the Irish state prisoners from the 1848 revolution found Australian citizens sympathetic not only to their individual plights but also to the idea of Irish separatism.

Those same state prisoners, like the Fenians, also found support among Australians who had no Irish connections but who were not satisfied with the British relationship as it then existed. This fact suggests the need for a study of nineteenth-century Australian attitudes toward Ireland and how those attitudes affected the growth of Australian nationalism.

This book would have been of greater interest if Amos had delved more deeply into Australian-Irish attitudes and the importance of those attitudes on both nationalistic developments, but his announced task was to track the Fenian convicts in Australia, and that he did in an able manner.

BLANCHE M. TOUHILL
University of Missouri,
St. Louis

GERHARD FISCHER. *Enemy Aliens: Internment and the Homefront Experience in Australia, 1914–1920*. St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 404. \$A34.95.

World War I's most memorable impact on Australian society relates to how the mateship and sacrifice of soldiers in battle—the spirit of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps—invested Australia with a deeper sense of pride and purpose. Less well remembered is that the later war years were marred by divisive politics where sectarianism, industrial relations, and the conscription controversy intersected. Often overlooked is Australia's wartime handling of civil liberties and especially the treatment of its German community.

In a book aimed at redressing this underplayed theme, Gerhard Fischer has written a powerful indictment. Assiduously sifting through a maze of sources, he concludes that German residents were more than victims of exaggerated security consciousness or flushes of war hysteria. He depicts Australia's Germans as the overwhelmingly innocent victims of pernicious intolerance, ignorance, arbitrariness, and political cynicism that pervaded and indeed defined Australian society. Throughout, he exposes what he feels to be the meanness of a parochial and racist-tainted Australia that to its discredit conjured up and pounced on an internal enemy and in the process emasculated a thriving yet unthreatening German community.

Australia interned 6,890 persons, of whom 4,500 were resident Germans. Among them were naturalized and even native-born Australians. Reputations were destroyed and assets confiscated; personal tragedies abounded. The governing law was sweeping, and its administration was usually capricious. Internment conditions varied, but for most internees they were degrading and harsh. Innuendo or public pressure often sufficed to have people placed behind barbed wire for years with fewer civil protections than were available to common criminals.

Most internees remained locked up well after the war was over. Large numbers were eventually deported, including naturalized Australian citizens against whom no seditious or criminal charges had ever been laid. After the war was over, many Australian workers and veterans applauded the removal of persons regarded as job competitors.

The government's own internment and deportation rationale, Fischer argues, in part "found its exact

correlative" in standing by Britain's objective "to strengthen the Empire by eliminating German competition and business interests in overseas dominions and territories" (p. 293). This and some other conclusions posited in this study may be overdrawn. But the overarching thrust of Fischer's book is persuasive. In the United States, Canada, and elsewhere, resident German communities also suffered. Australia's experience is worth recounting not simply for its policy variations on the anti-German leitmotif but because it offers food for extracting telling insights into the developmental milieu of a fascinating society.

HENRY S. ALBINSKI
Pennsylvania State University

UNITED STATES

STEPHANIE COONTZ. *The Social Origins of Private Life: A History of American Families, 1600–1900*. (Haymarket Series.) New York: Verso. 1988. Pp. 365. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$13.95.

This work offers an overall account of American family history from its origins to the end of the nineteenth century. The author intends a successor volume concerning the twentieth-century family.

The distinguishing characteristic of the book is that it takes seriously an idea to which most historians merely pay lip service, namely, that the family is an integral part of the organization of production. Thus, in the course of summarizing historical knowledge of demography, gender and sexual relations, child-rearing practices, emotional codes and experiences, and other aspects of family history, Stephanie Coontz is able to weave together a multidimensional but synthetic account of everyday life. Properly speaking, the book offers a summary of U.S. social history as viewed through the lens of the family.

As Coontz explains, her book is based primarily on secondary works and aims at organizing and synthesizing what is known rather than at producing new knowledge. Among her most helpful contributions, four stand out. First, Coontz begins her account with American Indians and not with Europeans. Not only does she provide an excellent account of the American Indian tradition, but, by beginning in this way, she recasts all that follows. Second, by focusing on the family rather than on gender as such, Coontz presents a coherent account of patriarchy as a historical form of social organization and not as a manifestation of a timeless male domination. Patriarchy, as she develops the concept, becomes integral to colonial and revolutionary history, only secondarily to the history of gender. Third, by working through such a long period of time, Coontz is able to clarify, primarily by more precisely historicizing and dating, concepts such as the "cult of domesticity," the "private/public split," and the idea of the home as a refuge, all of which tend to float ambiguously through many accounts of the family. For example, she is able to show that the cult of domesticity

did not rationalize the (later) separation of home and work (p. 193). Finally, again because of her large canvas, Coontz is able to describe middle-class, working-class, and African-American family life in a way that brings out their often-overlooked similarities without discounting differences.

Overall, the book divides into two parts. The first describes the household form of economic organization, characteristic of America until well into the nineteenth century. The second describes industrialization in a society dominated by the middle class in which the family had taken on a new ideological and moral role, especially the idea of "two spheres." A suggestive conclusion points to her projected account of the twentieth-century family, marked by the ascendancy of the state and the dissolution, or at least transformation, of the ideology of two spheres and the new idea of men and women as equal rather than complementary, an idea Coontz links to an increasing emphasis on sex.

Throughout the work, familiar events such as the revolution, the Civil War, westward expansion, and industrialization are viewed freshly not only through their effects on the family but also through attention to the role that the family played in the creation of these events. Familiar objections to political history as elitist or superficial are rendered nugatory by an approach that links macrohistory to the intimate details of daily life. In the family, the tension between what people truly wanted for themselves and what the society allowed them to achieve can be most poignantly grasped.

Although too detailed for use in survey classes, the work would be useful in courses in social, women's, and labor history as well as the history of the family. Finally, for the nonspecialist, much U.S. history can be learned from it in a useful and original form.

ELI ZARETSKY
*University of Missouri,
 Columbia*

MARY ANN CLAWSON. *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1989. Pp. ix, 270. \$27.50.

Mary Ann Clawson, a sociologist, uses the study of Masonic and other fraternal lodges not to write an institutional history but to ask provocative questions about the kind of society that produced such organizations. Using lodge materials as primary sources, she works outward to explore the significance of exclusive membership, of various fraternal rituals, and of how the world view articulated by lodges represented both an accommodation to and a reaction against the emergence of an industrial capitalist society in the United States during the late 1800s. This rich, rewarding, subtle, and even brilliant book both offers an insightful commentary about lodges and examines the nature of American society and its cultural transformation over the past two centuries.

After a survey of early Freemasonry in France and

England in which Clawson convincingly stresses the psychological functions that lodges played within an emerging capitalist order, the author turns to the United States. In America, Masons came under severe attack during the early 1800s. Evangelicals particularly deplored fraternal drinking, but the real dispute between Evangelicals and Masons involved two radically different visions: a Christian republic of female-nurtured homes versus an enlightened republic of male-run lodges. Women, Clawson shows, were especially prominent in the anti-Masonic campaign. Despite this attack, Masonry survived. Just why it did is suggested by Clawson's main thesis: "Through its construction of ties based upon images of masculinity and craftsmanship," she writes, "the mixed-class, all-male American fraternal order worked to deny the significance of class difference and to offer gender and race as appropriate categories for the organization of collective identity" (p. 15). This statement is bold but overwhelmingly supported by evidence.

Between 1865 and 1900, both Masons and groups such as the Odd Fellows and the Knights of Pythias flourished. In contrast with European organizations, the typical American lodge contained members from various classes. Cross-class lodges inhibited the emergence of a concept of class among American workers, discouraged the organization of working-class institutions, and created social ties encouraging upward mobility. Lodges, however, were never completely open. Although papal bans against Catholic participation in Freemasonry did not entirely succeed and were never applied uniformly to non-Masonic groups, fraternal organizations remained predominantly Protestant. They were also all white and, Clawson shows, reinforced white supremacy.

In the late 1800s, women established lodge auxiliaries, such as the Order of the Eastern Star and Daughters of Rebekah. Although organized by women, these groups were led by men. Women both resented these men, who were gradually eased out, and needed their presence to legitimate their connection to the all-male lodge, whose approval they sought. Fraternal organizations resisted granting official recognition to the auxiliaries. For men, the concept of brotherhood involved notions of honor and group solidarity that could not be extended to women without destroying the concept of the lodge itself. For women, the lodge's refusal to accept women except in the most distanced way created tensions that discouraged an auxiliary's growth.

Lodges recruited members aggressively through paid agents, who lured prospects with cheap life insurance. Even more profitable than selling memberships was founding a new lodge. For example, William J. Simmons revived the Ku Klux Klan. By the 1920s, lodges faded as middle-class businessmen turned to service clubs such as Rotary and Kiwanis. Adults also began to participate in social events as couples. Going to the movie theater, listening to the radio, and playing bridge replaced lodge meetings.

Clawson's book raises numerous questions about American society. Why did a society so insistently devoted to individualism produce so many fraternal organizations? Did the ideology of individualism insufficiently meet people's needs for group affiliation and thereby stimulate lodge membership? Why was brotherhood peculiarly appealing in the late 1800s? Was rising post-Civil War fraternalism related to wartime fratricide? Does brotherhood still exist? Or does feminism preclude brotherhood? These are some of the fascinating questions stimulated by this wonderful book.

W. J. RORABAUGH
University of Washington

MARK C. CARNES. *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989. Pp. x, 226. \$27.50.

This study of nineteenth-century fraternal rituals is conceived as an exercise in the history of meaning. Mark C. Carnes is less concerned with explaining why millions of mostly urban, professional, and Protestant middle-class men joined secret societies such as the Freemasons, Knights of Pythias, and Odd Fellows than he is with reconstructing and interpreting "the public meaning of the predominant ritual symbols" (p. 13). Unlike earlier generations of scholars who were indifferent to the elaborate rites of initiation conducted by lodge members, Carnes places ritual at the center of his inquiry into the significance of fraternal societies in Victorian America.

The ceremonies and symbols of fraternal rituals certainly invite examination. At various times coffins, chains, skeletons, masks, robes, blindfolds, torchlights, geometric shapes, and ancient phrases all played a role. Drawing on Victor Turner's belief that rituals encompass multiple meanings and embody tensions and conflicts within society, Carnes analyzes the "multivocalic" (p. 63) nature of fraternal ritual. He suggests that these rituals served several purposes: by exalting the simplicity of the past, they subverted the capitalist order and simultaneously helped members accommodate to it; by emphasizing a stern and distant God, the depravity of individuals, and the everlasting torment of death, they repudiated liberal theology and offered a secular form of the conversion experience; and by forcing a cathartic identification with the father, they facilitated the son's transition from a private childhood characterized by feminine nurture and evangelical domesticity to a public manhood characterized by masculine power and commercial activity.

Carnes offers a different form of explanation as well. He opens almost every chapter with a narrative story that reads like historical fiction and is intended to evoke the emotional experience of the initiate at these rituals and to provide an alternative approach to historical truth and meaning. Unfortunately, Carnes does not push the boundaries of these stories with the same

degree of insight and energy that he brings to his other analyses. Moreover, there is a way in which these stories undercut Carnes's more explicit interpretation: the meaning of initiation, these vignettes suggest, was less resistance, accommodation, and reidentification than perspiration, concentration, and gratification.

Although elegantly drawn and theoretically rich, Carnes's depiction of the ritual as a male initiation ceremony raises as many issues as it resolves. One must wonder about the age of these initiates, about regional variations in membership, and about the meaning of initiation to members of the separate auxiliary female orders. Carnes also stints on the working-class character of some of these lodges, a fact that would seem to alter the central interpretation of the book: according to statistics in the book, 71 percent of the Odd Fellows in Detroit in 1871, 52 percent of the Knights of Pythias in Buffalo in 1894, and 61 percent of the Knights of Maccabee in Cleveland in 1900 were other than middle class (p. 172 n.). In addition, Carnes could have paid more attention to the conflict surrounding these secret rituals, not just from without but, as the author only passingly suggests, from within by those members who felt "that the emphasis on ritual deflected money, time, and effort away from tangible political or economic objectives" (p. 10). Finally, I should note that some readers will not be persuaded by a historical argument that hinges on the "psychological needs" (p. 156) of participants, especially where direct evidence such as diaries and letters is lacking.

All books generate questions about evidence and explanation. This one may generate more than the usual number, but it also contains a greater spirit of imagination and experimentation than most monographs. This well-written and suggestive work of cultural criticism is an important contribution to studies of ritual and gender in nineteenth-century America.

LOUIS P. MASUR
*University of California,
Riverside*

CHARLES REAGAN WILSON and WILLIAM FERRIS, editors. *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*. Assisted by ANN J. ABADIE and MARY L. HART. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Center for the Study of Southern Culture, University of Mississippi. 1989. Pp. xxi, 1634. \$59.95.

This much-anticipated volume is a product of the highly regarded Center for the Study of Southern Culture at the University of Mississippi. Edited by folklorist William Ferris, the center's director, and historian Charles Reagan Wilson, the encyclopedia runs over sixteen hundred double-columned pages in length and contains over twelve hundred entries contributed by more than six hundred authors. As such, it is a monument to collaborative scholarly endeavor. This particular endeavor was apparently prompted by a fear that the "dramatic changes" that have trans-

formed southern society since World War II might portend "the eventual end of a distinctive southern region" (p. xv). In the face of southern culture's possible demise, the editors sought to "chart the South's cultural landscape" by collecting "authoritative, concise, thoughtful, substantive, and interesting articles" on the subject between the covers of a single volume, albeit a bulky one (p. xv).

Avowedly interdisciplinary in approach, the encyclopedia is divided into twenty-four sections, each devoted to a particular scholarly discipline or category of analysis. Some of these sections examine subjects traditionally associated with the study of culture, such as art and architecture, history, literature, music, and religion, but others examine subjects, such as the environment, the media, recreation, social class, and women's lives, whose significance to the study of culture has only recently gained the attention it deserves. Introduced by an interpretive essay written by an expert consultant picked by the editors, each section contains several dozen individual entries giving basic information about and brief analysis of a vast, and sometimes bewildering, array of themes, topics, and people.

Broad in its scope, the encyclopedia covers topics as esoteric as Gothic Revival architecture, as popular as stock-car racing, as controversial as Jerry Falwell, as inspirational as Martin Luther King, Jr., as misunderstood as the Gullah dialect, as serious as Calvinism, and as light-hearted as "The Beverly Hillbillies," with roughly equal facility. Indeed, the volume makes a concerted effort to examine popular culture as well as folk and high culture, and, although the effort produces some of the encyclopedia's most embarrassing moments, it also gives the work an entertaining quality that it would otherwise have lacked. Moreover, the encyclopedia also scrupulously avoids the common pitfall of treating "southern culture" as if it were synonymous with the culture of white southerners. The cultural contributions of black southerners in the areas of music, literature, religion, language, history, and politics are examined in healthy detail. The civil rights movement is as much a presence in this volume as the Civil War, and movement leaders such as King, Andrew Young, and Fannie Lou Hamer are given as much attention as prominent Confederates Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, and Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson. Probably no single individual, white or black, casts as long a shadow over the volume as literary giant William Faulkner, but inquiries into southern culture have long been Faulkner-centered, if not Faulkner-haunted.

Taken as a whole, this encyclopedia is an impressive volume, clearly the result of arduous editorial labor and dedicated effort from an overwhelming majority of contributors. This was an ambitious undertaking, one almost daunting in its magnitude, but, as a collection of material and information pertaining to the South and to the culture of southerners, it holds together remarkably well. The introductory essays to the various sections are, without exception, ably done,

and some are noteworthy for their insight. Inevitably, the quality of the individual sketches varies significantly, but the editors have done an unusually good job of maintaining standards of competency. Occasionally (the entries of J. Mills Thornton III on Jacksonian democracy and Charles Joyner on creolization spring immediately to mind), the sketches are penetrating and thought-provoking.

There are, however, some striking anomalies in the decisions of the editors and consultants regarding what to include in the volume and what to leave out. All readers would likely concede that any one-volume encyclopedia of so broad a subject must of necessity be selective, but too often the selection process seems to have lacked a consistent rationale. Doubtless, specialists in different disciplines would draw up different lists of quirks and quibbles about the selection process, but to me the most glaring inconsistencies were evident in the comparatively short section on industry. Appropriately, this section includes a sketch on Delta Airlines, a major national air carrier whose corporate genealogy traces back to a crop-dusting operation in the Mississippi Delta. But there is no comparable treatment of North Carolina-based Piedmont Airlines, which evolved from a small regional company that ferried Piedmont-area businessmen from one city in their region to another into a profitable national carrier that enjoyed one of the best reputations for efficiency in the industry when it was taken over by USAir in 1989. Even more puzzling is this section's treatment of textiles, long the dominant industry in the South. The section includes an essay sketching the history of the industry as a whole, but, among the leading textile corporations, only J. P. Stevens and Company (recently taken over by West Point–Pepperell), an old-line New England company and arguably the least “southern” of the leading firms, is the subject of a separate entry. Despite their indigenous southern origins, neither Burlington Industries, the traditional industry leader, nor Springs Industries, with its colorful entrepreneurial history, receives as much attention as the northern interloper.

More troubling than inconsistencies in the selection process, however, is the editors' willingness to venture boldly onto the slippery slope of southern distinctiveness. Confessing a “special concern” that the volume identify “those aspects of southern life and thought . . . which have sustained either the reality or the illusion of regional distinctiveness,” the editors “asked contributors to consider individual traits that are clearly unique to the region” based on their belief that the *Encyclopedia's* composite portrait of the South “would suggest ‘the fundamental uniqueness of southern culture’” (p. xvi). Thus, the search for southern distinctiveness, momentarily explicit in the introduction, runs implicitly throughout the volume and emerges as its central theme. But, as is so often the case when the hoary question of southern exceptionalism arises, the issue is badly framed. The question is inherently a comparative one, and any study of south-

ern culture, no matter how thorough, provides only part of the evidence needed for an informed comparison. Moreover, when overt comparisons are made in this volume, a region (the South) is often compared with a non-region (the rest of the United States), which is unlikely to have a distinct culture of its own but instead represents a congerie of the local, regional, ethnic, and class cultures that it encompasses. Some of the dangers inherent in such crude comparisons are exposed in the introductory essay to the recreation section, written by John Shelton Reed and Benjamin K. Hunnicutt and one of the few essays in the volume to address the distinctiveness question in rigorous fashion. At least with regard to recreation and leisure, Reed and Hunnicutt warn that “regional differences are not enormous” and that region “makes less difference than education” (p. 1209) and no more difference than ethnicity in explaining variations in recreational patterns. Nonetheless, despite their own caveats, Reed and Hunnicutt discern a distinctive southern leisure culture based on the preference of southerners, across all income groups, for recreation that is more “time intensive” and less “goods intensive” than that preferred by non-southerners. At first blush, this seems like a plausible cultural trait for a region where per capita income and average hourly wage rates (and hence disposable income and the opportunity cost of idle time) have been decidedly below national norms for many generations. But, on closer inspection, it appears probable that modern southerners spend proportionally less of their money on recreation and leisure because their comparatively impoverished economic environment has slowed the development of recreational goods and services (professional sports, for example) in the region. Southerners consume less during their leisure time than other Americans simply because there is less in the South to consume. Thus, distinctive southern leisure patterns appear a product not so much of longstanding or deeply ingrained cultural preferences as of the region's larger economic circumstances, which are, indeed, often measurably different from those in other parts of the United States.

In sum, as a compilation of information about the South and southerners, this volume stands, despite minor flaws, as a signal achievement, but, as an extended brief arguing the case for a distinctive southern culture, it can only provide raw evidence for future arguments.

LACY K. FORD, JR.

University of South Carolina

WILLIAM L. VANCE. *America's Rome*. Volume 1, *Classical Rome*; volume 2, *Catholic and Contemporary Rome*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989. Pp. xxiv, 454; xx, 498. \$30.00 each volume.

Which of us might not have tried to dissuade an author from attempting such a work as this? To the explanation that it is an analysis of every sort of American

reaction—literary, artistic, architectural—to the real or imagined history of Rome, from ancient times to those of the present day, one might offer up a dozen skeptical queries. How differentiate between people who never saw Rome (say, Thomas Jefferson), those who visited for a variety of purposes and for stays of greatly varying length, and those (Margaret Fuller, Nathaniel Hawthorne, the sculptors Thomas Crawford and William Wetmore Story) whose sojourns were more extensive? How combine political with aesthetic considerations? How strike a balance between Rome as a city in itself and Rome as the capital of an empire or the headquarters of the Catholic church? How accommodate individual Americans as miscellaneously different as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Gore Vidal, Benjamin West and Paul Cadmus, Henry James and Ezra Pound? Would some supposed theme of “Americanness” serve to unite material so disparate? John P. Diggins’s *Musolini and Fascism: The View from America* (1972) and Peter Bondanella’s *The Eternal City: Roman Images in the Modern World* (1987) are examples of work defined by theme or chronology: what could form the center of a would-be comprehensive compendium called *America’s Rome*?

Internal evidence does not show whether William L. Vance ever had cold water thrown on his plan. If so, he obviously ignored discouragement, and, judged by the quality of these two rich volumes, he was quite right to do so. In being exhaustive, his treatment does verge here and there on the exhausting. At least, I suspect that he will be read selectively; people will take what they want from particular sections, as from some splendid encyclopedia. The reader interested, for example, in Benjamin West’s response to the Apollo Belvedere, back in 1760, or in James Jackson Jarves’s nineteenth-century sensitivity to Italian primitive painting, would not necessarily be as absorbed by the account of the painful steps toward the liberation of Rome in 1943–44 or in the discussion of postwar poems by Richard Wilbur or fiction by John Cheever. A minor and perhaps not wholly fair grumble is that occasional references remain too allusive to contribute to the total. Thus, Arthur Hugh Clough is mentioned, and included in the excellent index, but not identified as the English poet, and friend of a number of Americans in the Boston-Cambridge area, who in *Amours de voyage* produced an extraordinarily “modern,” anti-romantic commentary on the revolutionary Rome of Margaret Fuller.

Any such reservations, however, are trivial when set beside the abundant merits of the volumes. Not least among these are the more than two hundred illustrations, twenty-three of them in color, all carefully keyed into the text. The first volume reviews American feelings about and treatments of the survivals of the ancient city: the Forum, the Colosseum, the surrounding Campagna, the Pantheon, and the sculptures of the Capitoline and Vatican galleries. Volume 2 contains a relatively brief though knowledgeable section on religious iconography and the papacy and a copious sur-

vey of life and culture from 1830 to the 1980s. Vance’s categories involve the reader in some dodging to and fro if one wants to follow up all of the references to a figure, say, William Dean Howells, whose opinions are cited in several contexts.

The final test is the level of scholarship and writing. Here the author deserves high praise. He provides a vast amount of information on literary, artistic, and moral issues and the great procession of Americans who have become Romanized in one degree or another. His own judgments are firm and fresh. He is brilliant on the American sculptors who, as in the case of Hiram Powers’s *Greek Slave*, both caught and repudiated the erotic intimations of classical art—Venus semitransposed into Eve. Vance has fascinating pages on the Victorian tastes that led American observers to dislike, indeed detest, the baroque *oeuvre* of a Bernini or a Borromini—churches and monuments and *trompe l’oeil* virtuosités that delight the tourists of today. He is equally good on literary material. There are illuminating comments on conspicuous work: Hawthorne’s *Marble Faun*, Henry James’s *Daisy Miller*, and so on. But there is also comment on many less familiar authors: George Washington Greene and Charles Edwards Lester among those men of letters who secured consular appointments; Hawthorne’s guidebook-writer friend George S. Hillard; William Ware, author of *Zenobia*; the expatriate novelist Francis Marion Crawford; the writer Constance Fenimore Woolson, buried with so many others in the Protestant cemetery where Keats and Shelley are also commemorated.

As these listings may suggest, Vance has managed to gather together a huge amount of evidence. The ideal reader ought to feel as at home as Vance does in that beautiful and terrible city, where Henry James on a first visit saw the Tiber “hurrying along, as dirty as history.” But no one can fail to benefit from immersion in this work and recognize that it does have a cumulative theme if not a neatly sequential argument. The book is about Rome as palimpsest and the awareness of its past that generations of travelers have themselves in turn augmented.

MARCUS CUNLIFFE
George Washington University

STANLEY K. SCHULTZ. *Constructing Urban Culture: American Cities and City Planning, 1800–1920*. (Technology and Urban Growth.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1989. Pp. xviii, 275. \$34.95.

Frederic C. Howe explained in his autobiography, *Confessions of a Reformer* (1925), that “long before the advent of city-planning proposals” he had begun to conceive of the city as an organic whole. Howe’s “architectonic” approach to the city and his realization of the need to take “precautions for the future” are central to Stanley K. Schultz’s argument that comprehensive city planning was not the result of Chicago’s

White City of 1893; the Great Fair was the culmination of nineteenth-century city planning ideas.

The impact of the White City has long been a critical issue in architectural, planning, and cultural history. The fair, to Henry Adams, was the "first expression of American thought as a unity" (p. 210), whereas to Louis Sullivan its servile adherence to Beaux Arts classicism set the development of an indigenous American architecture back a generation. Virtually everyone has agreed, however, on the White City's importance to the evolution of planning. As critic Montgomery Schuyler observed, the fair was a triumph of "ensemble," the sum of the parts greater than any individual building.

In contesting this longstanding interpretation, Schultz argues that prior to the emergence of the planning profession, utopian novelists, attorneys, judges, sanitarians, landscape architects, and engineers had already begun to envision or put to use effective planning techniques. Each of the four sections of Schultz's study analyzes the efforts of these groups. The first examines the "urbtopian" novel both as an expression of what was wrong with the nineteenth-century city and as an agenda for improving it. The second investigates the legal landscape and especially the transformation of the police power doctrine that many jurists expanded to enable cities to protect public health and welfare. The third is an analysis of sanitarians and landscape architects who attempted to eliminate the causes of disease and construct the kinds of spaces that would make city life more habitable. Finally Schultz turns to the engineers who became bureaucratically entrenched in many cities, who by professional calling had to think in long-range terms, and who became the model for the city manager system favored by Progressive reformers. As Schultz and Clay McShane have argued in a previous article, "Virtually the only problems successfully attacked by nineteenth-century urban leaders were those susceptible to engineering expertise" (*Journal of American History* 65 [1978]: 407).

Whatever the profession was of these nascent planners, a set of beliefs that included environmental determinism, moral reform, and technology as solution motivated their efforts. The fact that the quality of life in the nation's cities was significantly better in 1920 than it was a century earlier is testament to their efforts, no matter what they believed was the cause of disease or the proper choice of infrastructure. But whether or not their actions constituted planning in the modern sense of the word remains problematic.

In presenting these and other arguments, Schultz has drawn on the work of numerous historians, most notably Hendrik Hartog, Jon A. Peterson, and Paul Boyer, as well as his own extensive research in primary sources. Scholars with particular expertise in each of the subjects treated in the book will undoubtedly disagree with at least some of his conclusions and perhaps also with the overall interpretive framework of the

study. Nevertheless, Schultz has added a provocative chapter to the historiography of urban America.

DAVID SCHUYLER

Franklin and Marshall College

FREDERICK S. CALHOUN. *The Lawmen: United States Marshals and Their Deputies, 1789–1989*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1989. Pp. xii, 370. \$24.95.

"The subject of this book," Frederick S. Calhoun proclaims in his introduction, "is the Constitution" (p. ix). Calhoun should be forgiven such hyperbole, if for no other reason than his accomplishment, as first historian of the U.S. Marshal Service, in writing one of the better institutional studies to come from a nonmilitary government agency.

Frank Prassel, Glenn Shirley, Larry Ball, and other scholars of the American West have written extensively on the activities of federal marshals in the trans-Mississippi expansion, but few historians have recognized their equally vital role in the early decades of the republic or in the twentieth century. Calhoun corrects this oversight. Created by the Judiciary Act of 1789, U.S. marshals and their deputies supported the federal courts by serving process, making arrests, maintaining prisoners, paying court fees and expenses, renting courtroom and jail space, and even hiring the necessary bailiffs, criers, and janitors. They also provided local representation for the national government, took the census until 1880, distributed presidential proclamations, collected information on commerce and manufacturing, registered enemy aliens in wartime, and captured fugitive slaves. In the twentieth century, they have pursued rum runners during Prohibition, protected black students in newly integrated schools, and even swapped spies with the Soviet Union. Given the marshals' central role in federal law enforcement, this study is long overdue.

Specialists will find no new interpretations in this book, in part because Calhoun intends his work for a wider readership. Nevertheless, the volume has considerable merit for historians interested in federal law enforcement. Calhoun clearly succeeds in reaching a larger audience. He has a gift for narrative, and he uses dramatic episodes very effectively within a chronological framework. Commendably, he balances this readable tale with a deft analysis of the political and bureaucratic development of the marshals' office. The president appoints all marshals, but not until 1972 was there any control on the hiring and training of deputies. Calhoun does an especially good job in helping the reader recognize the internal obstacles to imposing central authority and the significant impact the new bureaucratic structure has had on the marshals' function. Even his unrestrained praise of his former boss, Director Stanley E. Morris—the man who created Calhoun's position and commissioned this book—is understandable in view of the problems that plagued the marshals before Morris's arrival.

This volume is a balanced, objective, and readable history of the U.S. Marshal Service. Handsomely produced by the Smithsonian Institution Press, it is a fitting tribute not only to federal marshals and their deputies but also to the scholar who serves as their historian. The book should enjoy a wide audience.

DAVID J. BODENHAMER
Indiana University—Purdue University,
Indianapolis

COLIN G. CALLOWAY. *The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600–1800: War, Migration, and the Survival of an Indian People*. (The Civilization of the American Indian Series, number 197.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1990. Pp. xxv, 346. \$29.95.

The Sokokis, Cowasucks, and Missisquois rarely appear in histories of colonial America. These western Abenaki Indian groups of Vermont and New Hampshire lacked the political, military, or economic clout of some of their more famous Indian neighbors such as the Iroquois or Mohicans. As a result, they have often been overlooked by both white settlers and historians.

Their shadowy existence on the borders of colonial history contributed to the notion that either Vermont was uninhabited before the arrival of European colonists or the territory was only sparsely populated by a few Indians who soon drifted into Canada to escape the advancing English frontier.

Colin G. Calloway refutes this common wisdom about western Abenakis and early Vermont. He proves that these Indians of Vermont, New Hampshire, and portions of northwestern Massachusetts and southern Quebec survived in their homelands despite repeated colonial wars and white invasions of their territory.

Calloway begins his story with two brief chapters describing the variety of interracial contacts on the Green Mountain frontier. He then presents a chronological survey of the history of the western Abenakis from 1600 to the present, concentrating on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Calloway shows that western Abenaki bands participated in all of the major wars in colonial history, including King Philip's War, the Colonial Wars, and the American revolution. Particular circumstances determined on which side western Abenakis fought. Sometimes warriors or groups joined French and Indian attacks on the English. Other times, western Abenaki bands or individuals fought alongside the English. Typically, though, western Abenaki settlements dispersed in times of danger, as families or bands fled to safer locations. When danger receded, the western Abenaki bands returned. That decentralized pattern allowed the Abenakis to persist and survive in the region to this day.

Calloway is at his best detailing the locations and activities of western Abenakis throughout the various wars and time periods, although occasionally the book becomes a mere catalog of where the Indians were and

what they were doing. His sketchy coverage of important events such as Grey Lock's War or the sack of St. Francis by Rogers' Rangers also leaves the reader hungry for more information. In addition, Calloway's decision not to translate some French quotations into English may prove inconvenient and annoying to some readers (for example, pp. 56, 104, 129, 134, 148, and 169).

Nonetheless, Calloway provides a clear, scholarly survey of western Abenaki history. He proves that "the reported disappearance of Abenakis from Vermont and New Hampshire was illusory, and the notion that the sad remnants had moved en masse to Canada was a convenient distortion that belied the reality of Abenaki survivals behind the frontier. In the midst of disruption and diaspora there was continuity and survival" (p. 238).

This volume serves as a solid case study of how small bands of Indians sometimes coped with tremendous internal and external pressures generated by more powerful Indian and white neighbors. It should be useful to anyone interested in American Indian history, the frontier, early Vermont, or colonial America.

RICHARD AQUILA
Ball State University

WILLIAM S. POWELL. *North Carolina through Four Centuries*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1989. Pp. xv, 652. \$29.95.

This survey exhibits the wealth of lore that William S. Powell has accumulated in his long career focused on the history of North Carolina. It is intended as a textbook and general reference work for students and general readers to replace the dated study first published by Hugh T. Lefler and Albert R. Newsome in 1954. Indeed, in this handsomely illustrated book, Powell overcomes some deficiencies of the older account as he handles topics such as slavery and Reconstruction in a more even-handed, dispassionate manner.

Even in a book as heavily factual as this one, numerous decisions about coverage and interpretation had to be made. Powell chose to emphasize the colonial and middle periods. The number of pages on the twentieth century is only about 75 percent of the total on the eighteenth century and less than 60 percent of that on the nineteenth century. For all eras the author tends to focus on the political, and, at its best, this volume is a concise summary of major political currents in North Carolina. Powell generally limits his coverage of social and cultural topics to important "firsts" and the founding of major institutions in North Carolina, whether churches, schools, or humanities centers. But he rarely examines internal workings of such institutions. In his point of view, Powell is somewhat Whiggish and charts the hills and valleys in North Carolina's movement toward a "progressive" society that he seems to define

as encompassing educational opportunity, industrial development, and a two-party system.

Like many state and local histories, this volume is determinedly centered on its area. Some readers may wish that the author had placed certain events such as secession and the disfranchisement of African Americans in a more regional setting rather than simply focusing on North Carolina. Other scholars may suggest that Powell's compact coverage of so many events and people in North Carolina means that he often does not fully incorporate interpretations from the newer historical monographs about the state, even though he knows those studies well. Nonetheless, Powell has provided exactly what he set out to do: a clearly written reference tool and textbook for lay readers and students. His informative bibliography will steer those wishing in-depth coverage to more specialized works.

JANE TURNER CENSER
George Mason University

DONNA J. SPINDEL. *Crime and Society in North Carolina, 1663–1776*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1989. Pp. xvii, 171. \$25.00.

The old saw is that North Carolina was “a vale of humility between two peaks of arrogance.” Donna J. Spindel's monograph reveals that studies of crime in North Carolina promise to measure up to older and recent analyses of criminal law, courts, and defendants in neighboring South Carolina and Virginia. Based on a large number of cases—over four thousand from all available records—this book is a modest yet convincing effort. There is certainly more to be said on the subject, but Spindel has begun a discussion that up to now has been largely ignored.

Spindel's commitment to looking at crime “within the context of the social, political, and economic environment” (p. viii) leads her to consider political stability, social status, judges' sophistication, and the impact of slavery when evaluating the criminal court structure. We are used to thinking of North Carolina as poor, unstable, riven by class and regional differences, and subject to such tumultuous events as the Regulator movement. Yet Spindel concludes that the criminal courts were a force for stability and that they successfully commanded deference.

Spindel argues that the developing, yet powerful, local and colonial elite who defined and punished criminal behavior were up to the task of maintaining order. These people, who mostly had only basic legal training, could still cope with the routine and often punished crimes by using established traditions and procedures. But it is not clear from Spindel's evidence if judges were particularly effective against assault, the colony's most prosecuted crime. Indeed, during the period for which the best evidence is available, the 1730s through the 1760s, assault prosecutions occurred at a steadily increasing rate. At the same time, Spindel does demonstrate that these instances of as-

sault probably were unrelated to the Regulator unrest. Prosecutions of assault happened at a lower rate in Regulator territory than in the Tidewater during the 1760s.

Spindel asserts what many other historians of crime in early America have found to be true: the criminal court records afford us a look at otherwise invisible people of ordinary background or low status. Her data reveal tantalizing aspects of the lives of women, servants, slaves, free blacks, and even some American Indians. But her analysis also reveals the well-known lack of details in eighteenth-century criminal court records. This is particularly true of the slave trial records. Relying on previous studies by Marvin L. Michael Kay and Lorin Lee Cary, Spindel provides no tables concerning convictions of slaves and uses only meager collective data. She consequently makes some unsupported statements about slave trials, such as “a presumption of guilt” was “what the slave system required” (p. 113), a claim jeopardized by the possibility that the not-guilty verdicts were anywhere near the 30 percent found for Virginia during the eighteenth century.

Readers who remain alert to problems inherent in Spindel's evidence will benefit from this new look at a colony's criminal justice system that has previously received inadequate attention.

PHILIP J. SCHWARZ
Virginia Commonwealth University

RICHARD D. BROWN. *Knowledge Is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700–1865*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 372. \$39.95.

This ambitious book describes the dissolution of the union between class and culture in the years between the American revolution and the Civil War. During this period, the United States was transformed from a society in which public information was scarce and largely under the control of clerical and gentry elites to a society in which information was both abundant and easily obtained. Face-to-face diffusion of information gave way to “contagious” diffusion—through newspapers, post offices, debating societies, political clubs, lyceums, and ultimately the telegraph. Clergymen saw lawyers outstrip them as cultural gatekeepers as “local knowledge” was replaced by public opinion. In a process that Richard D. Brown describes as the “democratization of gentility,” storekeepers, lawyers, clerks, and even some artisans avidly sought knowledge of classical history, geography, and natural science—heretofore emblems of genteel rank. Knowledge and information that had once been available only to the few were now freely obtainable by the many. If, as Defoe believed, the “great law of subordination” had rested on “keeping the people ignorant,” then more than a communications revolution clearly had taken place.

Although not unmindful of the role of technological and institutional change in the communications revo-

lution, Brown places his main emphasis on ideology. During the American revolution, the ideology of an informed citizenry joined with the republican belief in an achievement-based social hierarchy to democratize and expand the diffusion of knowledge. Women, armed by the ideology of republican motherhood, virtually eliminated the longstanding literacy gap with men, devouring with equal zeal the new popular romances and the older standard devotional works. Well-bred women such as Virginia's Lucy Breckinridge became enthusiasts for such Victorian luminaries as Dickens, Trollope, Thackeray, Eliot, and Bulwer-Lytton. For members of both sexes, it became fashionable to read.

Brown disarmingly, and accurately, describes his chapters as "incomplete, uneven, and subjective" (p. 3), and these qualities may frustrate some readers. The main problem is Brown's reliance on a series of case studies as the principal base of evidence. Some of these include such well-known personages as Samuel Sewall of Puritan Boston and William Byrd II of Tidewater Virginia. Others are more obscure, such as the lawyer Isaac Mickle and free-lance engraver and illustrator Matthias Weaver, both from nineteenth-century Philadelphia. All of these vignettes are, by themselves, illuminating and carefully crafted. But too often the case studies are insufficiently anchored to an overall analytic framework. The reader is left wondering what is the point.

Brown's criteria for topic selection are also open to question. Both institutional and technological changes are slighted, apparently by design. By eschewing systematic assessment of the impact of schools, churches, political parties, and voluntary associations, Brown leaves the main vehicles of information diffusion in the early republic too far off center stage. Even more striking is the absence of any treatment of the advent of the steam-powered "penny" press during the 1830s, surely the single most important technological innovation in the "diffusion" of the printed word during the entire period. Finally, despite the book's inclusive title, its focus is overwhelmingly on the Northeast. There are, to be sure, reasons for such an imbalance, but these are left unexamined.

Brown describes his book as a prolegomenon, an exploratory effort to get a handle on a truly monumental but still only partially understood issue. On these grounds, it must be judged a success. Possibly, in a subsequent volume, Brown will provide answers for some of the questions raised above, as well as distinguish more carefully than does the present work between what is information and what is knowledge.

STEPHEN INNES
University of Virginia

ROBERT E. SHALHOPE. *The Roots of Democracy: American Thought and Culture, 1760-1800*. (Twayne's American Thought and Culture Series.) Boston: Twayne of G. K. Hall. 1990. Pp. xvii, 190. Cloth \$24.95, paper \$10.95.

Robert E. Shalhope joins many historians who believe that the debate about whether Americans were classical republicans or liberals between 1760 and 1800 "threatens to cloud our understanding of the formative years of our nation's past" (p. xi). Rather, Americans held familiar republican assumptions about human nature and political society, argues Shalhope, even as they celebrated economic opportunities and social transformations that groped toward a distinctly liberal future. Republicanism was a richly textured, continuously changing discourse that "did not bear the same meaning for everyone" (p. 40). Indeed, "it rested on such vague premises" (p. 46) that it could support moral regeneration and secular rationalism; traditional corporate values and natural rights to equal opportunity; and local communalism and private autonomy. Republicanism was compatible with the elitist agendas of nationalists and Federalists, but it also blended with the concerns of localists who had "suspicion of distant authority" (p. 85), a "simple egalitarian form of democracy" (p. 95), and a belief "in an organic social order" (p. 109).

Republicanism's ambiguities drew Americans together during the war. But as the revolution unleashed localists' "individualistic, self-interested behavior" (pp. 110-111), the "communal libertarian" elements of republicanism were disembodied from their new cultural behavior. Yet, if by the 1780s "republicanism ritualized a mode of thought that ran counter to the flow of history," liberalism remained "an unarticulated behavioral pattern more than a sharply delineated mode of thought" (pp. 50, 137). As a consequence, anti-Federalists did not become a new, liberal republican persuasion to offset the elitist republicanism of Federalists. Only in the 1790s did Democratic-Republicans eschew the ideal of communal egalitarianism and celebrate their "autonomy as economic individuals" and their "desire for unrestrained enterprise" in a land of "limitless resources" (pp. 165, 168). Why? Because there were now relentlessly expanding opportunities in the market economy.

Shalhope avoids economic determinism just as he skillfully addresses ideological determinism. Republicanism limited the social goals and accomplishments of these years (especially with respect to race and gender) even as it helped Americans imagine a new kind of republic; at the same time, material "forces over which they had little control and, perhaps, even less understanding" (p. 168) beleaguered republicanism and then helped reconstitute it into an ideology that was more recognizably liberal republican. Yet Democratic-Republicans also retained their commitment to traditional republican concepts of citizenship and "popular virtue." In this combination lay the "roots of modern American democracy" (pp. 165, 168).

Shalhope only glimpses the "forces" that undermined the authority of classical republicanism for "ordinary individuals"; his task is, rather, to write about thought and culture. Nevertheless, it is simply not true that magazines like *The American Museum* were "devot-

ed entirely to literature" (p. 67). A chapter on political economy that parallels his excellent one on the arts would have been welcome. Other readers might be disappointed that Shalhope uses familiar, but somewhat aging, historiography to discuss women, blacks, Indians, education, and the law; he does not include impressive recent scholarship about commercial farmers, "projectors," lesser merchants, and the rising "middling sort" who shared many of the emerging liberal republican views about progress and citizenship. But then, this simply challenges the rest of us to find a place for these groups in Shalhope's eloquent synthesis.

CATHY MATSON
University of Delaware

HARRY M. WARD. *Major General Adam Stephen and the Cause of American Liberty*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1989. Pp. xi, 314. \$29.50.

This is the first full biography of Adam Stephen, a successful landowner and militia officer of mid-eighteenth-century Virginia who took a prominent part in the American revolution. Born in Scotland and educated at the universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh, Stephen came to Virginia in 1748, practiced medicine near Fredericksburg for five years, and then began farming on the colony's northwest frontier. During the French and Indian War, he became a senior officer in the Virginia militia and a government provisions contractor. He also managed between campaigns to improve his lands and herds, develop an armory and a distillery, hold a variety of church and county offices, and help found Berkeley County and the town of Martinsburg. In the American revolution, he was a leading patriot—a member of the Virginia Conventions of 1775 and a regimental, brigade, and division commander in the Continental Army. Even after being dismissed from the army for intoxication and for inattention to duty in the Battle of Germantown, he served in the Virginia House of Delegates (1780–1785) and in the Virginia Ratifying Convention of 1788 (where he supported the Constitution).

Germantown was not the only blot on Stephen's record. His success and prominence were achieved in spite of strangely undependable, if not unprincipled, behavior. While a militia officer, he was charged with failing to account for funds and property, with laxness in disciplining his men, and with ignoring orders and quarrelling with his superiors. His election to the third Virginia Convention of 1775 was overturned because of the very partial way in which he, as sheriff, conducted the voting. And, before he blundered at Germantown, he nearly ruined George Washington's surprise attack on the Hessians at Trenton, launched an unauthorized and disastrous attack on a British outpost in New Jersey, distorted both the accomplishments of his men and the intelligence they gathered, and disparaged Washington's judgment. In short, he had given his associates ample reason to distrust him.

Harry M. Ward's biography is more often descriptive than analytical. Ward does little, for example, to explain how Stephen managed to gain and keep high commands in the Continental Army while disobeying Washington, obstructing operations, and filing misleading reports. Perhaps it is enough to say that Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee supported Stephen. But was their support of such consequence that Washington could do no more than rebuke Stephen until after the Battle of Germantown? Why, indeed, was Washington so tolerant of a man he neither liked nor trusted? Similarly, to say merely that the public took little notice of Stephen's dismissal from the army is not to explain his subsequent success in increasing his wealth, marrying his illegitimate daughter into a prominent family, and winning important offices in his county and state. What was his continuing appeal to the freeholders of the frontier? Ward may have thought that he lacked the evidence to consider such questions. But he had enough to write an otherwise remarkable full life of Stephen—to add a prominent, interesting personality to the history of eighteenth-century Virginia and the American revolution.

IRA D. GRUBER
Rice University

ROBERT W. TUCKER and DAVID C. HENDRICKSON. *Empire of Liberty: The Statecraft of Thomas Jefferson*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1990. Pp. xvi, 360. \$24.95.

This is a well-written, critical analysis of the nature, means, and objectives of Thomas Jefferson's foreign policy. After discussing the development of Jefferson's ideas in the years from 1783 to 1801, Robert W. Tucker and David C. Hendrickson analyze Jefferson's approach to foreign policy through a detailed discussion of the Louisiana Purchase and the maritime crisis with Great Britain from 1805 to 1809. The authors also discuss the broad differences between the Hamiltonian and Jeffersonian approaches to foreign policy and indicate ways in which themes and problems of early American foreign policy have persisted into the twentieth century.

The great strength of this book is the manner in which Tucker and Hendrickson advance trenchant interpretations of the material that they are examining. This gives a freshness that is often lacking in historical writing on a period and on subjects about which so much has already been written. The authors contend that, although Jefferson rejected the diplomacy of the Old Regime with its "reason of state," he pursued ambitious objectives by often using means characteristic of the old statecraft. Jefferson, they argue, wanted both territorial expansion and the expansion of markets for American produce, but he wanted to achieve these without war and without using other traditional means that states had used to satisfy their ambitions. His foreign policy was further complicated by the manner in which questions of national interest became

matters of right and wrong. Tucker and Hendrickson believe that this made Jefferson particularly inflexible in dealing with British maritime restrictions and that ultimately Jefferson's moralism was the downfall of his foreign policy.

There is a strong emphasis on what the authors consider the inherent flaws in Jefferson's approach to foreign policy. Jefferson, they believe, was lucky in the manner in which he obtained Louisiana. Not willing to risk war, he depended on half-hearted threats of an alliance with England and a strategy of playing for time. When Louisiana was obtained, largely for reasons outside of Jefferson's control, the authors believe that he drew false lessons from his success and failed when he used similar tactics to try to obtain West Florida.

Tucker and Hendrickson's discussion of Jefferson's response to the maritime crisis with England is governed in part by their assumption that Napoleon, not the British, offered the greatest potential threat to the United States. They believe that Jefferson should have compromised on the questions of impressment and neutral rights because the United States needed the British navy as a shield against Napoleon. They argue that Jefferson should have been less concerned about neutral rights and more concerned about the balance of power, which was being threatened by Napoleon.

It is difficult to give an adequate discussion of this book in a short review because it is filled with vigorous arguments. But the stimulating analysis and effective writing will make this volume of use even to those who, like myself, have a more favorable view of Jefferson's foreign policy and of his legacy.

REGINALD HORSMAN
University of Wisconsin,
Milwaukee

ROBERT P. SUTTON. *Revolution to Secession: Constitution Making in the Old Dominion*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1989. Pp. xii, 284. \$39.50.

Robert P. Sutton's study reiterates the powerful force of sectional politics in postrevolutionary and antebellum Virginia. The story is a familiar one: domination by Tidewater politicians overrepresented in the new commonwealth legislature by the constitution of 1776, attempts at reform successfully resisted in the conventions of 1829–30 and 1850–51, and, finally, the secession of mountain counties to form the state of West Virginia during the Civil War. Sutton's account is clear and informative in covering this well-traveled territory. He contradicts Fletcher Green's contention that party, not region, dictated alignments in the struggle over malapportionment. For example, Sutton argues that, although party rhetoric was common in the campaign of 1850, the voters' actual behavior revealed regional self-interest and blurred party lines.

To the extent that Sutton concentrates on the politics of sectionalism, this book delivers on the promise of its

title. It is not a new or original story, but it is well told. Moreover, Sutton has added an extensive biographical appendix listing all delegates to each of the three conventions.

Yet, as a study of "constitution making," this book delivers much less, if by that term we seek to know about the way in which governmental power was institutionally distributed and limited and rights guaranteed. The author gives only perfunctory treatment to the judicial or executive branches and scant attention to legal thought or dispute. Following the conventions of Virginia historiography, for example, Sutton exaggerates the importance of Virginia's 1776 Bill of Rights and continues the misleading belief that it served as a uniquely valuable "model" for the federal Bill of Rights. The difference between the two documents is enormous: Virginia's 1776 document, typical of those in other states, did not place explicit bars on legislative behavior, specifying only that the legislature "ought" not do certain things. By contrast, the state's 1830 constitution (following the federal Bill of Rights) provided explicit prohibitions, namely, that the legislature "shall not pass" laws in specified areas, a change that transformed the nature of Virginia's constitution.

By making 1776 a watershed and then showing an unchanging, hidebound conservatism from that date until the crisis of 1861, the author limits constitutional struggle to issues of electoral competition. Certainly such a battle took place, and just as certainly the Tidewater conservatives succeeded in creating a deadlock that blocked legislative reform. But beneath that deadlock there existed a powerful current of change, which other scholars will now have to turn to and examine.

DAVID THOMAS KONIG
Washington University,
St. Louis

RACHEL N. KLEIN. *Unification of a Slave State: The Rise of the Planter Class in the South Carolina Backcountry, 1760–1808*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 1990. Pp. viii, 331. \$34.95.

Historians rarely agree. But one uncontested truth unites students of the nineteenth-century South: South Carolina was a peculiar state. It stood alone in resisting Jacksonian "democratic" reforms until after the Civil War; its leaders were the most articulate and often the most radical defenders of "Southern Civilization" and slavery; its extreme actions in support of nullification and secession threw the nation into turmoil.

Historians have long recognized that one important source of the state's peculiarity lay in the unity of its white population. More than any other southerners, white South Carolinians found ways to diminish internal regional and class tensions and thereby freed themselves to focus on external enemies. Rachel N. Klein's excellent study of the rise of the planter class in

the South Carolina backcountry between 1760 and 1808 offers us a detailed description of the origins and nature of the state's unity.

Klein's central goal is to elaborate and add greater complexity to the standard simple explanation that the spread of cotton and slaves into the backcountry between 1790 and 1810 turned a yeoman area into a planter area and thereby eliminated the state's major source of regional and class tension. Her intention is not to diminish the significance of the spread of cotton culture as a source of the state's unity but to place it in a fuller and richer context and to reinterpret its significance. For example, she ably demonstrates that the pre-1790 backcountry was not simply a yeoman area but had a planter elite with ties to the low-country as well as to the local small farmers. Repeatedly, she shows the important role of the backcountry planter elite in mediating regional and class conflict among whites long before the spread of cotton culture.

The climax of Klein's story occurs in 1808—with legislative reapportionment designed to achieve what had recently become the mutually consistent goals of greater backcountry representation as well as the political supremacy of black belt areas of the state. But along the way we learn a great deal about the regional and class politics of the state. She convincingly portrays the Regulator uprising as a movement that united backcountry planters and yeomen (as well as some in the low-country) who hoped to order society against the threat of a hunting and "vagrant" population. She shows how "republican ideology" could appeal both to planters and to yeomen, how land speculation created links between the backcountry and low-country elite, and how evangelical religion mediated tensions between yeomen and planters. Overall, she demonstrates that cotton culture and the spread of slavery did not alone create the backcountry planter class and the unity of the state but only played a role in helping to diminish low-country fears of the backcountry.

KENNETH S. GREENBERG
Suffolk University

JOHN C. MELENEY. *The Public Life of Aedanus Burke: Revolutionary Republican in Post-Revolutionary South Carolina*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1989. Pp. xv, 303. \$35.00.

What the reader has in this volume is a basic sketch of the public career of a man who was, John C. Meleney admits, a secondary figure even in the history of South Carolina. An Irishman by birth, Aedanus Burke played ancillary roles in the new state's political and judicial life. It is in his capacity as judge, a position he held in the state in one manner or another from 1778 until his death in 1802, where a full-fledged picture of the man might be expected to emerge. In a thoughtful opening section, Meleney discusses the conflicting theories of republicanism abroad during the last decades of the eighteenth century. It whets the appetite for more,

which, the reader assumes, will be served up in the concluding chapter devoted to Burke on the bench. But the theory and the practice are never successfully blended; the result is that the conclusion of the volume—where expectations are the highest—comes as a distinct anticlimax.

Such is true for much of the rest of the work as well. Burke's role as irate pamphleteer is sketched nicely, and his well-known attack on the Society of the Cincinnati is successfully related to this hotheaded Irishman's dislike of aristocratic pretensions. The count de Mirabeau thought so highly of Burke's piece, for example, that he "borrowed" shamelessly from it for his own work, but the point to be made here is that although the incident is an arresting one, it is never fully attuned to the mood of Burke or of his times. And this is a work that must, because of a paucity of private papers, take a "life and times" approach. Burke's brief sojourn in Congress, climaxed by an intemperate attack on Alexander Hamilton, has its points, too, but again the final touch, which might have linked Burke inexorably to the old republican tradition, is lacking.

Clearly Burke's interests were more far-reaching than the author has been able to document. In 1782, for instance, Governor John Martin wrote Burke and offered him the chief justiceship of Georgia at a whopping salary of £500 sterling. Why? Although the author indicates that Burke was in Georgia during 1782 to secure some land for a relative, there is no hint that Meleney checked into the Georgia land records—much less into the Savannah *Columbian Museum* (which contains, incidentally, an obituary notice). His one citation to a published Georgia source makes an error in the printer's name, and Georgia as a subject heading fails to appear in his spotty index. (My own copy of the book is full of index entries overlooked by the author). Similarly, Burke's activities in Virginia and New York are not fleshed out. The reader is left to wonder if the complete story has been told. Is the "boy George Burke" in New York City, to whom the bachelor Aedanus left a bequest, "forever lost" (p. 267)? Bearing in mind Meleney's inclination toward the almost exclusive use of South Carolina sources, there is room to doubt if the final word has been spoken here.

What I have reluctantly been forced to conclude is that Burke was more gadfly than anything else. He was viewed as a mildly eccentric anecdotalist—a colorful, predictable Irish "character" who was useful only so long as he did not embarrass the Carolina power elite. Meleney, who any number of times disclaims a position of true importance for his subject, ultimately convinces even the most sanguine of his readers that he is correct. If so, then, why not two or three useful articles instead of a volume that takes so long to say so little? This is a question that only the author, his advisers, and his press can answer.

PHINIZY SPALDING
University of Georgia

CARL J. VIPPERMAN. *William Lowndes and the Transition of Southern Politics, 1782–1822*. (Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1989. Pp. xix, 326. \$39.95.

Carl J. Vipperman has spent much of his scholarly career at work on the Lowndes family of South Carolina. *William Lowndes* began as his dissertation in 1966. Then, in 1978, he published a biography of William's father, Rawlins Lowndes, the revolutionary patriot and Antifederalist. Now Vipperman gives us his mature reflections on the career of the son.

William Lowndes of Charleston was one of the most influential congressmen in the United States from the War of 1812 to the Missouri Compromise. Today he is unknown to all but specialists in the period because of his early death and the destruction of his papers. Vipperman has made a virtue of necessity, however. In his hands, the biography of Lowndes becomes a study of the fate of classical republicanism in the early republic.

Born a member of the South Carolina low-country elite, Lowndes was schooled in the political ideology of English country party republicanism. The country party had idealized the landed gentry and personal independence as the bulwarks of freedom. The best constitution provided a balance among the one, the few, and the many. Lowndes read law but abandoned it in less than a year as "too unsavory" for the life of a planter. He served in the state legislature "as a duty attached to class and standing in the community" (p. 51). His major service in the general assembly was working out the Compromise of 1808, which granted the South Carolina up-country a greater share in state government. In republican terms, the compromise balanced power among the few and the many for the general good.

In Congress in 1810, Lowndes joined the War Hawks, supporting the War of 1812. Afterward he championed the recharter of the Bank of the United States and the passage of the Tariff of 1816. He supported all of these measures for the general good. But, in 1819, Lowndes encountered an aggressive northern majority in Congress, intent on curbing the extension of slavery and adopting a high protective tariff. He opposed the Missouri Compromise not because it restricted the extension of slavery but because his republican principles required maximum freedom for every state in the Union. Similarly, Lowndes opposed the protective tariff in 1820 because it failed to protect the rights of the few. Had Lowndes lived beyond 1822 we can only speculate whether he would have joined in the defense of slavery as did his colleagues John C. Calhoun and Langdon Cheves.

Vipperman succeeds admirably in using Lowndes as a case study of the fate of republican ideology in the early national period. He provides an important link between Robert Weir's work on the revolutionary generation in South Carolina and Lacy Ford's recent

analysis of up-country politics in *Origins of Southern Radicalism* (1988).

A. V. HUFF, JR.
Furman University

ANITA SHAFER GOODSTEIN. *Nashville, 1780–1860: From Frontier to City*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1989. Pp. v, 278. \$29.95.

Here is a book we have been waiting for: an urban history that links local politics and national developments. And Anita Shafer Goodstein's well-written account of antebellum Nashville, Tennessee, gives us more. A political narrative, it is built on a sophisticated social analysis of the racial, ethnic, class, and gender conflicts that emerged out of the community's growth from frontier outpost to commercial boom town.

Goodstein first describes Nashville's transition from a land to an urban frontier. From the arrival of James Robertson in 1779 to the coming of the first steamboat in 1818, land speculation dominated the lives of the pioneers. The river town produced a first generation of successful settlers, young, male, and anarchistic, who usually had political connections to government largess, as did Andrew Jackson, for example, when he was appointed public solicitor. The need for survival brought a relaxation of race relations, turned slaves into a fluid source of capital, and marked the city as a southern place. As a commercial economy took root, slavery also meant a relative absence of a white working class, cementing bonds of loyalty between the middle-class "mechanics" and an emerging merchant elite. The 1820s were pivotal in the ascendancy of a commercial economy over the hinterland and the related formation of kinship, institutional, and political links among the city's leading families. During Nashville's steady rise from fifty-six hundred to seventeen thousand inhabitants in the thirty years preceding the Civil War, this inner group and its offspring largely governed the political and social life of the community.

Economic strains in the boom town during the 1820s produced class conflict and a political rhetoric of Jacksonian protest, but Nashville became a Whig stronghold. National politics fueled local duels over equal access to economic opportunity between established and aspiring entrepreneurs in the fast growing city. Demands for a fairer distribution of infrastructure improvements beyond the original business district resulted in a widening of the franchise and a successful revolt against the elite in the municipal elections of 1826–28. Frightened, the elite imposed new voter restrictions the following year and began to buttress the class structure through a process of geographic, institutional, and social segregation. For the most part, however, Goodstein argues that the aspirations of the mechanics for upward mobility and respectability created an enduring class alliance with the merchant elite behind the Whig program of public improvements, education, and temperance. Almost by default, the

local Democratic party came to represent the "lower" classes, including increasing numbers of Irish Catholics. To vent mounting social tensions, civic leaders encouraged ethnic and racial hatred. For black Nashville—slave and free—efforts to build a separate community based on the church became problematic, especially after 1856, when rumors of slave insurrections reached hysterical proportions. Although Nashville's business leaders tried to sidetrack secession with the Constitutional Union party, Fort Sumter pushed the southern city into the Confederacy.

Goodstein has given us a well-crafted model of how to lift local community studies above the limits of biography. This book should attract a wide audience that includes urban scholars, new-fashioned social historians, and more traditional students of national economic and political development.

HAROLD L. PLATT
Loyola University of Chicago

NATHAN O. HATCH. *The Democratization of American Christianity*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989. Pp. xiv, 312. \$25.00.

This book is a landmark in the interpretation of early American religion. Emphasizing the importance of individual conscience, increasing pluralism, new evangelistic media, and, above all, the significance of "populist" religious movements, Nathan O. Hatch has supplied a powerful new picture of religion in the United States from 1780 to 1830. He rejects the recent historiography of the Second Great Awakening as the extension of conservative social control into frontier society and in its stead describes the revival as a time of religious disruption and competition expressive of deep social, political, and economic conflicts in the early republic.

Hatch argues that among the fruits of the political revolution was a new individualistic and disestablishmentarian style of religious culture that dominated the new republic's first half-century. This religious democratization produced anticlericalism, the laicization of religious authority, the pluralistic "blurring" of theological traditions, a consequent appeal to personal religious experience, and the development of revivalism, hymnody, and religious literature to make that appeal. All of this spawned the quintessential form of early American religiousness—the triumph of democracy over deference, heart over head, future over past, West over East. The soul of early American religion dwelt, Hatch insists, not in arcane theological debates at Cambridge, Andover, New Haven, and Princeton but among the Baptists, Methodists, Disciples of Christ, Mormons, Millerites, Universalists, Shakers, and a host of other popular sects.

Hatch's interpretation rests on a masterful prosopography of the leaders who literally created the new religious movements. From figures such as Lorenzo Dow, Elias Smith, Joseph Smith, Francis Asbury, John

Leland, William Miller, and Alexander Campbell, Hatch assembles an archetype for the early American religious entrepreneur. These leaders were religious polymaths, a spiritual rogue's gallery of itinerant preachers and polemicists, poets and singing masters, organizers and editors. By promoting and managing "the sovereign audience" of postrevolutionary religious individualists, Hatch argues, these undeservedly obscure leaders gave classic shape to American Protestantism after the revolution.

There is much to praise here, but, as with any important book, there are some things to question. Though mounted against the sociological reductionism of the social control argument, Hatch's own argument suffers from a similar affliction in positing a sociopolitical origin for the Second Great Awakening. By locating the ground of postrevolutionary religious development in the political imperatives of liberty rather than in religious imperatives of spirituality, Hatch at times seems to reduce populist religion to a cultural manifestation of democratic politics.

This tendency to subordinate religion to politics helps account for Hatch's reluctance to acknowledge the elements of religious tradition in these "antitraditional" movements. Although he deemphasizes the importance of religious beliefs, the complex sectarian debates of the period demonstrate that classic doctrinal issues informed, indeed identified, the new religious movements. Those debates composed a vital and still-neglected part of early American religion that must be included in any complete interpretation of the Second Great Awakening. Similarly, Hatch's claim that the new religious movements created "gospel music" does not sufficiently take into account the direct rootage of their hymnody in eighteenth-century British Evangelical poetry and New England choral hymns and anthems.

There are, then, some theoretical and empirical problems with Hatch's ample arguments. But his call to place populist religion at the center of the Second Great Awakening is categorically correct and long overdue. This volume provides a compelling new vision of religion in the early republic and invites scholars to a rich interpretive discourse certain to reshape its historiography.

STEPHEN A. MARINI
Wellesley College
Weston School of Theology
Andover Newton Theological School

TERRI L. PREMO. *Winter Friends: Women Growing Old in the New Republic, 1785–1835*. (Women in American History.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1990. Pp. xiv, 199. \$24.95.

Most histories of old age have focused on men's experience or have taken men's experience as the norm. In this book, Terri L. Premo analyzes documents from the lives of 160 early nineteenth-century women (most of

them urban, middle-class, white Protestants from New England and Pennsylvania), asking whether there were gender-specific patterns to the experience of aging and how the emerging concept of "separate spheres" affected aging women. Women did experience old age differently from men, she argues, both because societal definitions of their role did not change as they aged (even elderly women were expected to carry on their domestic and nurturing tasks) and because they participated in a female culture that "provided a viable framework for addressing the fundamental issues associated with old age and death" (p. 10). Analyzing the various roles of older women—as wives, widows, spinsters, mothers, grandmothers, friends—Premo finds evidence for a "feminine morality of connectedness and caring" (p. 70) that remained remarkably consistent through life and enabled women to cope with and prepare for death.

Premo emphasizes the separateness of this women's culture and the emotional benefits women derived from their participation in it. Married women, she finds, hardly mentioned their husbands in letters, focusing instead on children, grandchildren, and domestic concerns. Similarly, widows "seldom considered remarriage a viable option" (p. 24), preferring not to disrupt established relationships with friends and children. A sense of belonging to a unique generation because of participation in the American revolution reinforced these women's attachment to female culture, Premo argues, and complicated their efforts to adjust to the new nineteenth-century ideology of "separate spheres."

Although acknowledging that the concept of women's culture is problematic, Premo nevertheless embraces it as an organizing device. The results are mixed. Her portrait of strong and resourceful women operating within supportive networks often causes her to lose sight of the structural conditions in the economy and in society that constrained all women, even while giving some more options than others. At times, she falls too easily into the assumption of a common experience of womanhood and ignores the role of race and class in making domesticity possible to some women while denying it to others. And her stress on the unchanging quality of women's experience makes it difficult to determine which patterns were specific to old age. Surely widowhood was disruptive, challenging, and frightening at any age, and single women needed to find engaging work or to prove themselves useful to their families, whether they were thirty or seventy. Indeed, Premo stretches the boundaries of old age to include not only "old" women (over sixty) but also "aging" women (grandmothers in their forties). In the end, the reader is hard put to pinpoint which elements in Premo's story were shaped by the specific events of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Although providing few new directions for historians of women, Premo's book offers useful information to

historians of aging and reminds them of the need to consider gender in their analyses.

ANNE M. BOYLAN
University of Delaware

ANN BRAUDE. *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America*. Boston: Beacon. 1989. Pp. xiii, 268. \$24.95.

Ann Braude's book is one of those thought-provoking works that raise almost as many questions as they answer. As she points out in her discussion of the thirty-seven-year rise and fall of an intrinsically American movement, starting with the Fox sisters' "spirit rapping" in 1848, spiritualism as a label is problematic. Anti-authoritarian, individualistic, and anti-organizational, spiritualists resisted not only classification but also orthodoxy of any kind until the late 1860s. They were defined primarily by the fact that they communicated with spirits regularly, but secondarily they were strong women's rights advocates. The width of their interests also encompassed health and diet reform, hydropathy, marriage reform, sensible dress, abolition, mesmerism, and free love. With great care, Braude traces spiritualism's shared membership with a variety of reform groups, insisting that, far from being a simple "lunatic fringe," spiritualists were the first to encourage and support women speaking in public about controversial issues, provided the first female religious leaders in America, and made available a speaking platform for any cause.

Braude does not fall into the usual traps one might expect. She carefully distinguishes spiritualism from the earlier transcendentalism with which it shared a view of nature, but she points out the inherent classism of Emerson's philosophy, suggesting that spiritualism provided a philosophy accessible to all, as well as solace for the bereaved. Braude also distinguishes spiritualism from both Christian Science and theosophy, two later movements that seemed to share many of spiritualism's general attitudes.

What Braude is not so successful in doing is making clear the limits of spiritualism's influence. Although she explains in her conclusion that no single reform idea, including feminism, originated with spiritualism, the book seems curiously slanted, suggesting a larger reformatory impact than Braude ultimately claims. While the bulk of her discussion legitimately concentrates on spiritualism's impulse to reform, she fails to consider the popular calls for dress, health, medical, and dietary reform evident by mid-century in the pages of popular periodicals and best-selling novels. Indeed, even feminists such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony seem fainthearted compared to Braude's stalwart spiritualist extremists. Even though spiritualists were active defenders of women's rights, they were popularly defined by their conversations with the dead. This fact—and the series of exposés involving fraudulent mediums—eventually circumscribed spiritualism

with a boundary that major feminists dared not cross for fear of their cause becoming unsavory to the public. Additionally, Braude neglects to discuss how spiritualism meshed with or fought against the waves of evangelical fervor that swept the country throughout the time that spiritualism flourished.

Braude's book, however, does provide a better understanding of spiritualism as a philosophy and as an impetus to reform than historians of American religion such as Sidney Ahlstrom provide. Impeccably rigorous in her use of primary sources and diligent in tracking down ephemera (both printed and ectoplasmic), Braude gives her readers a well-documented, thoughtful history of this fascinating American movement.

FRANCES B. COGAN
University of Oregon

HAZEL DICKEN-GARCIA. *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1989. Pp. x, 342. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$14.50.

Hazel Dicken-Garcia, in what she admits was a "gargantuan" research job (p. 5), has written the first book that deals solely with the development of concepts of journalistic standards in nineteenth-century America. Her study of these standards, which she broadly defines as the rules governing journalistic practices such as fairness and invasion of privacy, gives a valuable historical perspective of events that led to the development of press ethical codes in the twentieth century.

In contrast, other historians have only touched on the standards in passing or have stressed extremes in standards, such as the yellow journalism excesses of the late nineteenth century. This book clearly indicates that they have made a major error. By focusing on the well-known peaks of activity, they have avoided the so-called valleys in between that can be rich, fertile soil for historians such as Dicken-Garcia who take the time to examine them carefully.

Many of the author's findings merely document in depth what historians already know about gradual changes in press standards over time and the impact of society on those changes. Some of the findings, however, are both new and interesting; newspapers until 1830 emphasized ideas involved with issues, but then they increasingly played up events and individuals rather than ideas. By 1890, stories represented both previous eras and contained ideas, events, and individuals.

As the century progressed, criticism of the American press diverged more and more from that directed at the British press. The British championed a press that was deferential, existed primarily to serve the elite classes, feared the printed word, and had an authoritarian attitude of what reading matter should be available to society. In contrast, Americans came to like a press that rejected deference, believed in the worth of everyone, supported the public availability of all types of reading materials, and served both individuals and

the broader society. "If British criticism erred on the side of pessimism, American criticism erred on the side of optimism" (p. 154).

After the Civil War, Americans recognized that the printed word had become far more important and pervasive. Thus, they attempted to understand its place in society and the implications of the changes that were occurring.

The book's only flaw, and it is minor, is that Dicken-Garcia opens with a twenty-five-page chapter that explains exhaustively the choices she made in deciding what documents to examine and the values of examining historical documents over time. It is a chapter that will satisfy neither historians, who will not need a lecture on the craft, nor students, who will wonder why the chapter is so long. She should have stated her points in the chapter more succinctly and gotten on with her notable research.

This book, however, will have a major impact on those researching nineteenth-century American journalism. As she notes, questions still remain, and this book should be the springboard leading to further productive studies.

PATRICK S. WASHBURN
Ohio University

RICHARD RABINOWITZ. *The Spiritual Self in Everyday Life: The Transformation of Personal Religious Experience in Nineteenth-Century New England*. (New England Studies.) Boston: Northeastern University Press. 1989. Pp. xxxi, 315.

Richard Rabinowitz has given us a beautifully written and intellectually complex interpretation of nineteenth-century New England religious life. Using a rich array of primary sources, including diaries, sermons, letters, and conversion narratives, Rabinowitz seeks to "reconstruct what New Englanders meant when they spoke of their personal religious experience" and then "connect this experience . . . to other ways they thought about themselves" (p. xxi). The result of the author's painstaking effort is a rich, internally consistent account that breaks new ground in American intellectual and cultural history.

This volume's principle contribution is its synthesis of disparate and seemingly unconnected ideas and attitudes into cohesive economies of religious experience. Each economy links notions regarding religious time and space, spiritual authority, sacred and secular spheres, self and community, and the nature of the mind into an integrated whole. Once described, these religious systems are connected to the communities and eras in which they flourished.

According to Rabinowitz, New England's religious experience moved through three distinct phases between 1790 and 1860. Early on, the doctrinal approach dominated experience as Yankees sought to find their place in God's grand design. Convinced of their own finiteness, the devout sought only to understand the

gospel plan and then to wait in quietude until God reconciled their souls to him through conversion experiences. Residents of emerging commercial villages were not satisfied, however, with the ordered, passive understanding relevant to traditional agricultural communities. They sought a more active spiritual approach through moralism. This second economy shifted attention away from the divine order to the moral norms of the community. Building character was emphasized over saving souls, and conversion was seen not as an end in itself but as a means to greater social usefulness. As mid-century approached, weaknesses within moralism were widely apparent. The recipients of moralist attention often did not wish to be reformed, and endless rounds of benevolent activity sometimes left religious activists exhausted but no closer to God. Consequently, a third religious style, devotionalism, emerged. This economy placed primary importance on having an intimate walk with God, a sense of the divine presence at all times. Religious affections, not the understanding or the will, received the most attention. Doctrinal standards and behavioral norms were subordinated to sentiment and "what felt best was best" (p. 175). In tracing the evolving economies, Rabinowitz reveals how New Englanders reduced the perceptual distance between God and humanity and how they increasingly consecrated secular time and activities to religious ends.

Despite its strength as intellectual and cultural history, this book is less successful in connecting the three economies to social experience. One wonders to what extent these three ideal types actually shaped the experience of those who did not leave volumes of written documents. We learn that "the evangelical orthodox probably represented one fifth of the population in most rural towns" (p. 75), and we can only wonder at the religious economy of the remaining four-fifths. Devotionalism appears as a largely middle-class occurrence, and scant attention is paid to how lower-class citizens shaped their spiritual universe. Occasionally the text is marred by generalizations based on insufficient evidence. For instance, the statement that "the requirement for a public testimony of one's faith and doctrinal knowledge was being eliminated in the churches of the 1830s and 1840s" (p. 205) is supported by the example of a single church.

Even with the above reservations, I believe Rabinowitz's book is important and deserves a wide readership. Rabinowitz takes his readers on a tour of nineteenth-century New England's spiritual world, and I, for one, found the journey eminently worthwhile.

CURTIS D. JOHNSON
Mount Saint Mary's College

MICHAEL CASSITY. *Defending a Way of Life: An American Community in the Nineteenth Century*. (SUNY Series in American Labor History.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1989. Pp. xv, 259. Cloth \$44.50, paper \$14.95.

Using the development of Sedalia, Missouri, as the focus of his work, Michael Cassity sets out to describe the *mentalité* of the workers of this midwestern railroad community as it passed from a preindustrial agrarian economy to industrial capitalism. The story of Sedalia is one of the displacement of communitarian values by an individualism grounded in competition and personal responsibility at the expense of collective responsibility. From the 1820s, Sedalia's first settlers, the residents of Georgetown, were refugees from a market economy that threatened to undermine their devotion to the simplicities of subsistence agriculture, harmony with nature, and cooperation. This bucolic idyll was disrupted by individuals, principally George R. Smith, who campaigned unceasingly and successfully for railroads linking the village with the wider market. The result was the diminution of the original town by the rough-and-tumble rail depot of Sedalia. The post-Civil War period marked the tug of war between those who embraced the market and those who maintained an allegiance to earlier patterns. The results were, predictably enough, nasty, long-lived, and brutish. Workers hewed to the discipline of time and work and looked to faith healers for redemption and explanation; in the face of cutthroat competition, businessmen endeavored to regulate economic struggle. But both, according to Cassity, came to value local control above all.

Both workers and the mercantile middle class, therefore, saw themselves defending a way of life against outside encroachments. This conflict reached its climax in two strikes in 1885 and 1886, one successful and the other not. The walkout of rail workers in 1885 garnered widespread support from all strata of Sedalia society as residents banded together to defend themselves against further infringements by outside interests. In doing so, they harked back to an earlier idea of cooperation and mutual support. In 1886, however, support for the workers failed to materialize because the community viewed labor's action as a stratagem of the Knights of Labor, an agency outside the community. Not only did industrial capitalism affect urban workers, but it also had its way with farmers and women in both settings. Again traditional forms of human interaction surrendered to the demands of the market, rendering cooperation archaic and economically inadvisable. Farmers' cooperative institutions failed, although farmers managed to preserve the essence of preindustrial values, and women lost their productive role and shopped for alternatives.

The most successful portion of the book is Cassity's analysis of the different fates of the strikes. He is on equally sure ground in his discussion of the early period in Sedalia's history in which he documents the first settlers' reasons for leaving points farther east. Both parts are very persuasive. But the central argument, on the whole, remains unconvincing and, at times, superficial. In the end, the book is a rendition of "the world we have lost" played out on a midwestern stage. The author has attempted a difficult and laud-

able task. That he fell short is perhaps more attributable to the nature of the task than to the author.

PAULA PETRIK
University of Maine

KENNETH H. WINN. *Exiles in a Land of Liberty: Mormons in America, 1830–1846*. (Studies in Religion.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1989. Pp. x, 284. \$32.50.

In this ambitious and thoughtful revisionist study, Kenneth H. Winn attempts “fresh answers” (p. 2) to what he calls the oldest and most interesting debate among Mormon historians, namely, the nature of the church’s relationship to American culture. It is a debate that has much in common with that longstanding conundrum regarding the “Americanness” of the South, and, like that controversy, it has a fascinating historiography, briefly summarized as a conflict-consensus paradigm. Needless to say, in its heyday the Mormon-Gentile conflict was reflected in the literature of the time. But, as Mormonism and American culture moved toward rapprochement after the turn of the century, both Mormon and secular historians found their way to a consensus interpretation. Beginning in the 1960s, this orthodoxy was challenged by a group of historians who argued that Mormonism was a counterculture inimical to antebellum American values. In recent years, this school has come under attack on two fronts: from orthodox Mormon apologists, who insist on reading the contemporary status quo of modern Mormonism back into its history by playing down polygamy, the political kingdom, and noncapitalist economic theories and practices, and by a group of secular historians who, employing novel approaches to cultural history, find that similarities outweigh differences after all. One of the first works of these historians was R. Laurence Moore’s analysis of Mormonism in *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* (1986). The most recent is Winn’s book.

Rather than seeing Mormonism as an ideological counterculture subversive to the larger society, Winn attempts to fit the Latter-day Saints into what an influential group of historians has defined as the “republican synthesis.” Antagonism between Mormons and their Jacksonian contemporaries resulted from conflicting interpretations of republicanism. Mormons adhered to traditional conceptions of civic virtue, resting on an agrarian, Jeffersonian ideology, while Jacksonian republicanism was taking on an increasingly libertarian cast, admitting merchants, manufacturers, and laborers into the circle of republican virtue. Each group saw the other as lacking its own brand of republicanism. Beginning with a thorough and perceptive analysis of the Book of Mormon as a republican document, the author has rewritten the early history of Mormonism (to the Saints’ expulsion from Nauvoo in 1846). Winn has taken seriously the ideological claims of Mormons and their antagonists—claims other histo-

rians have largely dismissed as mere rhetoric. In his emphasis on ideology, Winn is certainly in good company (see, for example, John Ashworth’s “Agrarians” and “Aristocrats”: *Party Political Ideology in the United States, 1837–1846* [1987]). That is not to say, however, that it is always easy to distinguish between rhetoric and ideology. Having made his choice, Winn, for example, has to “republicanize” institutions such as the political kingdom of God, thus straining republicanism severely. Winn also applies republican orthodoxy rather uncritically in his analysis, deeming it unnecessary to engage prominent dissenters from the republican synthesis in discussion.

Given these reservations, I did enjoy reading the book. It is well researched and well written, inviting us to look at a dimension of the relationship between Mormonism and American culture that certainly merits attention and further discussion.

KLAUS J. HANSEN
Queen’s University
Kingston, Ontario

LAWRENCE B. GOODHEART. *Abolitionist, Actuary, Atheist: Elizur Wright and the Reform Impulse*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 1990. Pp. xiii, 282. \$27.50.

Biographers seek to place their subjects’ personalities and achievements within a historical context. Too much attention to context obscures the subject; too little distorts the significance of the subject’s actions. Such imbalances frequently occur in Lawrence B. Goodheart’s engagingly written study of nineteenth-century American reformer Elizur Wright.

Wright is best known as an abolitionist leader of the 1830s and 1840s and as a life insurance reformer from the 1850s until his death in 1885. As Goodheart establishes, Wright is also important for his intellectual journey from Protestant evangelicalism to atheism, his contribution to the modern concept of civil liberties, and his efforts in the 1880s as a pioneer conservationist. Goodheart follows historians Peter Walker and Robert H. Abzug in seeking to understand “the creative role of personality and character in shaping . . . reform commitment” (p. 222), and he provides useful insights into the dynamic relationship between psychology and social reform. Goodheart relies on a recent model that links early nineteenth-century evangelical child-rearing practices with the development of social conscience to explain Wright’s predisposition to a career in reform, although the model tends to overshadow the young Wright. He is also effective in describing the impact of Arminian theology, which dominated Yale College during Wright’s student years, on Wright’s benevolent activities. Goodheart clearly describes Wright’s role on the executive committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society in the 1830s and provides an excellent analysis of Wright’s transition from church-oriented abolitionism during that decade to advocacy of the abolitionist Liberty party in the

1840s. Finally, his investigation of Wright's continued commitment to reform in the years following the Civil War is a useful addition to the literature on former abolitionists in the late nineteenth century.

But there are serious oversights and omissions. Frequently Goodheart fails to establish a proper context for Wright's actions and leaves important areas of inquiry unexplored. A few examples illustrate contextual problems. Goodheart refers to "republicanism" as a shaping force in Wright's character but never defines Wright's understanding of this mercurial concept as it applied to nineteenth-century America. Goodheart also falls into an old trap in claiming that Wright's antislavery efforts were more "practical" than those of Garrisonian and church-oriented abolitionists (pp. 81, 92, 110). Anyone who has read Aileen S. Kraditor or James B. Stewart on the respective strategies of Garrisonian and Liberty party abolitionists, such as Wright, should be leery of such generalizations. In addition, Goodheart ignores a wealth of research on the formation of the Free Soil party in 1848 and as a result greatly understates the dramatic shift of Wright from leadership in the staunchly anti-Free Soil Liberty League to support for the Free Soil movement.

Two other examples suggest the magnitude of Goodheart's omissions. He fails to explore the causes or significance of what he indicates was Wright's unqualified racial egalitarianism, which set Wright apart from other white abolitionists, who generally were ambivalent on issues of race. More inexplicable is Goodheart's contention that Wright turned down Joshua Leavitt's invitation to write for Leavitt's newspaper, the *Emancipator*, in the mid-1840s. Wright not only accepted the offer but wrote some of his more militant abolitionist pieces for that paper. There is much that is worthwhile in this biography, but such shortcomings weaken it.

STANLEY HARROLD
South Carolina State College

ALLEN STEINBERG. *The Transformation of Criminal Justice: Philadelphia, 1800–1880*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1989. Pp. ix, 326. \$39.95.

Allen Steinberg asserts that his analysis of the transformation of criminal justice in nineteenth-century Philadelphia will help us understand "the origins of the alienation, antagonism, and disrespect for law that is a prominent part of the relationship between the citizenry and the modern American state" (p. vii). The transformation he posits is the movement away from an informal system of "primary justice" that was "within everyone's reach" toward a system "distinguished by police-initiated, negative state action designed to control population groups" (pp. 44, 55). According to Steinberg, primary justice flourished from colonial days to the 1850s, survived into the 1870s, and exerted influence after that. The system rested on two pillars: private prosecutions and the minor judiciary. Ordinary

citizens, acting as private prosecutors, regularly hauled others before aldermen, the elected minor judiciary who earned fees for the work. For Steinberg, the great value of the system was that people who wanted to assert their rights or attack injustice could exercise real control over a process that allowed for dispute resolution. Indeed, the minor judiciary often performed what amounted to paid arbitration. While noting that the system had numerous problems such as extensive corruption, Steinberg continually emphasizes the benign aspects of "a system of criminal justice that was, in its way, a vibrant and effective means of neighborhood-based self-government" (p. 230).

Primary justice came under attack for various reasons; chief among these was that increasing urban disorder made elites yearn for greater stability. Although the creation of a modern police force in the 1850s pointed the way to the newer system, aldermen continued to dispense informal justice that often benefitted everyone involved. Those who wanted a new system, people who would gain power and prestige from the transformation, were not pleased. For them, "the preferred relationship of the citizenry to the state was the administrative one inherent in the police and the prison agency" (p. 215). Looking to create a system where police would do the arresting and public prosecutors would do the prosecuting, the transformers turned to constitutional revision. Pennsylvania's constitution of 1873 did not totally eradicate the older system, but it did eliminate aldermen and the fee system. Although Steinberg does not explain exactly when the final transformation occurred, he says that with these changes "the now dominant features of the criminal justice system represented a new passive relationship of the citizenry to the state, born out of the idea that there was a special, 'dangerous' class of citizens who were the proper objects of the system's punitive and benevolent activity" (pp. 222–23).

Despite the fact that limited sources caused Steinberg to give less coverage to the early 1800s, one strength of this heavily nuanced work is that the author offers extensive, often quantified, detail. He convincingly demonstrates that a woman could make effective use of primary justice when dealing with an abusive husband, but Steinberg has to concede that the poor could not always use the system that he claims was open to all. His comments, especially those in footnotes, on the ways in which landlords used private prosecutions also suggest that the system he praises may not have been so open and beneficial to ordinary citizens. In addition, as quotations from Judge Anson V. Parsons reveal, evidence that Steinberg interprets as supporting private prosecution can be interpreted differently (pp. 86, 139–40). Such problems may leave readers less than convinced that primary justice was, as Steinberg claims, a system of the people, by the people, and for the people. Nevertheless, his work will repay a close reading, and Steinberg's provocative analysis is indeed important reading for those who explore America's

criminal justice system and the creation of the modern state.

JOHN K. ALEXANDER
University of Cincinnati

WARREN GOLDSTEIN. *Playing for Keeps: A History of Early Baseball*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 182. \$21.95.

In this volume Warren Goldstein examines America's national pastime from its origins in the 1850s to the formation of the National League of Professional Base Ball Clubs in 1876. The book's subtitle is a bit misleading because the work does not present a detailed narrative history of early baseball. Rather, it offers a series of thoughtful and interesting essays on the social and cultural meaning of the sport during its first few decades. In a prologue, eight brief chapters, and an epilogue, Goldstein develops several themes. He argues that baseball has "two very different kinds of histories: one linear, chronological, and cumulative, the other cyclical, generational, and repetitive" (p. 2). The first kind of baseball history concerns the transition of the game from an amateur pastime to a big business marked by professionalism and commercialism with all of their attendant abuses. The second type highlights the emotional aspects of baseball, especially the tendency of enthusiasts in each generation to recall "the good old days" of an earlier golden, innocent age. Goldstein also analyzes the tensions that appeared in early baseball: the spirit of play versus the work ethic, manliness versus boyishness, self-control versus excitement, and respectability versus low behavior. Although he recognizes that the first ballplayers enjoyed having fun, he stresses the impact of the discipline of work, the drive to win, and the pressures of the marketplace in shaping early baseball.

Part I of the book includes an insightful discussion of the culture of the first amateur clubs with special attention to the development of rules and the conflict between "modernizers" and "traditionalists." The former wished to incorporate work discipline, scientific management, and efficiency into the game; the latter strove to preserve earlier styles and customs. The author also explores the role of umpires and female spectators and the appearance of intense seriousness and rivalries in championship competition. The volume's second half reviews the sport's division into camps of amateurs and professionals. Here Goldstein explains the demise of the amateur National Association of Base Ball Players (1857–70). He also discusses the country's first all professional nine, the Cincinnati Red Stockings, the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players (1871–75), and the birth of the National League.

Goldstein's book is clear, well written, and provocative, but it has two major interrelated weaknesses. One lies in the area of methodology, while the other concerns Goldstein's main thesis. The author's research in

secondary works is very thorough, but his coverage of primary sources is incomplete. In his prologue he correctly explains the critical importance of newspaper accounts as sources for early baseball. But he relies too much on the sporting journalists and periodicals of New York City, especially Henry Chadwick and the various versions of *The Spirit of the Times* and *The New York Clipper*. He neglects the daily and weekly publications in cities that became hotbeds of baseball during the 1860s. These included Boston, Newark, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Chicago, Cincinnati, and St. Louis. Moreover, his excessive reliance on the New York papers led him to pay too much attention to the small number of professional clubs that featured work discipline, scientific performance, and commercialism. More digging in the local press would have revealed the persistence of premodern elements of baseball in hundreds (probably thousands) of clubs formed by boys (and even a few girls), students, skilled workers, clerks, businessmen, and professionals. Most of these people—young and old, middle class and affluent, white and black, and immigrant and native—participated for recreation and an escape from their work and family responsibilities. The vast majority were playing more for fun than for keeps.

GEORGE B. KIRSCH
Manhattan College

ROGER L. RANSOM. *Conflict and Compromise: The Political Economy of Slavery, Emancipation, and the American Civil War*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. xv, 317. Cloth \$39.50, paper \$12.95.

In this study of the Civil War and Reconstruction, Roger L. Ransom argues that slavery was at the heart of the sectional conflict that, once Abraham Lincoln was elected, could no longer be compromised; that slavery undermined the Confederacy's war effort; that racism, the pernicious legacy of slavery, stifled significant reform, destroyed the promise of political and social equality for blacks, and supported a stagnant economy in the postbellum South; and that, although the war itself slowed economic growth, the Northern victory produced political changes that supported the massive industrial expansion in the late nineteenth century. When summarized briefly, Ransom's interpretation hardly seems original, but his book is not merely another narrative covering familiar ground. His goal, he writes, is "to analyze and 'make sense of' the economic and political factors that produced the conflict we call the Civil War" (p. xiv). For Ransom, educated as an economist but now teaching in a history department, this goal has a special meaning: "Coming from a different perspective than most students of the Civil War, I found myself continually reinterpreting the historical literature so that it 'made sense' to someone whose background was in economics, rather than history" (p. xiv). Specifically, this meant incorporating the large body of recent revisionist work by specialists

using new methods and new techniques into the "larger historical framework" (p. 5).

Given Ransom's background, readers might expect another "cliometric" exercise based solely on modern economic theory, but Ransom wisely eschews adopting a single economic model and uses instead what he terms an "eclectic" assortment of the "tools available from the analytical kit of economic and political historians" (p. 15). The result is a largely derivative study based on existing scholarship, including that published by Ransom himself, rather than on new research. Ransom's goals and methods account for both the strengths and the weaknesses of his book.

Ransom ably succeeds in integrating a considerable body of new work into his analysis, specifically that of economists and others that is often based on what most historians would find to be esoteric theories and methods. He is especially adept at providing easily understood explanations of such theories and methods and showing how they shed a different or, at least, some new light on familiar events, all in a narrative that is remarkably free from jargon.

But Ransom will leave many readers unsatisfied primarily because of his narrow view of recent revisionist work. It is primarily the revisionism of the quantifiers in political and economic history that is integrated into his analysis, and he gives little attention to the revisionist scholarship that emphasizes social and cultural matters, that employs comparative history, that gives extensive attention to the role of slaves and freedmen in creating the society in which they lived, and that studies such matters as family structure and kinship and gender relations among both blacks and whites. Although Ransom quotes or cites some of this work, he fails to integrate it into his analysis.

In sum, students (and their teachers) will find much of value in this book, particularly in Ransom's lucid explanation of the methods of the so-called new history, but the revisionist views he presents must be carefully supplemented by other equally significant work in order to "make sense" of the Civil War and Reconstruction.

HAROLD D. WOODMAN
Purdue University

GEORGE C. RABLE. *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism*. (Women in American History.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1989. Pp. xv, 391. \$29.95.

The American Civil War was crucial in the lives of southern women, and increasing numbers of scholars are attempting to understand the impact of the war and Reconstruction on women's lives and gender roles. Recent histories debate Mary Elizabeth Massey's assertion that the war initiated a social revolution among women North and South. George C. Rable's book concurs with the view that although the war offered women new roles and opportunities, no revolution in

gender roles took place. His work, reminiscent of Anne F. Scott's finely balanced account, is more self-consciously even-handed; he takes pains to note that women held opinions on every side of the national question and had varieties of experiences during the national trauma. That is the work's strength and its weakness. What Rable gains in exhaustive research, he loses in focus.

The Civil War ruthlessly challenged family life through invasion, poverty, and separation. In a sense the war began as a domestic crisis, when John Brown's raid directly threatened homes and plantations. Northern depredations reinforced southern women's nationalism, but women's sufferings ultimately undermined their loyalty. Because political opinion is formed in the home, that private disloyalty infected public consciousness. In that way women were part of Confederate political culture. Furthermore, disaffection and necessity led southern women who managed farms and plantations in their husbands' absence to shift from cash to subsistence crops. Women's management encountered the burden of a labor revolution, namely, the end of slavery. The author sympathetically portrays the plight of southern women caught in larger social forces. Poverty, hunger, disillusionment, disloyalty challenge any consistent portrayal of ideology in terms of myth, class, or community. Rable understands and vividly describes these underlying tensions.

The book is less successful in drawing these insights into a cohesive analysis of the relationship between women and southern nationalism. Rable suggests that class and caste outweighed ideological notions in the formation of southern nationalism. How did these factors offer such a powerful antidote to chaos if the southern elite, as Rable maintains, suffered a crisis of confidence? What then was the basis of southern nationalism, and how did white women relate to it? Moreover, Rable contends that white women largely ignored complicated constitutional questions and acted out of habit. But would not a domestic political culture prompt men to act out of habit also? Such compelling questions are not consistently addressed.

Because this book is a study of southern white women, the unraveling of a corporate sense of self is explored only from white women's points of view. Black women's role in the labor revolution and Reconstruction politics receives indirect attention. Rable's narrative skill is impressive, but the discussion of southern nationalism too often breaks down into the examination of discrete categories.

JEAN E. FRIEDMAN
University of Georgia

WARREN WILKINSON. *Mother, May You Never See the Sights I Have Seen: The Fifty-Seventh Massachusetts Veteran Volunteers in the Army of the Potomac, 1864-1865*. New York: Harper and Row. 1990. Pp. xix, 665. \$30.00.

This is an exceptional book, an excellent military and social history by a talented author who not only knows but also understands the men of the Fifty-seventh Massachusetts Infantry Regiment and the ordeal they experienced. It is a drama-packed, day-to-day narrative about men from all walks of life who were suddenly thrown together into a subculture that was unfamiliar and confusing to everyone in it. Although the focus is always on the regiment, its successes and failures are skillfully related to mainstream Civil War developments.

Recruited in the fall and winter of 1863–64, the men of the Fifty-seventh were organized, trained, and mustered into the service of the United States at Camp Wool, near Worcester, Massachusetts. In mid-April 1864, they departed for Virginia, where they served in the First Brigade, First Division of General Ambrose E. Burnside's Ninth Corps, Army of the Potomac. Except for Cold Harbor, the regiment was in the thick of the fighting in the great battles of General Ulysses S. Grant's Virginia campaigns, 1864–65. And, because a division of black troops served in the Ninth Corps, the rebels kept Burnside's men under almost constant musket, mortar, and artillery fire during the siege of Petersburg. So great were the Fifty-seventh's losses in its first three months of combat that it had only ninety-eight soldiers for the Battle of the Crater, and in that battle it suffered fifty-three casualties.

This book is based largely on primary sources, the most important being letters and diaries of men in the regiment and in units with which they served and a history of the Fifty-seventh, written in 1896, which frustrated Warren Wilkinson for what it fails to say (p. xiii). The richness of those sources enabled Wilkinson to pursue the men of the regiment wherever they went—in training and on exhausting marches, in muddy trenches and on smoke-shrouded battlefields, and in ambulances, hospitals, and even rebel prisons. Lice, flies, mosquitoes, ticks, rats, and snakes added to their misery. Unforgettable are the author's descriptions of the sights and sounds of battle and the hell the soldiers endured. And through it all their hopes, fears, and feelings are conveyed with profound sensitivity.

Wilkinson makes clear the importance of a commander's quality of character. He defends the performance of the First Division, Ninth Corps, in the Battle of the Crater, which some historians have criticized, and he dismisses as unjust those who blamed the black troops for the Union failure. He agrees with historians who have faulted not the soldiers but their leaders, including top-level commanders.

There is little to criticize in this book. One can point to a few inelegant sentences, occasional use of the editorial "we," and an inadequate explanation of the breakdown of the prisoner exchange system. But these are minor flaws.

The maps, illustrations, and index are well done, as are the regimental data in the appendixes. Special mention must be made of the rosters at the back of the

book, which contain informative biographical essays of regimental members.

Wilkinson's study should serve as a model for future unit histories. It is the best unit history I have ever read, a contribution to Civil War literature that deserves a prize.

FREDERICK D. WILLIAMS
Michigan State University

MICHAEL FELLMAN. *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri during the American Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. xx, 331. \$24.95.

No longer the fuel for bitterness, the Vietnam War has more recently spawned many new and thoughtful volumes on a wide range of issues in American history. In the study of the Civil War, for example, sundry scholars have drawn on America's longest war for insights into the experience of "common" participants. Michael Fellman joins that group with a well-researched, sophisticated study on partisan warfare in Missouri.

In the decade prior to the war, a majority of Missourians were predominantly evangelical, from southern stock, with a localized, nonslaveholding economy as their base. The region, however, was in a state of transition. Slowly yet steadily Missourians were providing for a national market, and a huge influx of northerners into the area, with different attitudes and values, was changing the social and political scene. These newcomers viewed old-time Missourians as "Pukes," the most immoral and degraded products of the slave system, while the old Missourians resented the greedy, fanatical, and morally bankrupt northerners who were willing to subvert law and order for blacks and immigrants. Amid this tension and frequent clashes, the Civil War erupted, with Missouri caught in the middle.

Both sides undertook hostilities with the belief that they were defending certain values, Fellman insists, but the terror and ferocity of the war cut participants loose from those social underpinnings. This enabled individuals on both sides to perform horrible acts and justify them as retribution for past injustices. Murder, looting, and destruction on a massive scale became commonplace as Unionists and secessionists sought victory and, more important, revenge.

Neither Confederate nor Federal authorities knew how to deal with their partisans. Although Confederate officials benefited from the chaos that their guerrillas caused, and the number of Union troops they attracted, rebel leaders considered the unconventional methods inappropriate and demanded greater control through traditional military organizations. Federal officials drifted from mild to harsh methods to quell the fighting. Policies varied from sympathy to such brutality as the execution of all suspected guerrillas. In fact, because of the decentralized nature of the fighting, low-ranking officers and enlisted men determined the actual policy more than department commanders,

which usually exacerbated problems. And nothing proved effective, as guerrillas always seemed to blend back into the civilian population. Federals even tried relocating communities to create free-fire zones, but that, too, failed.

Meanwhile, civilians, who generally preferred neutrality, were caught between warring groups. Many fled Missouri while others were forced to cater to whatever power was in the area and later suffer retribution for aiding the enemy. Abuses drove still others into opposing camps, which merely heightened tensions that were already tearing communities apart.

In his best chapter, Fellman focuses on the predicament of women, who were real participants and may have endured the most hardship. They were the moral anchor for men and tried to remain loyal to their prewar beliefs, yet war forced them to fill voids, function in all sorts of new roles, and suffer as the true victims, all of which changed them.

After the war, most guerrillas adapted to peace, but a handful never made the adjustment and continued as bands of outlaws. Strangely enough, Fellman argues, the lost cause glorified the guerrillas for their defense of traditional ways and converted criminals such as the James brothers into folk heroes. The public forgot their terrorism.

This book is a deeply analytical study, based on broad research. It is both complex and compelling and offers insights into partisan activities in Missouri and guerrilla warfare in general.

JOSEPH T. GLATTHAAR
University of Houston

ALLEN TULLOS. *Habits of Industry: White Culture and the Transformation of the Carolina Piedmont*. (The Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1989. Pp. xvi, 419. Cloth \$34.95, paper \$12.95.

Allen Tullos's work is an addition to the rapidly growing list of books concerned with the history of work, culture, and social transformation in the South between the Civil War and World War II. Its subtitle suggests a systematic inquiry into white culture and its role in molding social behavior and the meaning of that behavior for white people who experienced the transition from agriculture to industry. That suggestion is echoed in a prefatory statement that the book "reckons with the formation of attitudes toward work, the shift from farm to factory, the transition from folk to working class . . . and the sources and shape of cultural authority" (p. xiv).

The book is something less than all of this suggests. It consists of three superb chapters that detail material largely derived from oral histories of several cotton mill workers and five other chapters that are more disappointing than satisfying. Chapter 6 is the most compelling oral history that I have read of a cotton mill worker or anyone else, and Tullos deserves high praise indeed

for collecting and editing it as well as the parallel stories re-created in chapters 5 and 7.

The problems of the book stem not from the rich material in these chapters but from Tullos's failure to make systematic use of the equally rich conceptual and theoretical literature social scientists and historians have developed concerning the nature and function of culture and the ways culture infuses meaning into social experience. Tullos's use of his material is more anecdotal than systematic, and the core of the book is more narrative and descriptive than analytical and critical. There is also a problem of focus. "Persons and events of the first four decades of the twentieth-century," Tullos states, "are the central actors and subjects" of his study (p. 4). Yet much of the material in chapters 1 through 4 is background to those decades, some of it going back to the eighteenth century, and this information is distracting. In addition, "white culture" is a phenomenon of multiple facets, each of which deserves equal and equally balanced study. Yet Tullos's treatment of middle-class and elite whites is far less imaginative, engaged, and convincing than is his impressive evocation of the experience of cotton mill workers.

In short, this book compellingly illustrates some themes in the cultural history and social transformation of the Carolina Piedmont, but it does not systematically delimit or define the white culture of the area, nor does it convincingly assess the relationship between basic components of that culture. Still, the material on the subjects Tullos has probed, especially the family and work experience of cotton mill workers in the Carolina Piedmont between World Wars I and II, is impressive indeed.

I. A. NEWBY
University of Hawaii,
Manoa

KENNETH LIPARTITO. *The Bell System and Regional Business: The Telephone in the South, 1877-1920*. (The Johns Hopkins/AT&T Series in Telephone History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1989. Pp. xvi, 283. \$29.50.

This is the fourth book in a joint project on telephone history. The first three (including one by me) were outgrowths of antitrust research and focused on the internal corporate dynamics of strategy, structure, and technology. Now Kenneth Lipartito, who began his research along a separate line of inquiry, sets the formation of the Bell System in the social process in which it emerged. In particular, he concentrates on the generally slow pace of industrial development in the postbellum American South and its resistance to the kinds of system building that the nascent (and northern) Bell System sought to impose on the nation's geo-economic landscape. He succeeds in producing a useful and lively book: useful in its extension of business history into larger social themes, lively in its twin

assaults on traditional southern business culture and traditional Bell System doctrine.

Lipartito's main point is that there was nothing certain about the outcome of corporate attempts by predecessors of American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) to establish large, integrated telephone systems in the South. The triumph of coordinated systems technology on a national scale—which became the *raison d'être* of AT&T's claim to its near monopoly of the nation's telephone business in the twentieth century—was far from inevitable. Yet this is no “muckraker's” view of the process. Lipartito reveals his own bias in favor of the Bell System's triumph when he makes a not altogether successful attempt to draw implications from the late nineteenth-century experience for current-day debates over competition in the industry.

The best part of the book is the sympathetic portrait of James Ormes, a sickly, frail, but determined carpet-bagger from Massachusetts who in the late 1870s, on behalf of the Bell interests, struggled to overcome stubborn localism and the lassitude of southern businessmen in order to establish profitable telephone exchanges in major southern urban centers. The story of how he labored to stimulate a wider regional development of telecommunications is a nice addition to the literature on entrepreneurship. In Lipartito's hands, Ormes becomes the quintessential “cross-cultural” entrepreneur, a stranger who transplants advanced economic practice to less cultivated soil.

There is much more to this book. It details nicely, for example, how the American Bell Company fought its battles to impose long-distance system requirements and high-end, uniform technological standards on its reluctant southern affiliates. It also provides a good look at how the Bell System's strategy for integration of major markets overlooked growing demand for its service in other areas, resulting in an enormous burst of competition around the turn of the century.

Lipartito makes his case that the triumph of the Bell System was by no means inevitable given the potential for regional differences and cultural resistance. But in the end he concludes that, among the alternatives, the Bell approach offered the best means for capturing system economies. Thus, although nostalgic southerners might take offense, Bell System defenders can take heart. Whether or not it was Lipartito's intention, the ultimate weight of his argument reinforces what has already become the dominant and perhaps “Whiggish” view of the history of telephony: that there was but one best way to build and run it in the age of wire-bound technology.

GEORGE DAVID SMITH
New York University

MARK S. FOSTER. *Henry J. Kaiser: Builder in the Modern American West*. Foreword by WILLIAM H. GOETZMANN. (American Studies Series.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 1989. Pp. xiv, 358. \$29.95.

This is the first biography of Henry J. Kaiser (1882–1967), the western entrepreneur whose activities ranged from road and dam building, ship construction and engineering, to automobile and steel manufacturing and the establishment of a pioneering health management organization. Mark S. Foster makes good use of recently opened papers in the Kaiser collection, supplemented with a wide range of additional archival materials, correspondence with Kaiser's colleagues, and several dozen interviews with coworkers, employees, and family members. The book is a well-written, informative, and sympathetic portrait of a businessman of extraordinary vision, energy, and drive.

Born into a German immigrant family of middling means in central New York State, Kaiser found himself in Spokane, Washington, after his future father-in-law demanded that the youth establish himself “out west” before receiving parental approval of marriage. Established in highway construction by World War I, Kaiser moved his headquarters to Oakland, California, in 1921; his friendship with fellow contractor Warren A. Bechtel provided both contracts and entry into the national fraternity of builders. Bechtel's invitation brought Kaiser into a partnership that eventually included four other firms, which under the name Six Companies built the Hoover Dam on the Colorado River. Kaiser's own initiative put together construction combines that built the Bonneville and Grand Coulee dams on the Columbia River.

Placed in charge of coordination between the builders and federal bureaucrats during the Hoover Dam project, Kaiser developed an insider's expertise that served him well in acquiring contracts for building Liberty Ships during World War II and in the awarding of Reconstruction Finance Corporation loans for the establishment of Kaiser Steel. During the war, the national media praised him for his seemingly heroic contributions to the war effort, congressional critics searched for irregularities in his operations, and his own publicists enlarged on the accomplishments of their irrepressible subject. Having achieved celebrity status as the nation's preeminent industrial patriot, Kaiser was briefly considered as Franklin Roosevelt's running mate in 1944, and General Dwight Eisenhower asked Kaiser to visit the troops in March 1945 in order to raise morale.

The high point of Kaiser's popularity came at the end of the war, but the industrialist expanded his operations after 1945 both nationally and abroad. Foster provides detailed discussion of this neglected period of Kaiser's life and does so with commendable attention to the continuing relationships involving Kaiser with fellow businessmen and federal officials. Separate chapters cover near disasters such as the Kaiser-Fraser automobile as well as success stories, for example, the Kaiser Permanent Medical Care Program. The book will be a welcome addition to the growing secondary literature on the history of business in the twentieth-century West, as well as a contribution to work that situates business in the context of the

growth of the national economy and the operations of the federal government as they affect the development of specific industries.

WILLIAM ISSEL
San Francisco State University

DARLIS A. MILLER. *Soldiers and Settlers: Military Supply in the Southwest, 1861–1885*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1989. Pp. xviii, 506. \$45.00.

The U.S. Army, in its last Indian conflicts, maintained more than forty posts, camps, and stations in the present states of Arizona, New Mexico, southern Colorado, and trans-Pecos Texas. Darlis A. Miller not only tells how they were supplied but also measures the effects of military operations and garrisons on the civilian economy of this frontier. Her work nicely complements that of Robert W. Frazer whose *Forts and Supplies* (1983) covered the period from 1846 to 1861.

The first chapters are densely detailed and annotated, perhaps to excess. Chapter 1 is a logistical study of the Union Army in the old New Mexico Military Department during the Civil War. The second chapter relates the rise of commercial farming to the War Department system of contracting for subsistence until railroads entered the Southwest. The third explains how an underfunded, undermanned army sustained communications and mobility in a vast, primitive land. Her description of the network of forage stations—nineteenth-century equivalents of automobile service stations—is especially enlightening. Chapters 4 and 5 reveal the region's milling industry as a direct response to the military's need for flour and cornmeal and the cattle industry as almost totally dependent for markets on army posts and Indian reservations. Her conclusions are not new, but Miller presents them most succinctly and persuasively.

With chapter 6, "Forts and Employees," we begin to meet the people who built and maintained remote southwestern army posts. "During and just after the Civil War," Miller states, "the army employed more civilians than any other [government] agency" (p. 256), about sixteen hundred in territorial Arizona and New Mexico alone until 1869. For many settlers "the military must have provided . . . psychological security. If no better offer came along, they could always find a job driving teams or mixing adobe at an isolated . . . fort" (p. 257). Surprising is the apparent uselessness of soldiers for any labor, despite large numbers employed everywhere on "extra duty" at higher pay. Another chapter describes how freighters gradually gave way to military railway agents. "An era was passing," she writes. "By 1885 the commissary department was importing almost all subsistence stores," and "the same trend was evident in the quartermaster's department" (p. 328).

The final chapter addresses the popular presumption that, because of notorious business ethics in the Gilded Age, fraud and theft were rampant in the army

supply system. Not so, Miller concludes. The establishment was costly, but soldier pilfering, poor management by officers, fires, and floods caused nearly all losses. Less clear are specific monetary effects of the military presence. Few statistics are available, but the army infused directly into the territorial economies about \$4,250,000 annually, less in West Texas and Colorado. Surely "military spending stood as a major pillar in the economy of the Southwest" (p. 353).

Although the early chapters make heavy reading, historians of late nineteenth-century America should read the entire book. Documentation is impeccable, and fourteen appendixes give a wealth of information about specific contractors, commodities, transportation, and prices. The handsomely designed book also has twenty-seven well-reproduced photographs.

ANDREW WALLACE
Northern Arizona University

ELLIOTT WEST. *Growing Up with the Country: Childhood on the Far Western Frontier*. (Histories of the American Frontier.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1989. Pp. xxiv, 343. Cloth \$32.50, paper \$16.95.

Until now, frontier children have been neither seen nor heard; they have been sidelined in historians' debates about their parents. In this sensitive study, Elliott West has given these children their due and in addition has given us a new perspective on family, western experience, and the causes of regional distinctiveness.

This is a large book. Its scope is roughly from 1840 to 1920, the entire span of the Victorian family, and the book reveals as much about the nature of the family, its sentimentalized affection, individualized children, and its surprising suitability to a land for which it was never designed as it does about the frontier. Focusing almost exclusively on white children, largely native born, West contends that children's experiences on the frontier differed fundamentally from those of their parents. They played different roles, had different responsibilities, and had as their frame of reference not "back home" but the West itself. This shift in context made these children the first generation formed by the frontier and therefore the best demonstration of its transformative as well as conservative influences. Moreover, since some areas of the West were still being settled by whites for the first time in the early years of this century, this generation also shaped the modern West. Many of the book's characters died only within the last twenty years.

According to West, although the land itself and the resources of the parents shaped the children's lives, children also shaped their own experiences. The endless labor demands of the frontier, whether mining town, ranch, or farm, limited the degree of parental supervision. Like Christine Stansell's New York City children, frontier children entered the family economy early and independently, often scavenging the fields

and hillsides for food and materials essential to the family's survival. Both girls and boys worked outside of the house more than inside. Girls were school teachers as young as thirteen. At age nine Helen Brock broke her first horse and at ten rode the range. At age thirteen, Agnes Morley and her eleven-year-old brother covered 130 miles of New Mexico's countryside arranging the sale of some steers. Paula Petrik and Lillian Schlissel have pointed to the importance of generational difference on the frontier. Like the women they depict, the girls' experiences differed so drastically from their mothers that they found it difficult if not impossible to reconcile themselves to entering that model of domesticated womanhood.

Despite the independence given to them, these children were valued, not ignored. Although the region proved little, if any, more dangerous to children than the more settled parts of the nation, harsh stories of illness, death, abandonment, stark terror, bleached bones, and bones with flesh still on abounded. Yet this book also illuminates the human side of a West we rarely see: miners, alcoholics, and gamblers so desperate for the sight of a child that they built play equipment in front of their cabins, lent books and an ear to prattling neighbors, led the way on picnics, and spent long hours spinning surprisingly moral tales.

West's organization is topical rather than chronological or regional; he has chapters on the trail, work, play, home, community, education, and hardship. Some of these chapters overlap, and West's use of child psychology, although occasionally illuminating, is at times merely intrusive. But the book is beautifully written, full of appropriately imagistic prose ("within a hound's howl of the Pacific" [p. 1]) and telling quotations. Between the chapters are short biographical vignettes of the well known (Mari Sandoz and Fiorello LaGuardia) and the unknown. In short, the book should work well in an undergraduate classroom.

SARAH DEUTSCH
Clark University

VALERIE SHERER MATHES. *Helen Hunt Jackson and Her Indian Reform Legacy*. (American Studies Series.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 1990. Pp. xvii, 235. \$27.95.

Most books that examine Indian reform in the post-Civil War era center on eastern organizations (the Philadelphia-based Indian Rights Association or the Mohonk conferences) and the men who led them. In this work, Valerie Sherer Mathes moves the focus west and features a female figure. The author's purpose is to restore Helen Hunt Jackson "to her rightful position as a prominent nineteenth century author and reformer" (p. ix). In particular, Mathes emphasizes Jackson's attempts to address the needs of Southern California's Mission Indians. This book is long overdue and an important contribution to the history of Indian reform, women, and the West.

When Jackson merits attention in histories of this period, it is usually as author of *Century of Dishonor*, an 1881 indictment of federal Indian policy. Although Jackson sent copies to every member of Congress, the book had little impact on Indian affairs. Consequently, Mathes maintains that this reformer's greater significance rests with the publication of *Ramona*, intended as a criticism of Anglo-Californians' treatment of Indians, and with her service as a special agent to the Mission Indians. Ironically, the public preferred to read *Ramona* as a romantic love story, ignoring the social message. Furthermore, although Jackson's main concern as a special agent was establishing reservations for the besieged Mission Indians, the reformers who followed her proved "divisive and destructive of Indian culture" (p. xvi). Twenty-five years after Jackson's work as an agent, Mathes concludes, "the condition of the Indians did not improve appreciably; many were actually worse off" (p. 156). In the end, Jackson succeeded in alerting others to the problems of these Indians. Neither she nor other reformers could solve them.

Mathes's book has a number of strengths. It presents a compelling case for the prominence of women in Indian reform and for Jackson's key role in inspiring others to carry on work among the California Indians. Mathes's ability to unravel the very complicated story of the Mission Indians' land troubles is commendable as is her even-handed assessment of Jackson's personality, which included some less than flattering tendencies toward vindictiveness. Mathes handles the reformers with a similar sense of fair play, acknowledging their well-meaning intentions as well as the destructive consequences of their actions.

A bolder assessment of Jackson's motives, however, would be welcome. Mathes indicates that this reformer was not driven by the evangelical Protestant missionizing impulse that characterized many of Jackson's colleagues. Mathes does not offer alternative explanations, though, short of hinting that Indian reform provided Jackson with "something . . . to do with her life" (p. 90) after the death of her first husband and two sons. Did these tragedies leave an emotional void that Jackson filled through a "maternal" relationship with California Indians? Or was Indian reform a way for Jackson, a woman of much energy and intelligence, to exercise some power and influence at a time when few women could? To set out to write the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* for Indians is no modest quest! If Jackson ultimately failed in that regard, it had as much to do with the times and the complexity of Indian issues as with Jackson's writing skills. It certainly did not reflect Jackson's failure of zeal, determination, or ambition.

SHERRY L. SMITH
University of Texas,
El Paso

MILES ORVELL. *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880-1940*. (Cultural Studies of the United States.) Chapel Hill: University of North Caro-

lina Press. 1989. Pp. xxvi, 382. Cloth \$37.50, paper \$14.95.

Miles Orvell gracefully marshals evidence from elite literature, the history of photography, and material culture in his examination of the tensions between what he terms the late nineteenth-century American "culture of types, of stylizations, of rounded generalities" and the modern machine-age culture of the United States in the twentieth century (p. xv). Orvell concentrates on "a number of intellectuals and artists" and consciously excludes popular literary and material culture from his investigation. He demonstrates that elite figures such as Alfred Stieglitz and John Dos Passos were apostles of a new aesthetic that glorified mechanization as the force that could produce a truer, more "real" experience. He builds on and expands the work of many scholars in American studies, including Jackson Lears, Cecelia Tichi, and Richard Meikle.

Within his clearly defined boundaries, Orvell's examination of literature and photography is skilled and insightful. He shows that Walt Whitman's legacy of involvement with the work of objects and images was carried on by most of the now classic American writers, critics, and photographers of turn-of-the-century America. But he is less successful analyzing material culture and chooses to examine the depiction of things in literature rather than the things themselves. By keeping vernacular goods and architecture at a distance, Orvell undermines his goal of integrating material culture with photography and literature, categories of evidence that he correctly notes reached successively smaller segments of the public.

As readers of the epilogue, "The Dump is Full of Images," will discover, Orvell dismisses the everyday as "at the edge of our concern with the real thing" and labels as "junk" and "detritus" the "object found and rescued, reclaimed, reworked, reintegrated; the thing with a history" (p. 287). Yet it is these materials that many scholars in American studies, cultural history, and historical archaeology believe to be central to analysis of cultural change and meanings.

Orvell's evaluation of the ordinary causes him to miss important cultural phenomena. He makes only passing references to the colonial revival (which began at least as early as 1876 rather than in the twentieth century, as the author suggests on page 167), and he virtually ignores the folk and craft revivals of the era. He notes that John Cotton Dana, director of the Newark Museum, installed an exhibition of common household gadgets in the 1920s but neglects the pathbreaking exhibition in 1931 of American folk art organized by Holger Cahill at the same institution. Henry Ford's re-created village at Dearborn, Michigan; the Rockefeller's project at Williamsburg, Virginia; the opening of the American Wing at the Metropolitan Museum of Art; and the compilation of the *Index of American Design* receive only passing attention.

Writing about Dos Passos, Orvell argues that the novelist was trying "to affirm a kind of moral and

aesthetic authenticity against the confusion of mass culture and the betrayals of history" (p. 258). Orvell's method appears to place him in agreement with the novelist's interpretation. This restrained lament prevents Orvell from offering explanations of the power of history for all sorts of Americans, some of whom were elites who collected and venerated "real" antique goods, shunned the machine-made reproductions common by the 1890s, and visited the numerous historical societies and museums established at the turn of the century.

Orvell has identified a central issue for students of post-Civil War American culture. His research is wide-ranging and his bibliography superb. But his dismissal of American popular culture as unsophisticated, backward, and simply imitative of the leadership of elites is a serious problem and one that obstructs probing important questions of class, gender, and the interrelationship of elite and popular cultural forms.

HARVEY GREEN

Northeastern University

DANIEL H. BORUS. *Writing Realism: Howells, James, and Norris in the Mass Market*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1989. Pp. x, 259. \$34.95.

American literary realism, a movement prominent between 1880 and World War I, has attracted the interest of literary scholars studying the social determinants of literary production and the ways in which imaginative writers represent society. Scholarly scrutiny of the correspondence between writers and their historical world is complicated by the intervention of the literary marketplace, a historically contingent formation that affects all writing designed for publication. Just as American life changed dramatically after the Civil War, so did the literary marketplace. Daniel H. Borus's book is an important study of the impact of this marketplace on the realism that was produced within it. It joins such recent studies as Christopher P. Wilson's *The Labor of Words: Literary Professionalism in the Progressive Era* (1985), Michael Anesko's *"Friction with the Market": Henry James and the Profession of Authorship* (1986), and Amy Kaplan's *The Social Construction of American Realism* (1988).

Borus sees realism as a self-conscious rejection of the two main literary options favored by the marketplace—a cynical pragmatism without truth claims designed to stimulate and satisfy immediate consumer demand and an outdated romantic idealism with claims to transcend truth and no marketplace value. (Actually, romantic idealism must have had market appeal, or it would not have been an option.) The realistic writers all wanted to compose serious novels containing historically specific truths. Their common goals produced a genre characterized by detailed descriptions of a determining material world; central characters drawn from common life; vernacular dialogue; and, most importantly, an omniscient, remote, and seemingly objective

narrator who used ordinary language. Borus concentrates on William Dean Howells, Henry James, and Frank Norris and also brings in dozens of other realist writers and a plethora of detail about composition and publication that is most instructive and useful.

After defining the genre and attempting a quick history of the American literary marketplace, Borus considers the realists' problems with implementing their theories. Since they had to succeed in the very arena that had aroused their opposition, their work could not be other than profoundly conflicted, and those conflicts are discernible in the novels where they are sympathetically disclosed by Borus's excellent interpretations. The main conflict was between the desired artless, natural appearance of a realistic text and the insistence that this text was the product of labor whose serious nature differentiated the realist from both the commercial hack and the romantic genius.

Borus is a good literary critic. As a historian, however, he makes two major errors. First, he studies only white male authors because his book concentrates on "factors that all realists confronted regardless of their race and gender," factors that made the work of black and female authors "tally with other realists" (p. 10). In brief, he thinks that white males can represent blacks and women. I find this assertion extremely dubious; we should not be asked to take it on faith.

Second, the book contains a continuous contrast between antebellum and end-of-the-century literary marketplaces. Calling the careers of Nathaniel Hawthorne and Herman Melville typical of the antebellum situation, Borus discloses an unconscious, ahistorical elitism; more importantly, his antebellum history is error ridden. It is not true, for example, that a cultural elite dictated mass values before the Civil War (p. 57) or that, since antebellum authors generally believed in inspiration, few of them "regarded the compilation of observed phenomena as an essential component" of their practice (p. 73). Moreover, this flawed historical contrast is actually beside the point because if history has any meaning, it must mean that realist writers were responding to their own marketplace, not to one that was extinct. This is a distracting weakness in an otherwise sound study.

NINA BAYM
University of Illinois,
Urbana-Champaign

H. WAYNE MORGAN. *Keepers of Culture: The Art-Thought of Kenyon Cox, Royal Cortissoz, and Frank Jewett Mather, Jr.* Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 187. \$25.00.

Basing his work on much primary material gleaned from family letters and published items and articles in contemporary newspapers and periodicals, H. Wayne Morgan presents separate accounts of the lives, thoughts, and writings of the traditionalist, antimodernist, and now largely discredited art critics Kenyon

Cox (1856–1919), Royal Cortissoz (1869–1948), and Frank Jewett Mather, Jr. (1868–1953). Cox was also a painter, given important commissions for murals in the Library of Congress and the state capitols of St. Paul, Des Moines, and Madison. He advocated the frequent use of allegory and symbolism to present great ideas and, in style, championed academic decorum through careful drawing and modulated color that would not detract from an elevated mood. He railed against the Impressionists for their divorce of color, as he saw it, from ideas and mental associations. Cortissoz, serving as the powerful art critic for the *New York Tribune* for more than fifty years, wrote not only on painting but also on jewelry, book design, architecture, furniture, and interior decoration. He favored the American painters Elihu Vedder, Albert P. Ryder, Mary Cassatt, and Arthur B. Davies and the Europeans Edgar Degas and at times Claude Monet. But he could not abide the twentieth-century Modernists, whom he saw as flouting fundamental laws: Matisse, he wrote, painted with "the forced simplicity of an adult playing a trick," and the Cubists were "repeating a tasteless jest" (p. 82). In architecture he favored large-scale approaches to urban development, such as he found in Rome and in the concepts of the architect Daniel H. Burnham, rather than piecemeal approaches. He advocated an intimate scale rather than a collection of skyscrapers that would overwhelm the pedestrian. Mather, the most scholarly of the three, took his Ph.D. at Johns Hopkins University in German studies, English, and the history of philosophy and, after writing for the *New York Evening Post* and *The Nation*, settled into an academic career at Princeton University. There he wrote his *History of Italian Painting* (1921), *Western European Painting of the Renaissance* (1939), and other books. He praised the work of Henry La Farge, Winslow Homer, and Edouard Manet but lambasted the work of Paul Gauguin ("we should be careful not to mistake mere assertiveness for power" [p. 125]), Paul Cézanne, Henri Matisse, except for his earliest work ("he soon drifted into a gypsy eclecticism" [p. 129]), and the Cubists ("a clever hoax or a negligible pedantry" [p. 129]).

The weakest part of the book involves the discussion of Cox's painting. Morgan writes of his reliance on historical models but never identifies these and discusses Cox's formal compositions but never clearly indicates what is meant. Nevertheless, in leaving no doubt as to the high-mindedness of these critics and in setting forth their ideas sympathetically without denying their errors, he has given us the colorations of three conservatively entrenched viewpoints.

ABRAHAM A. DAVIDSON
Temple University

PAUL R. BAKER. *Stanney: The Gilded Life of Stanford White*. New York: Free Press of Macmillan. 1989. Pp. xi, 483. \$24.95.

Whatever else its shortcomings, late nineteenth-century America did not lack for architects of genuine talent. Having previously crafted a fine biography of one such talent, Richard Morris Hunt, Paul R. Baker has now given us an admirable study of another, one whose achievements and private life continue to fascinate.

Success came early to Stanford White. Apprenticed in 1870 at age sixteen to Henry Hobson Richardson, he did the drawings for Trinity Church, his preceptor's Boston masterpiece. More significantly for his future, he also met Charles Follen McKim at this time. Incorporated a decade later, the firm of McKim, Mead, and White—William Rutherford Mead handled business matters—literally and figuratively was to cast a giant shadow on the American landscape. Baker skillfully delineates the individual strengths and contributions, as well as the day-to-day workings, of the firm that made possible their prodigious accomplishments. From its inception until 1910, the firm received more than seven hundred commissions, a number exceeding those of any competitor. A century later the quantity and quality of its public and private buildings still seems extraordinary, its local achievements a virtual Baedeker to New York City architecture. The firm designed in various styles, but the neoclassic became its cachet. Some later critics have denigrated neoclassicism as a deplorable if apt expression of the nation's growing plutocratic power and imperial ambitions, but Baker makes clear that the partners were concerned above all with canons of beauty, taste, and comfort.

"Stanny," as his closest friends called him, was an accomplished and acclaimed designer and decorator. He worked, for example, with Augustus Saint-Gaudens, the premier sculptor of the age, on more than thirty creations, including the Farragut Monument, the memorial to the wife of Henry Adams, and the figure of Diana that graced the tower of the architect's famed Madison Square Garden. Lavish but tasteful creations also became a Stanford White trademark for both public edifices and private mansions. Like a number of his clients, he traversed Europe for its artistic treasures, thereby earning handsome commissions and demonstrating that art could be profitable as well as pleasurable.

Excess no less than success characterized White. A big man physically, he possessed big tastes—for wine, women, male companionship, personal generosity, and extravaganzas. Until the century's end, a hefty yearly income coupled with his wife's inheritance enabled this *bon vivant* to indulge his connoisseur's tastes without stint. By 1901, however, he had incurred huge debts, thanks largely to a penchant for disastrous stock market speculations. At the time of his sensational murder in 1906 at the hands of the possibly demented but certainly loathsome Harry K. Thaw, Stanny was nearly ruined in finances and in health.

Although forthrightly limning his subject's weaknesses, Baker has authored no pathography. Rather, he has written a sympathetic and remarkably well-

balanced life of White, the first, surprisingly, to appear in more than half a century and one that draws heavily on primary sources that include hitherto unavailable family papers. There are, inevitably, a few disappointments. For one, the author maintains that his subject was interested in technological innovations, but he gives few details. Further, he notes that White was no friend to modernism. True, but why is there no mention at all of those apostles of modernism Louis H. Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright? Did White have nothing to say of them or, for that matter, of the immensely popular Gothic Revival that flourished during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? These criticisms notwithstanding, this book remains an important scholarly contribution that illuminates the life of one of the nation's outstanding artists and his attempts to elevate the level of architecture and aesthetic sensibility.

ROBERT MUCCIGROSSO
*Brooklyn College and Graduate Center,
City University of New York*

ROBERT M. FOGELSON. *America's Armories: Architecture, Society, and Public Order*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1989. Pp. 268. \$30.00.

The close interrelationship of building forms and style with social, political, and cultural forces is increasingly being recognized by scholars working in architectural history. Although formal analysis of stylistic elements, attention to sources and prototypes, and discussion of techniques of construction remain the focus of many studies in the field, some important recent works employ a broader canvas, using approaches and concepts that have engaged the larger historical profession for some time. Robert M. Fogelson's investigation of American armories as a building type sets his subject in the context of issues of demographic change, class conflict, and social control. His informative and insightful monograph should be of interest to all urban and social historians.

The gradual decline of the regular militia in the first half of the nineteenth century was offset by the rise of the volunteer militia, which in time was brought into the state militias. Militia companies were both military units, which were entrusted with maintaining public order, dealing with riots and other disorders, and social clubs, which drilled and dined together, gave parties, and performed ceremonial duties. In the post-Civil War years, urban militia or national guard company quarters, commonly housed in rented buildings designed for other purposes, were increasingly deemed inadequate for the men's needs. Indoor drilling areas were often unsuitable, rooms for storing arms and ammunition not secure, facilities for social events inadequate, and rent expenses uneconomical.

The impact of the great railroad strike of 1877 followed by the turmoil of the events of 1886, 1892, and 1894 engendered widespread fears that the social

fabric would be broken apart by civil disorder and violence. By the latter years of the century, the national guard as an agency of the state was viewed as the main bulwark to keep the peace and protect property. Large and comfortable armories were deemed necessary not only to provide suitable facilities but also to serve as impressive buildings that would attract volunteer recruits to the units.

Between 1880 and 1910, hundreds of armories were built; by 1910 there were about twenty in New York City alone. As architects searched for a suitable form, they were under the constraints of providing a very large drill shed as well as administration quarters and clubrooms, while making the structure one that could withstand siege by a mob, if need be. The widely adopted castellated style, with thick rusticated walls, battlemented towers, turrets, crenellations, and machicolations, identified the buildings as readily defensible homes of military organizations and as symbols of authority and commitment to the maintenance of public order. National guardsmen and architects, solidly upper middle class or upper class in orientation, Fogelson maintains, shared the fears of class warfare so endemic in those years and found their new, formidable homes eminently appropriate for the unsettled conditions of the times. Although the characteristic design of the armories resulted in large part from political tensions, the presence of these urban castles no doubt in a way exacerbated those very tensions. Today, although fears of class warfare seem largely to have vanished, some class differences have become more marked, and many of the distinctive class of homeless persons are now sheltered in some of the surviving castellated urban armories, originally erected as bulwarks against the lower orders.

Fogelson's book is exhaustively researched and well illustrated by a splendid series of prints and photographs. The organization of the work in which separate chapters are devoted to building, location, and design of the armories, however, leads to considerable repetition of facts and themes. The book would have benefited from some "strong-armed" editing.

PAUL R. BAKER
New York University

ELIZABETH COLLINS CROMLEY. *Alone Together: A History of New York's Early Apartments*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1990. Pp. xv, 252. \$24.95.

Since the 1820s, the number of people living in Manhattan in multiple dwellings has increased steadily. The cultural ideal of the single-family house, priced almost out of existence, has eroded. The search by middle-class families for new homes, offering the privacy considered essential for maintaining their families, stimulated four decades of experimentation with a type of building new to Manhattan. Between 1870 and 1910, the emerging apartment house and its domestic technology changed family life and the cityscape as well

as the way urbanites thought about themselves and their residences. In a one-level flat, the apartment house concentrated the life of a middle-class family that once would have aspired to the three floors of a private house.

These decades of changes in the fabric of city life provide the focus for Elizabeth Collins Cromley's outstanding study of the architectural history of the Manhattan apartment house. Two introductory chapters outline the themes of the book and facilitate its expansion into social history. They present the hopes of people caught in the housing crunch and the assumptions that, taken together, once shaped family life, the character of the home, and the image of a suitable neighborhood. These ideas, in turn, also identify some of the expectations prospective tenants brought to an assessment of the apartment house. Four chapters trace the rise of the apartment house up to 1910. The use of themes such as home and family, private and public space, identity and neighborhood gives human dimensions to the fascinating discussion of drawing, sketches, photographs, and architectural details in this well-illustrated book.

The author skillfully uses the characteristics of the apartment house to identify the new structure, because nineteenth-century sources fail to yield a definition. She distinguishes an apartment house from other multiple dwellings by assessing the nuances of appearance required to satisfy prospective tenants. Her appraisal links the symbols of respectability and affluence marking the structure to the detail of the eclectic styles providing identity and to promises of social distinction guaranteed by a specific location. Assessing the tenants' aspirations from the building design, the author separates a middle-class apartment house from a working-class tenement.

The tenants' expectations are well used to measure the success of various types of apartment houses. Their concerns to maintain social status without a private house and to benefit from the reduction of domestic chores in a one-level home are cases in point. The author's evaluation of kitchen, pantry, and dining room arrangements, in terms of efficiency, technological aids, and diminishing number of servants, enlivens the discussion of changing floor plans and facilities. The ingenuity of designers and tenants was tested by the tasks of ensuring the privacy of family life in a building shared with many residents, of separating bedrooms from the parlor, and of providing servants with rooms out of sight, yet easily supervised.

The absorbing discussion of the planning problems of the one-floor home moves on to interpretation. Reference is made to earlier European, particularly Parisian, experiences with various social groups under one roof as well as to women as homemakers in an apartment house. The interpretive perspective, however, is dominated by an analysis of architectural history sources. Furthermore, the initial use of somewhat more general materials, such as the dockets of the New York City Buildings Department, gives way to the use

of specific designs of better-known architects of subsequent decades. With that shift, the intended middle-class focus becomes an upper-middle-class focus on Manhattan's famous apartment houses. Despite these strictures, this attractive book is the first study of the apartment house that deals with its complexities as a successful building type and family home.

GUNTHER BARTH
University of California,
Berkeley

PRISCILLA LONG. *Where the Sun Never Shines: A History of America's Bloody Coal Industry*. New York: Paragon House. 1989. Pp. xxv, 420. \$24.95.

Priscilla Long has written an informative book about a tragic phase of American history. The first of the book's two sections focuses on eastern coal mining in the late nineteenth century with discussions of the early methods of mining, the business of mining coal, and the initial efforts to unionize the coal fields. Part 2 is a history of early twentieth-century coal mining in the American West with the focus being the causes and consequences of the Ludlow Massacre in 1914.

The story has been told before, and the plot is well known. Long, however, brings it new dimensions by weaving the role of women and ethnic groups of the coal fields into her story. This is Long at her best and her chief contribution to social and labor history. Both of these groups have been absent from most studies of coal field culture, although each constituted a large segment of coal field society and each contributed to coal field history. The careful and sensitive treatment of the relations between the different ethnic groups reveals how conflicts among them often disrupted efforts to unionize the miners and how their solidarity proved crucial in successful strikes.

Coal field women, Long demonstrates, had their own grievances and played crucial, oftentimes leading roles in resisting coal company oppression. Through her previous works, Long has added considerably to our knowledge of Mother Jones, the fiery Angel of the Miners, and she does so again. The way that Jones is worked in and out of the study is excellent; her placement in the context of her time and surroundings provides insight into this complex and contradictory labor-leader.

On the business side of the history of the industry, there are discussions of the technological changes and the influence of transportation on the development of coal mining, and the book expends too much effort to force the federal government's dealings with the coal industry into Gabriel Kolko's interpretation of American liberalism. The business side is primarily presented in the context of the industry's antiunion and strike-breaking activities. Especially well told and documented are the role of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in the management of the Ludlow Massacre, where the National Guard attacked a tent colony killing thirteen

women and children; his lies to Frank Walsh's Industrial Relations Commission; and his efforts to rebuild his reputation through public relations.

Unfortunately, the book does not fulfill all of the expectations that its subtitle promises. This is not a history of the American coal industry as much as it is a labor history of the industry with some discussion of the business side of mining coal. Furthermore, the labor side of the coal industry is far from complete. Despite the implication of the subtitle, the Ludlow Massacre is the only blood that flows in this "bloody industry," which features the likes of Bloody Mingo, Bloody Harlan, and the Matewan Massacre. It is also difficult to understand how Long can present her book as a history of the American coal industry yet include so little on the Appalachian coal fields.

These flaws should not discourage anyone from reading the volume. In addition to its scholarly contributions, the work makes for exciting reading. It will certainly be an important reference for future histories of American coal mining.

DAVID A. CORBIN
U.S. Senate Democratic Policy Committee

KEN FONES-WOLF. *Trade Union Gospel: Christianity and Labor in Industrial Philadelphia, 1865-1915*. (American Civilization.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1989. Pp. xx, 266. \$34.95.

"This book began," Ken Fones-Wolf notes, "as an effort to explain the timing and significance of the Labor Forward Movement, the American Federation of Labor's attempt to use evangelism to organize workers in the years just prior to World War I" (p. vii). Between 1912 and 1916, the AFL launched organizing drives modeled after Protestant revivals in more than one hundred fifty cities and towns. Perhaps because these efforts overlapped with the larger surge in labor organizing during the World War I era, perhaps because academics are so universally secularized, few scholars before Fones-Wolf paid much attention to the Labor Forward Movement. This scholarly neglect, he correctly argues, is symptomatic of a wider failure to study the relationship between religion and labor history. Fones-Wolf uses the Labor Forward Movement as the intellectual starting point for an exploration of the role of religion in the Philadelphia labor movement from the 1870s until 1915.

According to Fones-Wolf, those who have studied the role of religion in the labor movement and in the lives of working people have most often viewed it as a negative influence: either a form of social control imposed from above or a source of division in a multi-ethnic work force. In contrast, Fones-Wolf allies himself intellectually with the late Herbert Gutman, who emphasized how working people used religion to inspire their critiques of capitalism. For Fones-Wolf, religion, especially the dominant Protestant tradition,

was a contested terrain in which conservative advocates of pietistic submission fought social critics inspired by the Social Gospel. "Far from imposing a single way of understanding the moral rules of . . . capitalist wage labor, Christianity . . . served as an arena for class conflict" (p. xx).

Although the theme of religion as contested terrain is a continuing undercurrent, the volume is more a series of essays arranged in chronological order than either a narrative history or an extended exposition of a single argument. The first chapter describes the changing work experiences of Philadelphia working people, explores the tensions between "rough" and "respectable" culture in working-class life, and the role of religious imagery in labor movement culture. Chapter 2 examines efforts of industrialists and reformers allied with working people to use religion to redeem workers and thereby produce a more docile and efficient labor force. Chapter 3 treats the Knights of Labor as a millenarian sect, which posed a competing vision of Christianity in sharp contrast to the pietistic conservatism of most employers. In chapters 4 and 5, Fones-Wolf follows the efforts of liberal Protestant reformers inspired by the Social Gospel and their conflicts with theological conservatives in such organizations as the YMCA and YWCA. In chapter 6, the author describes the Labor Forward Movement that inspired the study. Two brief concluding sections summarize the themes developed in the first six chapters.

The essays are all well organized and clearly written—a welcome addition to what is indeed among the most neglected topics in American labor history. After reading them, however, I am still unconvinced that liberals and labor activists effectively contested Philadelphia's religious terrain. Although Fones-Wolf tells a series of important stories, organized religion's sympathy for labor, support for the Social Gospel, and approval of radical theological interpretations were, as he readily admits, usually minority currents both within Philadelphia's working class and in its churches. Only in the chapter on the Knights of Labor does Fones-Wolf demonstrate widespread appeal of subversive interpretations of Christianity. Despite the impassioned efforts of well-meaning liberal religious reformers, working-class religiosity, as presented in the later chapters, seems more often something labor activists had to channel, deflect, or neutralize than something that inspired protest and organization. If this impression is true, it is a puzzle that Fones-Wolf has not completely solved. In many other times and places, religion has been the most important reservoir of moral critiques of society. To fully understand why that was not usually true in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America, we must learn more about how working people interpreted the various theologies that they encountered.

RICHARD OESTREICHER
University of Pittsburgh

JOHN T. CUMBLER. *A Social History of Economic Decline: Business, Politics, and Work in Trenton*. (Class and Culture.) New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 302. Cloth \$42.00, paper \$15.00.

One unanticipated effect of urban decline in recent decades has been the emergence of a small army of scholars, consultants, and analysts who interpret what went wrong and suggest what might be done to restore communities to health. Most of their work is relentlessly presentist and prescriptive, partly because the problems seem to be recent in origin and partly because there are few useful historical studies. John T. Cumbler helps to fill the historical lacuna with this study of the rise and fall over the last century of Trenton, New Jersey. His bad news is that Trenton has not revived despite nearly sixty years of effort. His good news is harder to find, but it is, or appears to be, that Trenton was *sui generis* and not a grim prototype for the rest of the country.

Cumbler's best chapters are devoted to the city's heyday, the years from the 1890s to the 1920s. He describes the city's growth and prosperity at the end of the nineteenth century. Although Trenton was the capital of New Jersey, it was known primarily for its factories, iron and steel mills, rubber manufacturing plants, and potteries. The potteries were especially important. They accounted for many of the city's fortunes, a large fraction of its skilled labor force, and its most powerful union, the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters. Most of all the potteries accounted for a widely shared feeling that Trenton's welfare depended on Trenton people and decisions made in Trenton. Cumbler labels this combination, part economic reality and part perception, "civic capitalism."

After the mid-1920s the city declined both in material well-being and in spirit. All of the city's industries suffered setbacks, but the collapse of the potteries caused by external competition, technological change, labor unrest, and poor management was devastating. There were notable events in this process such as the disastrous pottery strike of 1922, but no one incident was decisive. At least until the end of the 1940s, citizens could point to positive developments and argue that the city would revive. Only in the 1950s and 1960s did Trenton become a graphic symbol of urban decay.

Cumbler attempts to make sense of this process by contrasting civic capitalism with an emerging "national capitalism." By "national capitalism" he means the growth of big business, national markets, and a loss of local control. The term may capture the growing sense of frustration among Trenton citizens after the 1920s, but it is not very helpful in explaining what went wrong. For one thing, national markets and big businesses emerged in the late nineteenth century, during Trenton's heyday. For another, large corporations have declined in importance since the 1960s; for the last quarter century nearly all new jobs and new fortunes have been the products of small entrepreneurial businesses such as those that once flourished in Tren-

ton. Except as a description of the city's increasingly defensive outlook, "national capitalism" obscures rather than illuminates.

Cumbler does not dwell on commonly cited but more pedestrian explanations for decline, such as a community's failure to develop new locally based businesses. He repeatedly implies that rebirth had to come from established firms and industries. Certainly he is right about the woeful leadership of the city's prominent firms after the 1910s. In the 1920s, for example, the city's best known pottery sold out to a competitor despite having the most efficient plant in the industry. But Cumbler ought to have paid more attention to what was happening around Trenton and in other cities like Trenton. Why did post-World War II Trenton fail to develop the financial service and technology businesses that accompanied the expansion of public employment in state capitals like Columbus and Indianapolis? Judging from this account alone, Trenton's central problem was its failure to attract creative individuals to take the places of those who had built its factories in the late nineteenth century.

This work is valuable primarily as a history of people and events in Trenton. In most cases that would be a worthy achievement. In this instance it may not mean much. If Cumbler is right, the only thing present-day Trentonians want to know about their city is the location of the nearest highway to somewhere else.

DANIEL NELSON
University of Akron

PETER J. LING. *America and the Automobile: Technology, Reform, and Social Change*. New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's. 1990. Pp. 202. \$59.95.

Peter J. Ling is not a car buff to whom the very mention of gear ratios conjures up romantic visions of the open road and of Americans on the go: free, independent, and dazzled by the sense of their own personal power (and that of the innumerable horses under the hood). Instead, his book insists on examining the "practical functions to which the private motor car was put on a . . . daily basis" (p. 170). Under this dispensation, mobility loses its mythical status as a way of defining the American character and becomes just another piece—an important economic component, to be sure—in the pattern of social relations during the Progressive era. Ling declares in the introductory chapter that "what changed America between 1893 and 1923 was not the auto, as one Middletown resident of the 1920s believed, but rather Americans under capitalism" (p. 11).

In Chapter 2, for instance, Ling examines the effects of automobility on rural America and discovers that the advent of the Model-T only helped to accelerate the breakdown of country institutions under the pressure of capitalism. Cars gave farmers freer access to urban markets, but they also took rural children off of the

land. Increasingly, the car replaced the resident labor pool with a new class of technological migrants enslaved by their machines and the monthly payments on them. Nonetheless, by helping farm families to orient themselves toward the city and urban workers to find their way into the fields at harvest time, the automobile only reflected the inevitable, centripetal logic of capitalism.

In chapter 3 the same reasoning applies to the creation of a national highway system. Progressive agitation for good roads, Ling argues, "stemmed from the essential imperative toward exchange within a capitalist economy, which sought to shorten the time it took to trade" (p. 59). The suburbs, the topic of chapter 4, might seem to present a clear instance of old-fashioned American autophilia, of the pleasure to be derived from escaping the deterministic pull of factory and marketplace. But, in Ling's treatment of the relationship between mass transit and an emergent suburbia, he notes that in the end the commuter became a docile driver trapped in an orderly grid of roads leading from workplace to home and back again.

Chapter 5, on the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, explains the paradox by reference to fairgrounds that were divided between rational, geometric arrangements of uniform buildings containing the wares of American business and industry and the chaotic Midway Plaisance, the amusement zone, offering an illusory escape into the adventurous world of the imagination. The autos on exhibit in Chicago in 1893, products and instruments of that orderly world of business, succeeded precisely because they held onto the promise of the Midway, a recreational alternative to "the alienation of modern life" (p. 123). Chapter 6, on the architecture of the assembly line, ends the book with another stinging paradox: the contrast between a system of car production designed to restrict the movement of the worker and the product itself, the profitability of which lay precisely in the ability of workers to move freely between store and factory and home in a miasma of gasoline-induced delight. It is in such deftly chosen examples as these—the World's Fair and the structure of Ford's line—that Ling convinces the most besotted celebrant of the open road to apply the brakes to the imagination, pull over for a minute, and check the tires.

KARAL ANN MARLING
University of Minnesota,
Minneapolis

STANLEY WENOCUR and MICHAEL REISCH. *From Charity to Enterprise: The Development of American Social Work in a Market Economy*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1989. Pp. xiii, 327. \$29.95.

The history of social work has been relatively untouched by developments in social history in the last twenty years, remaining cast in an institutional context of debates about professionalization. This new book by

Stanley Wenocur and Michael Reisch retells that story but adds a fresh conceptual framework by placing the profession's history within the effort of social workers to create a salable commodity within a market economy.

This volume traces the history of social work through three periods: from 1880 to World War I; from the war to the onset of the Great Depression; and from 1930 to the mid-1950s when the many social work specialties settled (although did not necessarily resolve) conflicts about education and training for the field and created an umbrella organization to represent their collective professional interests, the National Association of Social Workers.

Much of this story will be familiar to students of social work history. The first section builds extensively on Roy Lubove's classic account of social work in the Progressive era, and the rest reworks much of the ground covered in earlier accounts by James Leiby and Clarke Chambers and in John Ehrenreich's more recent history. The narrative of the rank-and-file social worker union movement during the 1930s, however, adds an important story that has been generally missing or minimized in earlier histories. Building on Jacob Fisher's autobiographical history of that movement, the authors establish the union drive in both the context of the depression and the preceding and subsequent drives to professionalize.

The heart of this book, however, is the authors' insistence on establishing social work as an industry and, consequently, seeing professionalization as an effort to secure workers' control over the service they provide. Readers are repeatedly reminded that this service is a commodity. This is an important framework to establish for professional work. Having developed this argument, however, the authors add remarkably little to extant histories of social work. The union movement virtually disappears from their story after World War II; we learn little about public worker unionism or of the purge of the unions under McCarthyism and its impact on social work practice. Social worker unionism also reasserts itself in the 1960s, but this is not prefigured, much less told.

Finally, gender and race play almost no role in this book. We learn that many social workers are women but not how this fact matters in the story of professionalization, unionization, agency authority, client relations, or diagnosis and therapy. Race, on the other hand, plays a small part in this story in part because the authors center the climax of their tale around certification and institutional and educational struggles of the mid-1950s. By the 1950s many clients were black and Hispanic, and by the 1970s so were large numbers of social workers, especially in relief agencies. These omissions reflect the history of social work as a political narrative of social institutions, both professional and trade union.

In addition, throughout the volume the authors make problematic the socially and politically constructed character of professionalism, but their own

discussions of social workers themselves and their conditions subsequently accept the terms, criteria, and categories of the professional associations. Close analysis of the relationship between social work and race would have compelled the authors to demystify their discussion of professionalism. In sum, this is a readable summary of social work history but one that has missed the opportunity to tell a new story, a gendered narrative of work and labor divided over professional ideology, state policy, and race.

DANIEL J. WALKOWITZ
New York University

DAVID A. LAKE. *Power, Protection, and Free Trade: International Sources of U.S. Commercial Strategy, 1887-1939.* (Cornell Studies in Political Economy.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 242. \$29.95.

In this book, David A. Lake traces the evolution of U.S. tariff policy from the "passive protectionism" of the late 1880s to the "active liberalism" of the mid-twentieth century. His primary purpose, however, is to present this evolution as a case study to substantiate a "systemic-level theory of national trade strategy" (p. ix). As such, this volume will be of particular interest to scholars exploring the role of world systems as an organizing principle in international relations in general and international political economy in particular.

Lake devotes the first part of his study to elaborating a theoretical framework. Central to this is the proposition "that the international economic structure and the position of nation-states within it create constraints and opportunities that shape trade strategies of countries in important and predictable ways" (p. 29-30). It is this structure of changing constraints and opportunities that determines the general character of commercial policy—the degree of protectionism and free trade—that any specific nation pursues.

To test this theory, Lake analyzes eight tariff acts from the McKinley Act of 1890 through the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934. What he finds is that in seven of the eight cases (the Smoot-Hawley Act of 1930 being the exception) the acts were a reasonable and predictable response to the international economic order. From 1887 to 1912, a period dominated by British free-trade hegemony, U.S. policy was designed to combine export expansion with domestic protection through such devices as reciprocity, duty-free raw materials, and maximum-minimum duty rates. By 1912, a change in the relative position of Great Britain and the United States prompted a decided shift toward more liberalized trade in the Underwood Act of 1913 and ushered in a period of bilateral cooperation between the two nations. By 1932, the growing predominance of the American economy and final defection of Great Britain from a regime of free trade left the United States to act on its own. The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act was the result.

Throughout his analysis, Lake insists that although

political partisanship, congressional log rolling, and interest group pressures may have determined the specific pattern of protection across industries, the "broad contours" of trade strategy were determined by the presidents and their secretaries of state. And those contours were consistently in the direction of liberalized trade. As he points out, Herbert Hoover was the only president of the era to initiate and advocate an upward revision of the tariff.

This book will undoubtedly present problems to those historians who are uncomfortable with the reductionist quality of systemic analyses. Specialists will find that some of Lake's conclusions lack strong evidential support and that others are not wholly persuasive. Lake insists, however, that he is testing a hypothesis and not writing history. He is also careful to point out that he is exploring only a single variable that cannot fully explain American commercial strategy.

Given his purposes, Lake has written a very good book. The questions are important and the answers generally persuasive and provocative. The study also suggests some new ways of looking at the current state of international commercial relationships.

ARTHUR W. SCHATZ
San Diego State University

JAN COHN. *Creating America: George Horace Lorimer and the Saturday Evening Post*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1989. Pp. x, 326. \$24.95.

In the pre-Gramscian epoch, American historians believed that popular literature reflected popular culture. Accordingly, a man such as George Horace Lorimer, editor of the *Saturday Evening Post* (1899–1936), was either praised as a gifted impresario of cultural democracy or condemned as a cynical exploiter of Babbitt, the difference depending on the ideological tilt of the historian. In either case, it was generally thought that America created Lorimer. Now comes Jan Cohn to tell us that the reverse is true, that Lorimer and his magazine created America. It is an interesting, important, useful, but ultimately unpersuasive thesis.

What Cohn means is that the *Post* was a key participant in the construction of social reality for Americans in the early twentieth century. Drawing on the ideas of Raymond Williams and Stuart Hall, she joins the growing quest for the rediscovery of powerful media effects. In this new cultural history, the mass media do not merely reflect culture; they are culture, in that they provide the language that ordinary people use to give meaning to their world. As Cohn puts it, Lorimer created "the magazine that, for a significant percentage of the American public, created the world they lived in. This book, then, represents an attempt at reconstructing the world the *Post* created, at reconstructing Lorimer's America" (p. 19).

Certainly Cohn's book is successful at "reconstructing the world the *Post* created." It is a wonderfully well told tale of a remarkable magazine. Under Lorimer's

direction, the *Post* became "the Greatest Weekly Magazine in the World," with a circulation of one million by 1908 and nearly three million by 1929. Lorimer's talent lay in packaging a vision of America. Articles, fiction, and advertising all worked together to depict an America rooted in Victorian values of family paternalism, hard work, business enterprise, and Anglo-Saxon hegemony. Cohn portrays Lorimer as a nineteenth-century man seeking to preserve old values against the rising tide of modernity. Yet Lorimer was also an apt student of modernity. The genius of the magazine was its ability to blend old producer values with the modern consumer culture. Cohn does a masterful job of showing how the *Post's* apparent nostalgia was part of the way that Americans came to terms with modern life.

But was the *Post* creator or creature of culture? That is the crucial, but difficult, question. Cohn's evidence for her creator thesis is thin. Essentially, she simply assumes the power of the *Post*: "The argument for the influence of the *Saturday Evening Post* rests most convincingly on its success" (p. 15). But in the marketplace of popular literature and journalism, "success" is a maddeningly ambiguous measure of "influence." Getting two million people to pay five cents for a magazine certainly requires a kind of genius. But Cohn provides no evidence that Lorimer was able to use this "influence" to create even one new idea in one reader's mind. The only "readers" who speak in the book are writers and politicians musing about the *Post's* influence on other people, on the silent masses.

Of course, in the Gramscian view, mass media provide language and symbols, not voting instructions. Indeed, it is precisely the subtlety and indirection of influence that give the media their power. But this is an elusive power to study. Even to begin to reveal it, two requirements must surely be met: the research must involve a subtle reading of symbols and language, not merely manifest political and economic ideology; and some sort of direct study of the reader and the reader's response must be undertaken. This volume takes a step toward meeting the first requirement, though it concentrates much more on the manifest ideology in articles and editorials than on the more subtle symbolism in fiction and advertising. It does not meet the second requirement at all.

In the end, it is clear that Lorimer was a genius of popular culture. But whether the *Saturday Evening Post* can serve as a window on Lorimer's America or merely on America's Lorimer remains an open question.

DAVID PAUL NORD
Indiana University,
Bloomington

PAUL R. SPICKARD. *Mixed Blood: Intermarriage and Ethnic Identity in Twentieth-Century America*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 532. \$29.95.

Paul R. Spickard has performed a tremendous service to historians and other students of ethnicity in writing

this study of the historic patterns and changing meaning of out-group marriage. In focusing on the experiences of those Japanese Americans, American Jews, and African Americans who chose to wed nongroup members, and conversely on the experiences of white, Christian Americans as they took spouses from these three minority groups, the author seeks to link social structure and cultural constructs as explanations for particular patterns.

Spickard ought to be credited for authoring the first serious historical book on the subject and for taking this extremely important topic out of the sole domain of sociologists, who are eager to build models and are therefore oblivious to subtleties of time and place. Indeed, the sociological generalizations about who has intermarried and why provides Spickard with the departure point for this analysis. He ultimately tests the extant models and asks which ones work under which circumstances. No historian before has tackled this issue, and, where they have attempted to address it, they have subsumed it under the rubric of a study of one group without any benefit of comparative analysis. The fact, for example, that intermarriage rates and patterns for Americans of Japanese ancestry and Jews resemble one another discounts, according to Spickard, the importance attributable to color and physical appearance as a barrier to romance across group lines. On the other hand, among African Americans and Jews the dominant pattern of minority-group men marrying majority-group women—rather than conversely—indicates that out-group marriage patterns can, under certain circumstances, be linked to social and economic mobility.

This study also takes the issue of intermarriage out of the hands of group activists, leaders, and apologists who are concerned about the implications of intermarriage rates for group solidarity. By offering a dispassionate and comparative study of the topic, analyzed historically and oriented toward looking for change over time, Spickard adds a note of clearheaded rationality to an otherwise intensely emotional subject. He convincingly proves that marriage outside the group does not always mean a loss to the group or a severing of the bonds between the out-marrier and the community of his or her birth. Intermarriage, according to Spickard, has different meanings under varying circumstances. Spickard in no place denigrates the passionate feelings of group members worried about intermarriage or its implications for ethnic cohesion; he offers instead an alternative, cooler way of looking at the issues.

In several other ways, this book ought to be commended and recommended. For one, he treats the issue in its complexity rather than simplicity. To really study intermarriage, the scholar must recognize that members of two groups are involved, and the behavior and attitudes of both are crucial to a thorough analysis. Second, marriage involves both genders, and a study that does not take cognizance of differences in attitude, expectations, and social positions of men and women

would not adequately cover the problem. But Spickard addresses these issues and provides historians of ethnicity, gender, and race with a thoroughly researched, sophisticated analysis that should displace the usual sociologically based, model-oriented generalizations that have dominated the field.

HASIA R. DINER
University of Maryland,
College Park

STEPHEN FOX. *Blood and Power: Organized Crime in Twentieth-Century America*. New York: William Morrow. 1989. Pp. 512. \$22.95.

The title of Stephen Fox's book is aptly chosen, for he outlines the violence and family ties of organized crime intent on gaining economic, even political, power in twentieth-century America. Writing about organized crime, or disorganized crime as more than one pundit has labeled it, is a difficult task. And Fox has tried to encompass the whole nation over a hundred-year period beginning with the Black Hand of New York City and the Mafia of New Orleans in the 1890s. Few authors writing on the subject have used a style that matches the drama inherent in the topic. Fox's style, by contrast, is lively and refreshingly clear.

Unfortunately, clarity is not a hallmark of his arguments. Concerning longstanding controversies, he takes certain positions without providing adequate support or examples, and at times his arguments are contradictory as well. For example, he contends that a nationwide commission, made up of the leaders of various mob families, meets periodically to make decisions. Yet the book is filled with instances of sheer cunning and complete ineptitude, fierce loyalty and cowardly self-service, and bloody feuds in the streets and bloodless takeovers in the suites. How much, if any, control a commission has actually exerted over such events is uncertain. Fox presents much of his material in thumbnail sketches of both gangsters and gang busters. Such an individual approach undercuts the idea of overall control of organized crime without making it clear why or how (god)fathers have handed down organized crime to their sons in a generational transfer.

In the guise of new insights, the book again raises the charges that Joseph Kennedy's wealth was built on bootlegging and ties to organized crime, that John Kennedy was elected in part through the influence of political bosses tied to organized crime, and that President Kennedy was shot on the orders of mobsters, perhaps because of Attorney General Robert Kennedy's campaign against the mob. This book adds little new information to these charges, and Fox assumes that the reader will accept his view of the Kennedy assassination virtually at face value.

There is also the question of the sources on which the author relies. To his credit, Fox has consulted the usual newspaper and popular accounts, congressional testi-

mony, and archival material. But at times the author's use of sources seems uncritical. He correctly denigrates mob figures for a myriad of crimes. Yet once those men appear at congressional hearings, write their memoirs, or give interviews, their words are taken as correct or true if what they say supports the author's overall contentions. Organized crime figures build careers on manipulation as well as force, and that manipulation can be directed tangentially at scholars.

Fox leaves several basic questions unanswered. For example, on organized crime in Chicago, he probably correctly plays down the role of Al Capone. Fox does not really show, however, how Capone's reputed successors achieved, exercised, and kept control. Put another way, why is there only one crime family in Chicago while New York has several? How have the arrests and imprisonment of Chicago's top leaders for skimming money at Las Vegas casinos affected organized crime since the mid-1980s? Fox's arguments are based on the importance of individuals, but we do not learn how they develop and maintain that importance.

BEVERLY A. SMITH
Illinois State University

RICHARD F. HIRSH. *Technology and Transformation in the American Electric Utility Industry*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. xiv, 274. \$37.50.

This book effectively links the history of technology with the concerns of modern corporate managers and should be of particular interest to American economic, business, and cultural historians. Partaking of recent historiographical trends that perceive changing technologies as essentially social constructions, Richard F. Hirsh explains how the values, assumptions, methods, and goals of the American electric utility industry led from the triumphs of its early years to the disasters of the 1970s and 1980s.

Founded on the work of Thomas Edison and others, electric power utilities expanded rapidly after the turn of the twentieth century. Large manufacturers such as General Electric and Westinghouse supplied these privately held, publicly regulated corporations with increasingly large and efficient means to generate and distribute electric power. Guided in part by the infamous Samuel Insull, the industry adopted an outlook and a strategy that Hirsh aptly characterizes as "grow-and-build." The resulting *modus operandi* was to promote usage through marketing, to build new, larger, more efficient power plants that provided economies of scale spread over a greater number of users, to lower prices, and hence to build usage. Based on six decades of experience with this method, everyone came to believe that the private utility system would provide never-ending rounds of expansion and declining costs.

As late as 1965, such assumptions remained largely unquestioned, but events of the next decade thoroughly discredited them. The greatest problem, as Hirsh sees it, was that the steam-turbine generating

system, in use since 1903, finally reached an efficiency plateau as a result of metallurgical limits to pressures and temperatures. This meant that ever more kilowatts for the buck had come to an end, at least as pursued in the usual grow-and-build fashion. Combined with continued high growth rates of electric consumption, inflationary pressures, emerging environmental concerns, and the lure of nuclear power, this situation led manufacturers to take technical risks in attempts to achieve efficiency improvements. Hirsh calls this "design by extrapolation," as opposed to the "design by experience" that had worked well for generations. The new generating equipment created this way was unreliable, and the cost of repairs made it uneconomical as well.

By the 1970s, the utilities had thus achieved "technological stasis," a condition where incremental improvements could no longer be made, and the technology appeared to have reached its limits. But this was not just an engineering problem. As the author explains, stasis "constitutes a technical condition that occurs within a social system of engineers, business managers, regulators, financiers, and the general public. Each set of participants has different goals and agendas, and when they conflict, they can make a technology appear moribund" (p. 3).

It is Hirsh's accomplishment here to demonstrate how and why this stasis came about. He has command of the technology itself and competently explains it. He examines the managers' methods and ideologies, helping the reader see why managers were unable to understand where their most important problems lay. And, finally, he considers the influence of the American culture of consumption (itself heavily promoted by the utilities), showing how development and promotion of the American way of life always led to assumptions about the desirability of growth.

American cultural and economic historians will benefit greatly from this book. It explores the assumptions and ideologies of electric power's developers, promoters, regulators, critics, and users. In doing so, it effectively examines the social, economic, and technological relationships of this extremely important engine of social and economic change.

LEONARD S. REICH
Colby College

ALEXA BENSON HENDERSON. *Atlanta Life Insurance Company: Guardian of Black Economic Dignity*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1990. Pp. xvi, 251. \$31.95.

The handicaps suffered by black businesses in America have been monumental. Lacking access to capital, most have existed behind the walls of segregation, either providing services that whites eschewed or struggling against better-funded white competitors who were reputed to offer superior goods and to be more reliable.

The Atlanta Life Insurance Company negotiated this

minefield to achieve fiscal stability and a reputation for reliability. Black insurance companies (and banks) evolved out of antebellum mutual aid associations. The Atlanta Mutual Insurance Association, founded in 1905 by Alonzo Herndon, was typical of other pioneering firms, selling small industrial or accident policies at a nickel or a dime per week, the only "social security" most working folk had.

According to an Atlanta black newspaper, "when the people buy a policy in Atlanta Life they are buying Alonzo Herndon" (p. 43). Scrupulously honest but knowing little about insurance, he early tapped the black colleges in Atlanta for capable employees. Capital came from Herndon's prosperous barber shops, which served an exclusive white clientele. Atlanta Life expanded primarily by absorbing weaker firms and reinsuring their policyholders. To its founder, this was a racial obligation: all black businesses would suffer if the public lost confidence in their reliability. At the same time, Herndon and his son and successor, Norris, pursued a very conservative fiscal policy that limited earnings in flush times but enabled the company to weather the depression in good health. Although Atlanta Life's capitalization had grown to \$20 million by 1962, the bulk of its policies were still sickness and industrial. Other black firms, entering group insurance and pursuing white customers, overtook the company in assets and policies. When Norris died in 1977, unmarried and childless, ownership of Atlanta Life passed to a charitable foundation.

Alexa Benson Henderson narrates as much detail about Atlanta Life as anyone is likely to want. Her main theme—that Alonzo Herndon saw his mission as more than providing trustworthy insurance, as upholding the dignity of all black enterprise—is fully argued. Yet she needs to probe Bookerite philosophy more deeply. How much did racial nationalism in business really benefit the masses? Prudent fiscal policies led to investment in municipal bonds, not other black businesses and mortgages, but this was supposed to be the payoff for loyal black patronage. In later years, when white companies more actively pursued black policyholders, Atlanta Life maintained its emphasis on small industrial policies, which resulted in higher premium costs. Henderson ends by saying that Atlanta Life is still "very mindful of the heritage and obligations of a race enterprise" (pp. 205–6), providing jobs, services, and leadership to the community. Whether black capitalism can meet many of the needs of contemporary black America, however, is open to question.

THEODORE KORNWEIBEL, JR.
San Diego State University

SALVATORE SALERNO. *Red November, Black November: Culture and Community in the Industrial Workers of the World*. (SUNY Series in American Labor History.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 220. Cloth \$34.50, paper \$10.95.

Salvatore Salerno has written a thought-provoking book that describes the various cultural and intellectual forces that influenced the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) during its formative years. Challenging historians such as Melvyn Dubofsky and Joseph Conlin, who he believes have taken an overly institutional and formalistic approach to the Wobblies, Salerno argues that prior to 1915 the IWW should not be viewed primarily as a labor union but rather as a countermovement that sought to create an oppositional workers' culture based on an amalgam of anarchist, syndicalist, and revolutionary beliefs.

Salerno argues that no single ideological label adequately describes the Wobblies. His major goal is to describe the variety of foreign and indigenous influences on the IWW. Challenging "the myth of frontier origins," he demonstrates that anarchists, many of whom came from immigrant backgrounds, played a leading role at the IWW's founding convention and that veterans of Chicago's eight-hour movement of the 1880s, various worker intellectuals, and radical activists such as Daniel DeLeon, Thomas J. Hagerty, and William E. Trautmann helped to shape the Wobblies' revolutionary pluralism. Of all the foreign influences, the role played by the French Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT) stands out. Although Salerno denies that the Wobblies adopted any foreign model *in toto* and demonstrates why the French syndicalists' strategy of boring from within the established unions could not be applied in the United States, he maintains that the Wobblies learned much from the CGT and that, in particular, such well-known Wobbly symbols as the wooden shoe and "sab cat" were borrowed from the French. Fortunately, the book is profusely illustrated with Wobbly cartoons that serve to buttress Salerno's contention that the Wobbly sensibility can best be understood through its songs, poetry, and artwork rather than through convention proceedings and formal statements of doctrine.

Since this is primarily a work of intellectual history, Salerno makes little effort to assess the impact of the IWW on the American worker. Because the book concentrates on the pre-World War I period, Salerno does not offer an explanation for why by 1916 the Wobblies rejected many of their original beliefs. Moreover, by deemphasizing the IWW's significance as a labor union, Salerno ignores the extent to which many of its founders consciously sought to create an alternative to the American Federation of Labor. Salerno also might have given greater acknowledgement to Patrick Renshaw, a historian who was sensitive to the various international currents, and especially to Joyce Kornbluh, whose magnificent collection of Wobbly documents sensitized historians to the cultural significance of the IWW. Nevertheless, this is a fresh and original work that adds to our knowledge of the diversity of influences that shaped the American Left in the early twentieth century.

DAVID J. GOLDBERG
Cleveland State University

HINDY LAUER SCHACHTER. *Frederick Taylor and the Public Administration Community: A Reevaluation*. (SUNY Series in Public Administration.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1989. Pp. x, 175. Cloth \$39.50, paper \$12.95.

Purists may object to Hindy Lauer Schachter's history with its mission of reassessing and rehabilitating Frederick W. Taylor as a highly original thinker and contributor to public administration theory and practice. Most texts in the field place Taylor's principles of scientific management in the "caveman" era of the profession. Much emphasis is placed on his stopwatch time and motion studies and "his concern with economic man and his failure to recognize other human aspirations" (p. 11). His successes are seen in improving worker productivity in order to increase corporate profits.

Schachter takes a quite different perspective. She argues that, as a result of Taylor's own experiences as a manual laborer, worker opinion was included in his proposals for new management strategies. He supported wage incentives and also encouraged employee development. He also saw the most productive factory as dependent on management-labor cooperation, not coercion.

What happened in practice, however, often was quite different. Most managers were more comfortable with cutting wages for slack work than with increasing them for greater productivity. Union leaders from the American Federation of Labor objected to unskilled laborers being given opportunities to become skilled workers. As a result, few firms introduced Taylor's concepts in their entirety, preferring piecemeal innovations that stressed greater worker productivity and increased profits.

Schachter's reassessment runs contrary to not only public administration texts but also historical interpretations. Donald Nelson in his book *Frederick W. Taylor and the Rise of Scientific Management* (1980) charges that Taylor was "invariably a traditionalist, even a reactionary" (p. ix) in dealing with employees. Yet he also quotes Taylor on the importance of stimulating the personal ambitions of employees and communicating with them on their level (pp. 45–46). Schachter concludes that Taylor sought management-labor cooperation in which both parties benefited. She also admits that this goal probably was naive, given corporate tendencies and the class conflict realities of late nineteenth-century American industry.

Beyond seeking to rescue Taylor's reputation, the author describes his links to early public administration practices through Morris Cooke in Philadelphia and the New York Bureau of Municipal Research. She again counters textbook criticism of the latter for its supposed emphasis on maximizing efficiency as a prime goal in city government.

Schachter's villain in this book is Yale political scientist Robert Dahl. In an 1947 article, Dahl contrasted scientific management with the social, humanistic

thrust of the Hawthorne experiment at the Western Electric plant in Illinois. Thereafter, scientific management became known for its mechanistic methods at the expense of Taylor's overall goal of increased productivity through labor-management cooperation using scientific methodology.

For the historian, this monograph challenges existing views of Taylor's thought. Yet Schachter relies on sources, including some of Taylor's writing, that Nelson earlier discounted for distortions. As a result, one still awaits a definitive biography of Taylor (which Schachter did not intend).

JAMES B. CROOKS
University of North Florida

FRANCIS L. BRODERICK. *Progressivism at Risk: Electing a President in 1912*. (Contributions in American History, number 134.) New York: Greenwood. 1989. Pp. viii, 246. \$39.95.

This study provides detailed coverage—more descriptive and narrative than analytical—of the 1912 presidential candidates, conventions, and platforms. That campaign decided the future of Progressivism, which Francis L. Broderick defines as a complex reform movement affecting the economic system of the newly industrialized United States during an era adverse to farmers, workers, small businessmen, and consumers. States were the first to respond to their problems, as the federal government was busy tending to the needs of the wealthy with land grants, high tariffs, and favorable monetary policies.

Broderick claims that all four candidates were Progressive. Yet the Republican candidate, William Howard Taft, by presenting himself as a "conservative alternative to an activist government" (pp. 169–70), would seem excluded from such a distinction. Theodore Roosevelt, the Progressive party nominee, created a new vision of the presidency, pushing a program of moderate reform: regulation of large industrial corporations, extension of popular rule, and significant social legislation. He envisioned a new political structure by including the New South in his Progressive coalition. Unusual in a book about the 1912 campaign, this study includes a lengthy, well-written account of Eugene Debs and the Socialist party. Debs is represented as bridging all factions of his party and well-suited to educate the public on his party's goal to change the basic structure of American institutions. The Democratic campaign is especially well covered, with Woodrow Wilson's dramatic convention battle against Champ Clark given the attention that it deserves. Wilson's speeches on the "abandoned issues" of tariff and trusts placed him at the center of Progressive thought. Although he was a good speaker, he lacked Roosevelt's ability to stir people up, yet he had only to avoid major gaffes to win the election.

In a landslide victory Wilson carried forty states, and Congress went Democratic. Roosevelt would have won,

Broderick asserts, if he had been the Republican nominee; Taft, who ceased to compete after his convention victory, could have won with Roosevelt's support; and Debs was happy for the increased Socialist vote. In the final tally, Roosevelt lost the most, for the Bull Moose party soon collapsed. Aided by progressives in Congress in passing the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Amendments, the Federal Reserve Act, the Federal Trade Commission Act, the Federal Farm Loan Act, and the Child Labor Act, Wilson gave progressivism an impetus that lasted over sixty years. Harry Truman kept the tradition alive after the New Deal years; Dwight Eisenhower left its structure in place; John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson revived it; and Richard Nixon made a contribution through federal grants to states and cities for housing and employment. Progressivism culminated in the 1960s and 1970s with legislation (and the federal agencies to enforce it) in areas of health, safety, and environmental protection. It was not until Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan that the impetus slowed.

This book is a well-crafted, traditional treatment—containing no “new political history”—which examines religion, race, and demographics to determine political behavior. Although the concluding chapters offer little that is new, Broderick provides a readable record of a momentous era, worthy of inclusion in this valuable series.

JUDITH ICKE ANDERSON
California State Polytechnic University,
Pomona

JENNA WEISSMAN JOSELIT. *New York's Jewish Jews: The Orthodox Community in the Interwar Years*. (The Modern Jewish Experience.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1990. Pp. xv, 189. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$12.95.

Although Nathan Glazer, in his important book *American Judaism* (1957), and other students of American Judaism of the 1950s and early 1960s omitted any mention of modern Orthodoxy, by the mid-1960s, beginning with the 1964 and 1965 studies of Charles S. Liebman, scholars began to describe the evolution, institutional vitality, and even optimistic future of a self-conscious, modern American Orthodoxy. Since that time, others have investigated the origins of the effort by Orthodox Jews to blend the traditions of the old with the challenges of the new and have pushed this development back, at least on the Lower East Side and Harlem, to the decade or more prior to World War I.

Jenna Weissman Joselit implicitly rejects this work and argues that modern Orthodoxy is a development of the interwar years. She examines the rabbinate, congregational leadership (men), prayer ritual, synagogue ceremonies and architecture, the integration of women, all-day Jewish schools, and family centeredness in arguing that a viable and socially acceptable modern American Orthodoxy was created in the 1920s and 1930s. She is especially convincing in her claim that

decorous behavior and comportment were (almost) an ideology, an aesthetic or religious expression.

Joselit is far more sensitive than most historians of American Judaism to the difficulty of determining what exactly is “modern” about modern Orthodoxy. Nevertheless, in this elegantly written but brief text (153 pages), she seems torn between writing a biography of Rabbi Joseph Lookstein (d. 1978), his synagogue (Kehilath Jeshurun), and his school (Ramaz)—the models for the type of Orthodoxy that she describes—and delineating a modernized American Orthodox Jewry. I use “American” intentionally, for she often slips into substituting America for New York. In fact, the argument rests mostly on evidence from Jewish communities on the Upper West Side and Upper East Side of Manhattan rather than on the numerous Orthodox communities in the metropolitan area, with the virtual absence of the Brooklyn community especially glaring.

The Manhattan focus is defended, although only in passing, by quoting an impression formed by Mordecai M. Kaplan during a lecture tour in 1929 to the effect that Orthodox Jews west of the Mississippi embraced modernity far less than the “Jewish Jews.” Students of the Far West have demonstrated that Kaplan was wrong, and the impact of tradition and modernity on this Jewry, as well as on that of other parts of the nation, awaits its historians.

MARC LEE RAPHAEL
College of William and Mary

GERALD H. GAMM. *The Making of New Deal Democrats: Voting Behavior and Realignment in Boston, 1920–1940*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 277. Cloth \$42.00, paper \$15.95.

Gerald H. Gamm begins his narrowly focused study of Boston politics with a broad introductory survey of the historical and political scientific literature on realignment. His discussion includes commentaries on such luminaries in the field as V. O. Key, Samuel Lubell, and Walter Dean Burnham and on authors of more specialized studies such as Kristi Andersen and John Allswang. Basically, Gamm is interested in the light that his intensive study of Boston may shed on the general nature of realignment.

What Gamm has done, through exhaustive investigation, is to isolate ethnically and socioeconomically homogeneous precincts for scrutiny. Precincts populated at least 80 to 85 percent by one ethnic group were deemed homogeneous. He is careful to note the limits of his data. By the 1920s many of Boston's Irish, for example, no longer lived in homogeneous areas; hence, his conclusions on Irish voting behavior apply with certainty only to a minority of the whole.

Of the five groups studied, two showed little change. Yankees were historically staunchly Republican and varied little during the New Deal era. The Irish were historically Democratic and essentially remained so

during the 1930s. It was among the three remaining groups—blacks, Jews, and Italians—that significant changes occurred. For blacks, Gamm finds, the key movement was in the mobilization of new voters to the Democratic side. For Jews, conversion of previously Republican voters to the Democratic party was critical in addition to the mobilization of new voters. Jewish voting, which previously split along class lines, shifted to a strongly Democratic allegiance across class lines. For Italians, the key was mobilization as distinct from conversion. Italian voters were heavily Democratic well before the Great Depression, and the sharp influx of new Italian voters added to the aggregate strength of the Democratic party.

Gamm concludes that diversity of response was an underlying characteristic of what from a distance seems like a monolithic shift. The New Deal realignment consisted in actuality of a large number of smaller changes, varying in nature and timing, albeit all to the benefit of one party. With this in mind, Gamm places his study in the broader realignment context. Granting that the political landscape was transformed in the 1930s, he puts his greater emphasis on continuity, stressing that the changes of the New Deal decade "long seemed . . . unusual" essentially "because normal patterns of constant change were concentrated into a few brief years and because those changes gave a special advantage to one party" (p. 201). The country, he writes, is always in a process of realignment. Nevertheless, it may be countered, the more abrupt changes of the New Deal era did make its realignment unusual, precisely because of that chronological concentration and unidirectional shift.

Overall this is an impressive work of scholarship, characterized by analytical intelligence and indefatigable research. It provides a lucid, balanced, and thoughtful effort to place the Boston experience in the framework of national party and realignment history.

THEODORE ROSENOF
Mercy College

HARRIET HYMAN ALONSO. *The Women's Peace Union and the Outlawry of War, 1921–1942*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1989. Pp. xxi, 224. \$29.95.

Harriet Hyman Alonso's book fits into the body of work written by historians over the past several years that tries to answer the question of what happened to the women's movement after suffrage was attained. She examines the Women's Peace Union (WPU), one of the four most important women's peace organizations from 1921 to the 1940s and the most extreme. Its members worked to pass a constitutional amendment outlawing war and held to a philosophy that allowed no compromise with partial disarmament methods. They believed totally in the effectiveness of nonviolent resistance. The group was organized by women formerly active in the demonstrations and politics of the suffrage movement, who attempted to carry what they per-

ceived as a women's perspective on war into American public policy, a perspective that condemned violence of every sort. Ironically, although they did not admit men to membership, they had to rely on Senator Lynn Joseph Frazier of North Dakota as the amendment's sponsor, and in fact the amendment came to be associated with his name.

The WPU became defunct in the 1940s, but the group had actually begun dismantling by the mid-1930s. The depression made it hard to raise funds to keep going, and burnout caused the major members of the organization to drop out one by one. The WPU's rigid philosophy and narrow focus on passing the constitutional amendment also made it difficult to attract members in an increasingly threatened world.

Alonso describes both the national and the international efforts of the WPU, placing the organization in context with the other peace work going on. The WPU remained a small fringe group throughout its career, and from today's perspective its program seems highly unrealistic. But, although extreme, the group's ideas were representative of a broad movement toward peace in the period between the two wars, a movement that had its greatest validation in the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 in which sixty-two nations agreed to renounce war as a way to advance national designs and as a solution to international squabbles. It is easy to write off fringe groups as cranks and eccentrics, but Alonso has not done so. She has taken them as seriously as they took themselves and gives the reader a sense of what the world looked like from their point of view. The women come across as thoughtful, energetic, and able to laugh.

Alonso does a good job of analyzing how the use of the suffrage model of organization and action first gave the WPU strength but ultimately debilitated the group. The suffrage campaign gave these women the amendment strategy and a belief in the effectiveness of nonviolence. They continued tactics successful in the suffrage movement such as lobbying, letter-writing campaigns, and public meetings. They learned to trust women and to criticize men. They imbibed a feminist philosophy in which they saw themselves as women leading America to a women's perspective on war and violence that would ultimately eliminate both from the human vocabulary. All of this gave them energy to press their agenda over two decades. But their suffrage background also led them to limit themselves to one issue and one strategy, namely, the introduction of the amendment into Congress again and again, a narrowly political focus that could not be sustained. They tended to draw their leadership from women who had been active suffragists or vouched for by active suffragists in an increasingly smaller network. They were leery of other peace organizations that gave men the limelight and that accepted partial solutions to the ending of war. This led to isolation within the peace movement itself.

The book explores the nitty-gritty of political work in great detail—the selection of Frazier as the group's

champion, the lobbying of senators and congressmen, the use of congressional hearings as educational forums, and the making of speeches and contacts at the state level. Those who are interested in tracking the footwork of political history will find this a rewarding work. It is also well researched and written with style. Being more interested in cultural and intellectual history, I find this book very narrowly politically focused, like the WPU itself. Nevertheless, this volume is a definite contribution toward understanding one more of the varied directions women took after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment.

MARGARET M. CAFFREY
Memphis State University

MARIO T. GARCIA. *Mexican Americans: Leadership, Ideology, and Identity, 1930–1960*. (Yale Western Americana Series, number 36.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 364. \$35.00.

Mario T. García's book is an important study about the development of ethnic leadership among Mexican Americans between 1930 and 1960. The large-scale transformation from immigrant to American ethnic communities during the Great Depression, along with World War II, created the shared experiences that forged middle-class Mexican Americans into a political generation. Those who spearheaded the drive for equality, status, and integration into American society had been exposed to the liberal influences of the New Deal and the patriotic fervor and idealism of the Second World War. They had become more acculturated, socialized to their rights as citizens of the United States, politically functional, and bilingual. Collectively, these elements reinforced within them the idea of permanence in this country. They also contributed to heightened expectations among Mexican Americans about their role, status, and attainment of first-class citizenship. To achieve equality and integration, they embarked on a series of disparate reform movements that sought to ameliorate the problems and tear down the barriers that made them second-class citizens. By and large, members of the Mexican-American generation were not revolutionaries. They were reformers, guided by a pluralist view of society and an unshakable faith in the system to reform itself.

García's use of oral interviews and his extensive research in archival resources, Spanish-language newspapers, and private collections reveal the complexity of the programs and diverse nature of the leadership that propelled the Mexican-American generation. The struggles were waged across a broad spectrum, ranging from the campaign by the League of United Latin American Citizens to achieve political and economic integration, to the efforts of Eleutario Escobar and the School Improvement League of San Antonio to end the segregation of Mexican-American students in the schools, to the activities of working-class organizations such as the Spanish-Speaking Congress, the Asociación

Nacional Mexico-Americana, and the Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers.

For Mexican Americans, the movement from immigrants to American ethnics contributed to the search for identity and the attempt to reconcile the dilemma of seeking integration while retaining their cultural heritage. Mexican-American intellectuals played an integral role in this process. In part Carlos Castañeda (the historian), George Sanchez (the educator), and Arthur Campa (the folklorist) responded by challenging the distorted and erroneous assumptions held by Anglos about Mexican Americans. They strongly espoused the concepts of cultural pluralism, Pan-Americanism, integration, and education as key components in promoting equality and social advancement for Mexican Americans. Of the three, only Campa argued that important differences existed between Mexicans and Anglos. Like most of the others, however, who belonged to this political generation, these intellectuals "challenged the system, but never seriously doubted it" (p. 271).

The Mexican-American generation was uncompromising in demanding first-class citizenship because it embraced political integration and acculturation. In the process Mexican Americans achieved desegregation in schools and public facilities, increased political representation, and unionization of workers. They did not, however, achieve the political integration, first-class citizenship, and acceptance into mainstream America they so much desired. This was in part the result of their failure or inability to comprehend the power and intransigence of the forces arrayed against them. Another serious flaw in their approach was naiveté about the system's ability and willingness to reform itself.

This book is by no means a complete "collective biography" about this generation of reformers. The American G.I. Forum's programs and leaders, which the author says have already been examined in other studies, are not included. Nor is the Alianza Hispano-Americano. Although this organization was founded in the 1880s in Tucson, Arizona, its leadership, reform efforts, and period of activism on behalf of Mexican Americans closely parallel other groups discussed in the book.

A major tenet of García's study is that Mexican-American history should be presented within the broader context of U.S. history. In attributing the development of this political generation to the shared experiences of the depression and World War II, he has partially accomplished his goal. Unfortunately, the setting in which this transformation occurred is not fully described or articulated in the narrative. Both the forces and the process that shaped and redefined what being an American meant need to be discussed in much greater detail.

Finally, little is said about the attitudes and reactions of the Mexicans and Mexican Americans who were not part of this political generation. Was the agenda of the middle-class reformers representative of the broader

concerns of the people? The author hints that this might not have been so when he concedes that there were elements of class bias within the ranks of the middle class. If there was, however, broad-based support among the Mexican-American people, was it because they agreed with the stated goals or because the middle class represented the only organized leadership with articulated goals?

García has crafted a provocative and important work. His study challenges the commonly held view that the Mexican-American generation was naive about its economic subordination, accommodationist (in the pejorative sense of the word), exclusively middle class, and apolitical. What emerges is a collective biography of individuals and organizations that fought to achieve equality. García's book is a much-needed and welcome addition to the sparse historical literature on Mexican Americans in the postdepression era.

JUAN R. GARCIA
University of Arizona

JAMES TERENCE FISHER. *The Catholic Counterculture in America, 1933–1962*. (Studies in Religion.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1989. Pp. xv, 305. \$32.50.

The thesis of this work is that a completely new kind of American self and sensibility developed out of a cultural transformation within American Catholicism in the mid-twentieth century. James Terence Fisher attempts to trace the evolution of this new "personalist" self by examining in detail the psychologies and "self-expression" of a small number of notable Roman Catholic figures: Dorothy Day, the cofounder of the Catholic Worker movement; Carol Jackson and Ed Willock, editors of the journal *Integrity* and promoters of the Marycrest community in New York; Thomas A. Dooley, the navy doctor who served and promoted the medical needs of Southeast Asians in the 1950s; Jack Kerouac, the "beat" writer; and Thomas Merton, the Trappist monk and spiritual writer.

Fisher's argument rests on the premise that the individual self of traditional American Protestant and capitalist culture—with its emphasis on psychological autonomy and intense labor for material production in the world—had reached a crisis in the late nineteenth century. The quest for a more authentic or satisfying form of personal identity and for alternative cultural values thus became located within Catholicism, a subcommunity that had long been excluded from the dominant cultural complex because of its immigrant past and distinctive teachings, particularly what the author calls "the grammar of suffering" (p. 80). By appropriating this peculiar and rather exotic emphasis on suffering and "self-abnegation" in dramatic ways, these prominent "romantic Catholics" worked to create a Catholic counterculture that formed a "sign of contradiction" (p. xiv) to the prevalent self and its culture.

Like many works that rely heavily on psychological

and cultural approaches to their material, this analysis is sometimes provocative but seems inclined to reach quickly for dramatic generalizations and interpretations that might be more convincing if they were more cautiously developed. There is a tendency throughout the work to reify "culture" and then use it as a unitary explanatory device. The social and political concerns of the subjects mostly disappear. Furthermore, the claim that these distinctive and highly diverse Catholic writers and thinkers—however intrinsically important their lives and thought—somehow represented a cultural transformation affecting tens of millions of American Catholic "selves" remains unproven at best.

These interpretive difficulties are compounded when the figures under discussion are so deeply immersed in religion. Religion is certainly intertwined with culture and cultural values of all kinds. But even interpretations based on Nietzschean or Freudian reductionism generally require a more thorough account of how the impulses underlying religion are variously configured and channeled into socially constructed meaning. Most ethically sophisticated Buddhists, Jews, Christians, and Muslims, for instance, distinguish between the spiritual value of suffering endured out of love for others and forms of masochism that can be selfish and religiously worthless. But in this analysis the "grammar of suffering" is a unitary phenomenon reflecting "a disposition inherent with immigrant Catholicism" (p. 80). Similarly, although it is likely that all intense religious phenomena include an erotic dimension, one wonders whether the ancient and complex Catholic devotion to Mary can be understood primarily as an invitation to both men and women "to mortify their own sexuality in imitation of herself and her son" (p. 163).

Despite these weaknesses in its interpretive apparatus, the book does provide valuable discussions of some of its principal subjects. The information on the little-known *Integrity* group is illuminating, and the account of Dooley is particularly sensitive to the difficulties he experienced as he was transformed into a Catholic cultural icon in the 1950s.

MEL PIEHL
Valparaiso University

NANCY L. GRANT. *TVA and Black Americans: Planning for the Status Quo*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1990. Pp. xxxi, 207. \$34.95.

Nancy L. Grant's study of the way in which the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) treated blacks reinforces the conclusions of two earlier and more general histories of blacks in the New Deal. Harvard Sitkoff's *A New Deal for Blacks* (1978) and Raymond Wolters' *Negroes and the Great Depression* (1970). Grant criticizes the Roosevelt administration for not living up to its promises of equal treatment and for placing political expediency and southern tradition ahead of the needs of black workers.

By using the TVA as a case study of New Deal relations with blacks, Grant is able to explore federal race relations policy in a particularly complex setting. As a southern program, the TVA operated in areas with large black populations whose economic opportunity was held in check by a tradition of discrimination and segregation. At the same time, however, the TVA perceived itself as a progressive force built on "grass-roots democracy," intending to restructure not only the economy but also the social environment of the Tennessee Valley. Furthermore, the TVA adopted a policy of quotas to insure that blacks got their fair share of TVA jobs. In other words, on the surface it appears that the TVA had the opportunity to bring about a genuine change in black-white relations in the Upper South.

It did not, of course, and Grant's gracefully written book tells once more the sad and seemingly inevitable story of cautious New Deal bureaucrats bowing to local traditions, sometimes even before there were any objections, to keep blacks out of any but low paid, low status positions. The quota system, which could have been used to open up opportunity in skilled and professional positions, was applied at-large rather than to specific departments and was invariably fulfilled by hiring black laborers. Grant details the discrimination against blacks in other aspects of TVA policy as well, including training, recreation, education, and housing. Her thorough research takes the story through World War II, making it clear that even the wartime Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) did little to alter the pattern of discrimination; in fact, Grant's interesting but brief chapter on the FEPC highlights the need for a book-length treatment of that agency.

Although she, like almost all revisionist historians of the last twenty-five years, takes the Roosevelt administration to task for not doing more for blacks, Grant is admirably careful in explaining the political and social realities that convinced the agency to act cautiously rather than boldly. One gets the sense that it would have taken extraordinary courage to challenge southern racial patterns, and it is one of the strengths of the book that the reader comes away understanding, if not necessarily agreeing with, the behavior of the TVA administrators.

This volume is a very useful addition to the literature on the New Deal in the South. Although Grant stresses narrative over theory and remains squarely within the revisionist tradition, she demonstrates once again how pervasive discrimination was and how little the Roosevelt administration could or would do even with an agency dedicated to long-term economic and social change.

STEVEN M. GELBER
Santa Clara University

MARTIN HALPERN. *UAW Politics in the Cold War Era*. (SUNY Series in American Labor History.) Albany:

State University of New York Press. 1988. Pp. 361. Cloth \$54.50, paper \$17.95.

Of the volumes that have been written on the United Auto Workers (UAW), some of the most exciting and controversial work focuses on the immediate postwar period when, with the ascendancy of Walter Reuther's caucus, the union veered sharply to the Right. In explaining Reuther's victory over the Center-Left coalition led by R. J. Thomas, George Addes, and Richard Leonard, historical scholarship has tended to fall into either of two camps, each with its own political ax to grind. On the ideological fringes, an unlikely assortment of "anti-Stalinist" leftists and conservative anti-Communists trace the Left's defeat to its wartime collaboration with management, which in the context of UAW politics meant vigorously backing the union's no-strike pledge and championing piecework. Closer to the ideological center, writers of a more liberal bent have concentrated instead on the postwar performance of both sides, casting Reuther as the more militant advocate of the rank and file, beginning with his aggressive leadership of the 1945 General Motors strike.

Martin Halpern subjects both arguments to sustained criticism. Although Halpern concedes that wartime collaboration cost the Left some support in the UAW, he views the damage as minimal. The no-strike pledge, for example, was supported by the Left as well as the Right, with the main differences being their degrees of enthusiasm. Moreover, the war brought new possibilities for the UAW's reigning Center-Left coalition, which used the expanded protection afforded by the federal government to extend its base of support into the munitions and aircraft industries. On balance, Halpern seems to say, World War II was something of a mixed blessing for the Left.

The Left's defeat was thus a product of the cold war. With this period as his focus, Halpern has assembled a wealth of new data—including some rarely used archival material and original oral histories—to reconstruct the political landscape on which the factional fight was conducted. The result is a richly detailed and often quite illuminating account. We see, far more clearly than before, the tensions within the Thomas-Addes-Leonard block and, in addition, the underlying motives and interests driving both factions to contest such issues as foreign policy, national politics, and racial equality. But mostly we see a rather different portrayal of the man at the center of all the controversy: Walter Reuther, who appears less the principled defender of the rank and file than the consummate union politician, part militant agitator, part labor statesman.

Reuther's greatest asset, Halpern concludes, was tactical rather than ideological. His success depended not on converting the rank and file to his social democratic vision but on demonstrating that the UAW's "popular front" opposition was a growing liability in cold war America. Whether it was the Left's advocacy of noncompliance with the Taft-Hartley Act

or its campaign to bring the Communist-led Farm Equipment Workers into the UAW, Reuther was able to characterize the Thomas-Addes-Leonard agenda as divisive, adventurist, and ultimately harmful to the union's bargaining position. Reuther won, in short, by appealing to the pragmatism of the rank and file.

Halpern makes a good case that Reuther's victory "did not stem from a rank and file rebellion against Communists or their allies" (p. 4). But this does not get the Communists and their allies entirely off the hook, for even if the party and its followers in the UAW were not the immediate objects of attack, "communism"—as understood by most workers at the time—certainly was. With Halpern's provocative thesis in mind, labor historians might find it fruitful to ask how the rank and file perceived both Communists and the movement of which they were a part and why, in unions like the UAW, they could tolerate and even embrace one while so emphatically rejecting the other.

HOWARD KIMELDORF
University of Michigan

CLARENCE N. STONE. *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta, 1946-1988*. (Studies in Government and Public Policy.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1989. Pp. xiv, 314. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$14.95.

This complex book may be read on two levels. The majority of historians will probably appreciate the thorough coverage of Atlanta politics since World War II. Clarence N. Stone's narrative of this period is especially valuable for its insights on Atlanta's two black mayors since 1973, Maynard Jackson and Andrew Young. Historians specifically interested in community power theory and political scientists generally will value Stone's concept of "regime politics."

What emerges most clearly in Stone's narrative of Atlanta's post-World War II politics is the coalition between the business elite and the city's emerging black middle class. According to Stone, this was the coalition that defined and implemented all of the important public projects (from the Atlanta Stadium to the Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority) during the period. The coalition's presence was partly why Atlanta was able to achieve a reputation as the "city too busy to hate," the famous phrase of Mayor William B. Hartsfield, who ironically began his political career as a segregationist. Yet the needs of "coalition-building" forced Hartsfield to alter his racial views and similarly forced others to go in directions they had not originally intended. Those such as Maynard Jackson who tried to govern outside the coalition met with ephemeral success at best.

From the viewpoint of community power theorists, the major contribution of this book is Stone's concept of "urban regime," which he defines as "the informal arrangement by which public bodies and private interests function together to make and carry out governing decisions" (p. 179). Stone concedes that both the elitist

model of community power (associated principally with Floyd Hunter's 1950s study of Atlanta) and the pluralist alternative of Robert Dahl have their merits. But he argues that both models have focused too much on social control and have neglected policy formulation. Stone's main interest was in identifying not who had power in post-World War II Atlanta but rather how policy was developed and implemented. The business elite, he finds, was a central element in the process. But it had to grant concessions to blacks such as integration at a faster rate than it would have preferred. The business elite had the economic power, and blacks more and more had control of City Hall. Neither could govern without the other.

It will be interesting to see how the political science and sociology establishments react to Stone's model of community power. His methodology lacks the insider polls about power of both the elitists and the pluralists and is entirely nonquantitative. His findings on Atlanta politics are mainly drawn from secondary studies and articles in the *Atlanta Constitution*. Historians will probably root for the acceptance of Stone's approach because it pays attention to the "particulars" of history and has a methodology they can easily emulate.

It is impossible to do justice to the analytical nuances of this book in a brief review. American urban historians, especially those interested in community power and city politics, should list it near the top of their "must-read" books. Those interested in the modern South will also find it worthwhile reading.

JAMES MICHAEL RUSSELL
University of Tennessee,
Chattanooga

JAMES F. GOODE. *The United States and Iran, 1946-51: The Diplomacy of Neglect*. New York: St. Martin's. 1989. Pp. xii, 161. \$39.95.

The early postwar years of Iranian-American relations are analyzed with skill in this impressive work. James F. Goode suggests that the United States let slip away an opportunity to have Iran establish a constitutional democracy that could have spared that nation the many excesses of Muhammad Reza Shah's rule. If the shah's authoritarian regime was not inevitable, as this book persuasively argues, then neither was the complete alienation of Iran from its American ally.

Several factors led to U.S. mistakes by the early 1950s. It was decided not to challenge the British when they exerted heavy pressure to maintain their monopoly over Iranian oil production and profits. And in the late 1940s the United States was preoccupied diplomatically with Europe and then with East Asia once the Korean War began. Finally, a short-sighted fiscal conservatism led to the denial of financial aid to Iran at a crucial moment.

Most disastrous from the American point of view was the decision not to interfere with Britain's increasingly

arbitrary negotiations in behalf of the British-owned Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, which the Iranian government had targeted for nationalization. The ensuing crisis effectively dismantled an Iranian government that was carefully balanced between a monarchy and a parliament headed by a strong prime minister committed to necessary domestic reforms.

Because the United States was depending on Britain for support in the Korean War in 1951, however, the Americans decided that it was not the time to push the British toward compromise even though they were convinced of British intransigence. The American war effort in Korea led to huge military budgets and resultant fiscal concerns that led to the cancellation of financial aid headed for Iran. Although only \$25 million was involved, the State Department failed to act decisively to ensure that Iran received the money that it believed had already been promised.

Disillusionment over the canceled aid, along with a surge of nationalism fueled by Britain's hard-line on oil issues, led to a parliament and prime minister with whom the United States felt increasingly insecure. Throughout the early 1950s the Americans turned to the shah to ensure Iran's alliance with the West. With parliament seeming more unreliable, the balance between parliament and the court, which the United States had sought immediately following the Second World War, slowly gave way to American support for the shah and the army.

It is ironic that the rise of the shah to primary power in the political system is associated with American support and influence. From the time of their first contact with the shah, American military and political officials expressed grave concerns about his competence. His first trip to Washington was enough to convince U.S. military officials that he was ignorant of the most basic military details and that he possessed a penchant for acquiring military equipment far beyond the capabilities of his army to use. As the Iranian parliament, and in particular Prime Minister Mosaddeq, appeared both unstable and unfriendly, the United States nonetheless decided that it had nowhere else to turn but toward the shah. Secretary of State Dean Acheson referred to the shah as "our best hope of providing firmness and leadership" (p. 105) just two years after his inept performance in Washington.

Goode's arguments are made with persuasion as well as clarity of style. This volume is essential reading for any serious scholar of Iranian-American relations or of American policy toward the Middle East. There is a dazzling array of material from primary sources found in Washington, London, and Tehran. Recently declassified State Department documents provide the core of Goode's research. This is not history only viewed from the Western perspective; the use of both Persian- and English-language sources provides a welcome balance.

There is a growing body of literature on America's relationship with the shah. Along with James A. Bill's *The Eagle and the Lion: The Tragedy of American-Iranian Relations* (1988), which concentrates on the period after

1960, Goode's work provides an insight into the shah's powers of manipulation, which only seemed to improve with the years. Throughout his career the shah ensured that he would find out when an American official assigned to Tehran had sent critical information to Washington. The shah then worked relentlessly—and always effectively—to have these potential threats to him removed.

During that first American trip in 1949, the shah displayed a talent for handling the press; his skills with the American media prevailed to the end. Whereas American officials who met with him considered the shah incompetent, the media found him charming, a "good guy," a "liberal" force opposed by dark alternatives, and a "very human friend" (p. 58). His ability to win over the press, as well as his tenacity in having critical American diplomats removed, proved useful tools as the shah methodically eliminated internal political opposition.

Goode joins other recent scholars of Iranian-American relations, such as Bill, who rightly identify a large part of America's failure as the result of sheer ignorance. Whether representing public or private interests in Iran, Americans consistently displayed little knowledge or understanding of the nation's language, history, and culture. Contacts were rarely made outside a small and elite circle of Iranians in Tehran. Although this problem has become associated with the American presence in Iran during the final years of the shah's reign, it also can be identified as a cause of the difficulties that the United States encountered in the years immediately following the Second World War.

JOHN SNETSINGER

California Polytechnic State University,
San Luis Obispo

IWAN W. MORGAN. *Eisenhower versus "The Spenders": The Eisenhower Administration, the Democrats, and the Budget, 1953–60*. New York: St. Martin's. 1990. Pp. xii, 223. \$35.00.

After a decade of Reagan-Bush astronomical budget deficits, it almost seems like a fairy tale to discover that one of Dwight Eisenhower's primary concerns for eight years was to balance the national budget. He was a fiscal conservative who continually fought "the spenders," both liberal Democrats and his department heads. He wanted not only to achieve a balance but perhaps to produce a surplus to apply to the debt or to permit a tax cut. He was thwarted for five of his eight years in office, principally because defense consumed almost two-thirds of national spending, and, in this period of McCarthyism, no president could risk endangering national security. The defense budget expanded from \$13 billion in 1950 to \$41 billion in 1960. But Eisenhower believed that a healthy economy and fiscal discipline were also vital to American defense. High budgets, he believed, led to inflation, which, in turn, represented a threat to American world interests.

Fiscal policy had an impact on many political and economic issues of the 1950s. Eisenhower was especially frustrated in his attempts to reduce federal spending during his second term. The launching of Sputnik and the Gaither Report, which gave credence to Democratic charges that there was a "missile gap" and a "bomber gap," all worked against this president who, as a professional soldier, insisted that sufficiency was enough to support the nation's defense. In addition, in 1957, America experienced its sharpest economic decline since the Civil War. Recovery was not yet complete when another serious recession hit in 1960. Eisenhower stood firm against Democratic demands that great spending increases were essential to combat these recessions, but he paid a political price for his policy. John Kennedy won the presidency in 1960, in part with the promise to "get the country moving again" by expanding defense and domestic programs (within the limitations of a balanced budget).

Iwan W. Morgan offers some valuable insights into Eisenhower's budget policies and the disputes that they stimulated. He cites Eisenhower for poor leadership in failing to allay public fears about massive unemployment and widespread depression in 1957. But, at the same time, he pays tribute to him for successfully controlling defense spending during the peak of the cold war and describes him as "a passive and half-hearted Keynesian" in wanting to spend to combat recessions (p. 179).

Morgan has combed both primary sources and secondary works and has produced a study that will be definitive. His writing is almost always clear, and the book is attractively produced. Use of British colloquialisms, such as "secondment" (p. 5), "cock a snook" (p. 84), "horns of a dilemma" (p. 88), and "scuppered" (p. 150), and an inordinate number of typographical errors mar an otherwise nicely crafted monograph.

R. ALTON LEE
University of South Dakota

R. ALTON LEE. *Eisenhower and Landrum-Griffin: A Study in Labor-Management Politics*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1990. Pp. xi, 202. \$21.00.

R. Alton Lee's monograph equals in importance his earlier study of the Taft-Hartley Act. Reviewing the origins of the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959 reaffirms suggestions that the legislation, the second "corrective" to the Wagner Act, indicated less a return to union weakness than the creation of a post-New Deal consensual labor-management relationship.

Unions, seemingly, had a lot going for them in the late Eisenhower period: an attractive young Democratic presidential contender with a need to demonstrate his liberal credentials, a strong anti-Republican vote in the 1958 congressional elections, and a "passive," though conservative, Eisenhower administration with little appetite for controversy. Forces favoring restrictions, however, were also blessed with decade-

long publicity about labor corruption, especially involving the Teamsters, and, perhaps most important, a conservative coalition less interested in balance than in breaking organized labor's relatively strong grip on northern industry. Even statutory failure had a potential advantage for conservatives as the champions of strength against "irresponsible" labor leadership, especially as personified by Dave Beck and Jimmy Hoffa. The result, in addition to the passage of a hastily written bill that also resulted from an inept conference report, was the greatest flurry of proposed labor bills since 1947, the year of Taft-Hartley. Another aftermath, of course, was the withdrawal of Senator John F. Kennedy's name from the Landrum-Griffin bill despite the two years spent on the writing of a labor-reform bill.

R. Alton Lee makes clear that there was more administration visibility than a mere "hidden-hand" president. White House staff work played a key role. The president himself, after having asked Congress in early 1958 for legislation to implement a rackets committee, pushed matters with a major radio and television address.

Lee has also provided a clear analysis of the workings of the conservative coalition, especially as it operated along regional lines. Southerners, for example, who favored the Landrum-Griffin substitute over the more prolabor Kennedy-Ives bill of 1958, explained that they wanted the Landrum-Griffin bill to become law "to prevent union interference with the industrialization" of their region (p. 148). Sixteen of twenty-two Texans defected to the conservative coalition on one key vote. Lee points out the irony that northern Republicans allied themselves with southern Democrats to encourage industry to move from North to South.

Nevertheless, he is surely correct in concluding that it was "a combination of Jimmy Hoffa's corruption, Carl Elliott's gall bladder [which incapacitated the Alabama Democrat at a key moment], James Roosevelt's premature disclosure of the civil rights issue, and Dwight Eisenhower's address" that made the difference. Supposed duplicity by Lyndon Johnson, who also had White House ambitions at the time, was less responsible for defeating what had begun life as "John Kennedy's labor bill" (p. 149).

Lee, who worked closely with the sources, conducted his own interviews, and drew judiciously from previously published materials, has contributed an invaluable study of the dynamics of politics and interest groups on Capitol Hill.

HERBERT S. PARMET
City University of New York

TIMOTHY P. MAGA. *John F. Kennedy and the New Pacific Community, 1961-63*. New York: St. Martin's. 1990. Pp. xii, 143. \$35.00.

Timothy P. Maga examines the Kennedy administration's efforts to encourage regional cooperation among

the United States, Australia, Japan, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Micronesia. Whereas previous histories of U.S.–East Asian relations have concentrated on the Kennedy administration's growing involvement in Southeast Asia, this study analyzes American policy toward the Pacific nations that formed the rear areas in the Asian theater of the cold war. As Maga reminds us, when John F. Kennedy took office in 1961, American intervention in Vietnam was only part of a larger program to transform U.S. relations in the Asian-Pacific region. It is this "larger vision of Kennedy's New Frontier" (p. x) that Maga has chosen to explore.

This long-range plan, dubbed the New Pacific Community, called for increased economic assistance to developing areas, greater sensitivity to Asian nationalism, and the creation of a regional organization based in Canberra, Australia. As Maga notes, however, Kennedy's advisors never questioned their own assumptions about the willingness of other governments in the region to adopt American priorities. Consequently, the goal of a functioning regional organization under American leadership remained out of reach. Prime Minister Robert Menzies parted with Kennedy by supporting a nuclear free zone for the Pacific and subsequently informed Washington that Australia would not join the New Pacific Community. Indonesian president Achmed Sukarno's support for an Indonesian-led Federation of Malayan States indicated that the Americans were not the only ones with a grand design for the Pacific. Finally, although the United States showed a greater concern for Philippine nationalism by reducing American bases in the islands and increasing economic assistance, Manila politics baffled the Americans and left them doubting the practicality of including the former colony in a regional organization. By the time of Kennedy's assassination in November 1963, his ambitions for the Asian-Pacific area were largely unfulfilled. The New Pacific Community had not materialized.

The New Pacific Community may have flopped from the start, but, as Maga notes, the United States did achieve some progress in day-to-day bilateral relations in the region. Kennedy reversed his predecessor's neglect of the Trust Territory (Micronesia), successfully mediated the West Irian dispute between Indonesia and the Netherlands, and defeated protectionist trade measures aimed at Japan. And, although Kennedy moved more slowly on the question of relinquishing American control over Okinawan affairs than some of his advisors would have liked, he nevertheless began the process that culminated in Okinawan reversion in the 1970s.

In short, Kennedy left a divided legacy. Maga concludes that Kennedy's attempt to create a New Pacific Community reflected the same arrogance and cold war mentality that led the administration deeper into the Vietnam morass. But, although the president failed to make much headway toward his stated objective of creating a regional organization, he did demonstrate more flexibility than his predecessor in dealing with

developing nations that were not on the front lines of the cold war.

Few will debate Maga's conclusion that the Kennedy team was overconfident to the point of arrogance, but a description of the administration's economic policies would have provided a better context for understanding the reasons for their hubris. Some discussion of the key personalities in the administration and a comparison between the New Pacific Community and Kennedy's grand design for Europe, sometimes called the New Atlantic Community, would have underscored the author's contention that the Kennedy administration tended to see itself at the center of world affairs and might have provided greater insight into the president's efforts to orchestrate regional developments. Nevertheless, by examining the career of the ill-fated New Pacific Community, Maga has made a useful contribution to scholarship on the Kennedy administration and added to our understanding of American relations with the Asian-Pacific region during the period of growing U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

MARC GALLICCHIO
Villanova University

DAVID MCKAY. *Domestic Policy and Ideology: Presidents and the American State, 1964–1987*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 223. \$34.50.

DAVID M. WELBORN and JESSE BURKHEAD. *Intergovernmental Relations in the American Administrative State: The Johnson Presidency*. (An Administrative History of the Johnson Presidency Series.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 1989. Pp. x, 324. \$40.00.

Monographs that focus on relatively narrow topics are the building blocks on which historians construct broad syntheses. These two books are quality monographs. Both are expensive, and neither is particularly exciting, but each provides valuable information for scholars of the modern American presidency.

The study by David M. Welborn and Jesse Burkhead is one of several volumes designed to form an administrative history of the Johnson presidency. The number of programs introduced by the reform-minded Johnson administration was enormous, and many of those programs extended into what Welborn and Burkhead term subnational levels—the states and local governments. Lyndon Johnson and his associates preferred to use "creative federalism" rather than have the national government run Great Society programs exclusively. Primarily by the use of grants-in-aid to subnational governments, the Johnson administration was able to combine national policy leadership with substantial decentralization of program administration. Welborn and Burkhead emphasize that there were important political and administrative advantages to "creative federalism." Once Washington sent the money for a grant-in-aid program, the recipient was responsible for administering the activity and got the

bulk of the blame for administrative foul-ups and disappointing program results.

Unfortunately, the pluralist approach did not eliminate problems with the way programs worked, and decentralized pluralist forces often conflicted with administrative direction and control. The political reaction to Johnson's Great Society and a growing disaffection with big national government contributed significantly to the election of Johnson's successors. "Nevertheless," Welborn and Burkhead argue, "inter-governmental administration continues to occupy an important place in the American administrative state and to serve as a major alternative to direct national program administration" (p. 253).

David McKay's purpose is to evaluate the ability of the presidency between 1964 and 1987 to develop major domestic policies in the face of external constraints, such as social movements, party platforms, and organized special interests, and internal constraints, such as the federal bureaucracy. Intergovernmental relations and welfare policies during each administration serve as case studies for analysis. What motivated McKay to write the book was his "conviction that contemporary scholarship has become so concerned with the constraints on the office that it has consistently underestimated the capacity of Presidents to shape the policy agenda" (p. viii). At the heart of his analysis is McKay's effort to distinguish between policies originating from presidential initiatives and policies stemming from the values and preferences of officials in the federal bureaucracy.

Johnson personally provided much of the impetus for expanding the role of government in social policy areas. Rhetorically, Johnson talked a good deal about "creative federalism" and called for cooperation and partnership between federal, state, and local governments. But McKay agrees with Welborn and Burkhead that Johnson was seemingly unaware of the severe and numerous problems that developed. Programs that were genuinely innovative, such as model cities, often ignored local bureaucracies and professionals and were usually insensitive to local governments. As a result, such programs were short-lived. In sum, the Great Society's focus was on legislation, not on implementation and institutional reform.

After examining intergovernmental relations and welfare policies under Johnson, Richard Nixon, Jimmy Carter, and Ronald Reagan (Gerald Ford was excluded because of his short tenure and because he inherited Nixon's agenda), McKay concludes that the institutional, ideological, and political pressures of the New Deal agenda remain, albeit in somewhat modified form. No new political party or movement has emerged, however, to replace the New Deal-inspired dominance of the Democratic party. The resulting political fragmentation allowed presidents—with the notable exception of Carter—to be more assertive in formulating domestic programs. To do so they relied much more heavily on aides and experts than on leaders in their political parties or permanent federal

officials. Of the four administrations surveyed, McKay regards the first-term domestic measures proposed by Nixon and his team of high-quality advisers as the most coherent and carefully prepared.

During the period examined, presidential control over the use of so-called adaptation strategies increased. For example, party cues weakened, giving the chief executives greater freedom regarding key appointments. And institutional reforms, such as the Civil Service Act of 1978, continued to centralize power in the White House.

McKay maintains that two of the four presidents—Johnson and Reagan—exercised effective leadership over the social policy agenda, though their ideological objectives differed. None of the four chief executives brought about fundamental reform. Reagan failed to provide substantive policy content or coherence. But he demonstrated that the use of ideology and leadership could shape dramatically the domestic agenda, something future presidents will almost certainly not forget.

JIM F. HEATH
Portland State University

ALICE ECHOLS. *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967–1975*. Foreword by ELLEN WILLIS. (American Culture.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1989. Pp. xix, 416. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$14.95.

Radical feminism, largely overlooked in both the histories of the 1960s and the writings on the modern women's movement, provided the shock troops for feminism in the 1980s; its intellectual, political, and emotional energy infused the national movement at every level. To help us understand the character of its legacy, Alice Echols vividly reconstructs the origins of radical feminism, the debates among its diverse exponents, and its precipitous decline. Echols offers here a history of the ideas of radical feminism and of the fractures those ideas produced within the movement, focusing chiefly on the well-known writers and speakers based in New York City. Ironically, therefore, this is a story of the "leaders" in an enterprise so committed to egalitarianism and participation—so opposed to the idea of hierarchy and leaders—that "stars" were censured if not purged.

Echols has organized her story around the major splits: between newly aware feminists and their male colleagues in the campaign for social justice; between radical women who defined the problem as capitalism and those who defined it as patriarchy; between political lesbians, who viewed heterosexuality as a source of oppression, and heterosexual women, who condemned lesbianism as an isolationist, "personal" solution. Her final chapter considers the ultimate divide between feminists who resolved to eliminate gender as a significant political and economic category and those who sought to celebrate what they regarded as women's

intrinsic qualities and to win cultural and political endorsement for them.

Throughout these struggles, both radical and liberal feminists, apprehensive about splintering the new undertaking along class or race lines, preached a doctrine of sisterhood that refused to concede the importance of material differences among women. But, as Echols chronicles, lesser ideological distinctions abounded, and they generated a toxic level of hostility. Radical feminist groups split up over such questions as whether women's behavior was psychologically or economically motivated; whether consciousness-raising was useful; whether human beings required sexual release of any kind; whether monogamy worked for or against women.

In the end, Echols argues, the inability of radical feminism to craft a coherent ideology that acknowledged class differences, that tolerated enough structure to function organizationally, and that countenanced ideological and cultural diversity scattered the radical forces and left the standard to liberal feminists to carry.

As Echols notes, the secondary literature on radical feminism is sparse (although, unaccountably, she fails to draw on *The Politics of Women's Liberation*, Jo Freeman's respected work published in 1975). To advantage, however, she has based her account on a wide range of movement publications and interviews with participants.

A relationship Echols asserts but does not explicate—the nexus between radical and liberal feminism—warrants fresh examination as a complement to Echols's study, as do the many alternative institutions and communities radical feminists created across the country. But this fine and sympathetic interpretation of the origin and evolution of radical feminism will give students of women's history a glimpse of the passion of those hours and help explain why a new order did not emerge from them.

CYNTHIA HARRISON
Federal Judicial History Office
Federal Judicial Center,
Washington, D.C.

ROBERT W. SMITH. *The Space Telescope: A Study of NASA, Science, Technology, and Politics*. Assisted by PAUL A. HANLE et al. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. xviii, 478. \$39.50.

As a recent example of "Big Science," the Hubble Space Telescope displays many of the characteristics of large-budget projects. One unique aspect of this program, however, was the creation of the Space Telescope History Project in 1982 to record the development of the telescope. Robert W. Smith's engrossing account, published more than a year before the successful launch of the instrument, is the result of this five-year study. Based on the author's interviews with

participants and access to details as they developed, this volume provides rare insight into the operation of federally funded science.

Although plans for an orbiting telescope existed as early as 1946, astronomers remained skeptical of such a project until the 1960s, when the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) initiated plans for a large space telescope. From the beginning, the space agency's goals and politics determined the design of the instrument and created many of the problems that plagued the program. Equally damaging, the space telescope emerged during the beginning of the post-Apollo letdown, leading to numerous compromises and cutbacks to keep costs low. In an effort to convince Congress and the White House to support the space telescope, astronomers acted as lobbyists and publicists to "sell" the project to those who held political power. Smith stresses that this activity is part of the reality of Big Science and provides an excellent discussion of how such projects are budgeted and funded. Throughout the mid-1970s, supporters of space astronomy revised plans and designs to make the space telescope politically feasible, gaining congressional approval of the project in 1977. As Smith makes clear, however, the space telescope was "both oversold and underfunded" (p. 186).

By 1980, the reality of the instrument's complexity had led to financial and management difficulties that threatened the space telescope. Although changes in management and institutional relationships corrected many difficulties, the project remained mired in problems. Lockheed, which had been chosen in part because of its experience with photoreconnaissance satellites (another cost-saving measure), proved unable to apply its assembly-line perspective to the space telescope. Failure to meet deadlines came as no surprise. *The Challenger* disaster delayed the launch schedule even further, although this delay provided the opportunity to correct many of the problems discovered during testing.

The history of the space telescope provides many lessons concerning science policy and science politics, which Smith perceptively summarizes in his last chapter. The political realities of federal funding forced telescope supporters to promise too much for too little, a situation that underlay most of the project's difficulties. Smith also stresses more fundamental questions raised by the space telescope. At what point do Big Science projects become less cost-effective than a series of smaller projects? Given congressional and White House views of science, will small projects be seriously considered, or will decision makers continue to demand the multiple payoffs that characterize Big Science? Such questions remain crucial to the future of American science policy and require carefully formulated answers that are currently absent. This volume provides a valuable case study of the ad hoc decision making that, in contrast, guides the politics of modern

science and presents a sobering analysis of the dangers such decisions create.

GEORGE E. WEBB

Tennessee Technological University

EDWARD TABOR LINENTHAL. *Symbolic Defense: The Cultural Significance of the Strategic Defense Initiative*. Foreword by PAUL BOYER. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1989. Pp. xix, 139. \$19.95.

This little book will be most appreciated by students of American cultural history who examine the meaning of symbols. In it, Edward Tabor Linenthal, who authored *Changing Images of the Warrior Hero in America* (1982), does not directly study the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), the missile defense system that was to employ a vast array of high-tech defenses against nuclear missiles. Rather, he examines strategic defense ideology and the ways in which supporters and opponents of SDI employed visionary images to advance their partisan views. Linenthal uses a variety of sources effectively, including editorial commentary, television newscasts, and cartoons, which occupy nearly half of the book's pages.

In addition to a brief foreword by Paul Boyer, whose *By the Bomb's Early Light* (1985) examined the impact of the atomic bomb on American culture, the book consists of three chapters and a short conclusion that reflects on the enduring appeal of President Ronald Reagan's "Grand Vision"—the nostalgic belief that the United States has the technical ability to overcome its vulnerability to nuclear attack. The first chapter summarizes the response to Reagan's call for a defense shield in March 1983. Chapter 2 reviews the construction of a strategic defense ideology that centered on technological miracles. In this New Age ideology, SDI became a third path of missile defense, morally superior to both deterrence and disarmament. Functioning as a shield rather than a sword, SDI would at once ward off hostile agents and conquer the final frontier of space, thus returning America to its prenuclear security.

Chapter 3 is given to SDI opponents, who struck back hard. They argued that throughout history "war, not peace, came from qualitative leaps in weapons systems" (p. 72), that it was technological hubris to assume not only that SDI would work perfectly but that it held the key to a humane and peaceful world. Various critics argued that for Reagan, a technological infant, Star Wars (as SDI was popularly known) worked as a kind of security blanket, a vision already evident in one of the president's early movies (*Murder in the Air* [1940]), which featured an "Inertial Projector" that destroyed enemy aircraft by invisible rays.

Even in a book devoted to symbolism, concrete data must be employed. An introduction provides a brief historical framework for SDI, reaching back to the "bomber gap" of the 1950s, but readers gain little sense of the growing debate over the manufacture and

deployment of nuclear weapons in the early 1980s—for example, the spread of the nuclear freeze movement, which emerged to counter Reagan's military buildup. To better understand the cartoons, readers need to be reminded that, for many Reaganauts, SDI reflected less a love of peace than the "lust for hegemony," as the editors of *Christianity and Crisis* (May 14, 1984) put it. Linenthal does not analyze what impression the critics made on the president or whether he changed his mind on the alleged superior nuclear striking capacity of the Soviets. Nor does the author explore the nature of the nuclear world (despite the title to chapter 3) or of America's role in that world. Without attention to these matters, the "symbolic war" over SDI loses some of the power and cultural resonance that it might otherwise have had.

RONALD LORA

University of Toledo

CANADA

M. BROOK TAYLOR. *Promoters, Patriots, and Partisans: Historiography in Nineteenth-Century English Canada*. Buffalo: University of Toronto Press. 1989. Pp. x, 294. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$17.95.

This is a book about history before historians or, to be more accurate, about the rise and use of history in Canada in the years before the first academic appointments in the discipline. Covering the period from early English settlement until the late nineteenth century, M. Brook Taylor posits a series of distinct stages in the evolution of historical writing. In the late eighteenth century, promoters seeking either to encourage settlement or to defend their own interests wrote tracts that included historical sketches. Then, as the colonies developed a sense of place, those in them sought to explain and justify the nature of their colonies, often criticizing British policy along the way. Most important, however, was the rise in Upper Canada (later Ontario) of a comprehensive theory of political development that sought to assert a "national interpretation" of the years surrounding the confederation of the colonies in 1867. The Confederation allowed the national school to look on the past as a well-defined prelude to the nation-state. These historical stages brought about increasing sophistication of analysis and integration of sources. Taylor also argues, however, that the national school of amateurs fell into disarray by the end of the nineteenth century. First, the Maritimes successfully resisted the national school, turning instead to such local historical concerns as the expulsion of the Acadians. Even in central Canada, however, political division, acrimony, and a loss of direction beset the amateurs by the end of the nineteenth century. The professionals thus arrived on stage at a time when amateur history was vulnerable and easily supplanted.

This is an interesting thesis and an interesting book on the use and abuse of history. Much of the historical

writing was obviously bad by modern standards. As Taylor makes clear, there was wholesale plagiarism by authors of earlier works. Even that was preferable to those who seemed to write from no sources at all. There were also good histories, however, at least given the limitations of the times. Many authors diligently rummaged through government documents and old newspapers. Others interviewed sources at great length. Several volumes were well written. At their best the so-called amateurs were as capable as the professionals who succeeded them. Taylor has a sure feel for textual analysis and an excellent turn of phrase that allows him to bring these qualities out. The gentleman scholars whom he is analyzing would have been impressed by his literary ability and probably disturbed by his ability to dissect their underlying purpose.

Although this is a solid book throughout, some parts are more convincing than others. Most impressive is Taylor's recounting of the way in which partisan political viewpoints captured historical writing and created that "national school" of history in central Canada. Somewhat less convincing is the author's account of the convenient collapse of amateur historical writing on the eve of the new professionalism of the late nineteenth century. I am not sure from my own readings in the era that the crisis was quite as deep as he would have it. It is also unfortunate that the author decided to exclude writers from the West. Although the West was settled relatively late, it had a strong tradition of amateur historical writing by the later nineteenth century. Those points aside, this is an informative and useful addition to our understanding both of Canadian historical writing and of the nineteenth-century sensibility.

DOUG OWRAM
University of Alberta

DAVID MACKENZIE. *Canada and International Civil Aviation, 1932-1948*. Buffalo: University of Toronto Press. 1989. Pp. x, 314. \$40.00.

David MacKenzie specializes in Canadian diplomatic and political history in the 1930s and 1940s. His previous book dealt with Newfoundland joining the Canadian Confederation in 1949. In this volume MacKenzie focuses on the period from 1932, when Quebec's challenge to the national government's authority over civil aviation was rejected, to 1948, by which time the basic ground rules of international civil aviation had been determined. The book details "the efforts made to establish an international system for the regulation and operation of international air services and the role played by Canadians in its development" (p. 5). MacKenzie treats international civil aviation as an element of government policy and weaves a complex tapestry of the relations between the bureaucratic and political levels of government (with modest success) and Canada's relations with the United States and the United Kingdom (more effectively).

The story culminates at the Chicago International Civil Aviation Conference in November 1944. After a long build-up focusing on Canada's role as an honest broker between the British and Americans (including a lengthy chapter from the perspectives and archives of those powers), the issue was joined at the conference. Britain, with perhaps 12 percent of commercial air traffic in 1945, confronted the United States, with over 70 percent. To try to ensure British competitiveness after the war, the U.K. delegation, led by the rude, arrogant Lord Swinton, sought to establish a multilateral organization that would not only provide technical uniformity but also allocate routes, rates, and frequency of service. The Americans successfully resisted and argued for bilateral negotiation of routes and services. By stalemating the conference, they rendered that outcome inevitable and, dealing from a position of strength, subsequently gained a lion's share of traffic for the United States. The British essentially joined the Americans at their two-nation Bermuda Conference in January 1946, made the best of their not inconsiderable strengths, abandoned their pleas for empire solidarity, and left the Canadians and other Commonwealth countries to fend for themselves.

Much of the book is devoted to discussing battles over the "five freedoms" of aviation, an important but somewhat esoteric dispute that often leaves the reader bumping into trees but lacking a sense of the forest. Fortunately, appendixes have the texts of various agreements and lists of the freedoms, and the reader is directed there at appropriate points in the narrative. For someone with only casual interest in the subject, however, perusing the last four pages of the book would reveal the essence of MacKenzie's story and save considerable time.

American readers may be struck by similarities between the Canadian and American experience that are common knowledge north of the border. Both countries used airport construction as a relief measure in the 1930s, and both pursued a policy of cooperation but not commitment in international affairs. Likewise, Canada found aviation challenging its aloofness from the world even as the United States did; MacKenzie suggests that air flight, possibly as much as the war itself, ended American isolation forever.

The author has done a good job of research in Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, and Ireland, drawing on the appropriate archives and conducting a number of interviews. His writing is competent, although he fails to bring to life most of his characters, even C. D. Howe, Canada's first Minister of Transport and the most omnipresent and admirable figure in the book. The book thoroughly covers its relatively narrow topic. The University of Toronto Press, unfortunately, detracts somewhat from the presentation with a number of typographical errors, an annoying, unorthodox use of dashes, and the use of half-size capital letters for abbreviations, which makes "US" or "UK" fade into the text instead of standing out. Still, such caveats aside, the book is generally

attractively done and will be a basic source for scholars interested in Canada's impressive role in the emergence of the international civil aviation scene we know today.

JOHN R. M. WILSON
Southern California College

LATIN AMERICA

ROBERT M. LEVINE. *Images of History: Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century Latin American Photographs as Documents*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 216. \$72.50.

Historians have traditionally used photographs primarily as illustrations, and frequently their content has contradicted the thesis of a publication that was derived from literary sources. In recent decades there has been an increasing consciousness of photographs as documents with potentials distinct from written records, yet little formal training is available to historians to aid them in understanding the peculiarities of the medium. Robert M. Levine attempts to provide such systematic instruction for scholars of Latin America. The first half of his book is a survey of the history of Latin American photography with special emphasis on the distinct cultural values that adapted the new medium to the peculiarities of neocolonial societies. This distillation is perhaps the best yet published for the entire region and represents the work of photographic historians who have emerged in the various republics in the past fifteen years. The book is well documented and can serve as a guide to the current literature in the field. There are several inaccurate or misleading statements in the text that betray the author's dependence on specialists in the history of photography and some outdated publications, but none of these errors distracts from the basic soundness of the text as an introduction for nonspecialists. Lacking is a sense of urgency with regard to building a research base for biographies of the photographers; biographies could provide insights into intentions and political attitudes. Without such information we can easily be misled in interpreting images.

The second half of the book is devoted to an extensive and systematic reading of images, giving specific visual examples to illustrate each point. The ideas here reflect the thinking of various critics of photography, and the examples make the concepts easy to grasp and extendible to other cases. Each stylistic and historical point is further explored with consideration for class, gender, and ethnicity. A good example is the portrait of nineteen "Pernambucan representatives of the first sugar conference" in Brazil in 1902, which contrary to all known written documents and commentaries includes a black among the elite delegation (p. 76).

The poor quality of reproduction in the book is equally instructive. The author repeatedly points to the need to work with the richness of detail in original photographic prints, but the illustrations in this publica-

tion fail to convey that richness, which is precisely one of the most important qualities of photographs. Economic struggles with publishers are no less the responsibility of the historian than the accurate reading of the visual documentation, and no historian should attempt to study photographs from poor reproductions.

In this second section, the author becomes an example of precisely the errors that he seeks to help others avoid, which only strengthens the need for such publications as this one. In his zeal to find relevance to slavery in a studio portrait of a black, he mistakenly takes for "iron fetters" the base of a metal posing support, which was standard in photographic studios (p. 149). In explaining a view of a Brazilian church, he confuses the standard symbols of the passion scene on an outdoor cross with ex-voto offerings. Such misreadings by an astute critic of photographs-as-documents should suggest caution to all of us using visual documentation and make this book a must for all area specialists.

KEITH MCELROY
University of Arizona,
Tucson

TIMOTHY E. ANNA. *The Mexican Empire of Iturbide*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1990. Pp. xii, 286. \$39.50.

Timothy E. Anna, author of works on Mexico City during the war of independence and the demise of Spain's empire in Peru and elsewhere in America, now turns his attention to the ephemeral empire of Agustín de Iturbide, Mexico's liberator in 1821. Throughout this contentious and tendentious work, Anna insists that Iturbide's contemporary enemies and, with few exceptions, nineteenth- and twentieth-century Mexican historians have demonized Iturbide. According to Anna, they have dismissed him as a traitor, a usurper, a tyrant, and a fraud, reducing him to the status of Mexico's "most significant non-person" (p. x). There is nothing novel about Anna's charges. Almost forty years ago, William Spence Robertson, in the epilogue of his exhaustively researched and objective biography of Iturbide, commented on the intense prejudice against Iturbide in Mexico. Robertson lamented that, while the liberators Simón Bolívar and José de San Martín were universally praised, some Mexican historians utterly failed to appreciate Iturbide. Others, Robertson observed, took sides either as bitter critics or as impassioned champions of Mexico's liberator.

Anna joins the list as an impassioned champion of Iturbide, and the emperor's contemporary critics and historians critical of him are treated by Anna as tennis balls, to be knocked down at every opportunity. Anna's main thesis appears to be that Iturbide really wanted to be a constitutional monarch but was thwarted in his effort by his enemies in and out of Congress. Yet Anna admits that, within weeks of his coronation, Iturbide

shut down opposition newspapers, violated the idea of parliamentary immunity, jailed sixty-seven opponents (some of whom were innocent of any crime), sought to militarize justice on the local level, and insisted on an absolute veto. And finally, in October 1822, Iturbide dismissed the elected Constituent Congress and replaced it with a handpicked Instituent Congress, which he ignored when he chose members of a new Supreme Court.

Anna rightly concludes that, in dissolving the First Constituent Congress, Iturbide made a fatal mistake, which, combined with his financial extravagance and unpopular measures to raise revenue through forced loans, a poll tax on all adults, and a 40 percent property tax, led to his precipitous fall by March 1823. Unable to maintain the army's loyalty and abandoned by all but a few stalwart friends, Iturbide abdicated the throne and went into exile in Europe. Having made a number of costly mistakes during his brief reign, Iturbide made the costliest mistake of his life in early 1824 when, at the urging of friends in Mexico, he hastily returned to his country only to discover, too late, that he had been proscribed by the reassembled First Constituent Congress. On July 19, 1824, Iturbide displayed remarkable courage and stoicism (no one could ever accuse him of being a coward) as he met death before a firing squad in Padilla, Tamaulipas. Although Anna succeeds in convincing us of the pathos of Iturbide's death, he will probably convince few of his readers that his hero's reputation was destroyed not by his own actions but by the machinations of his foes and by the biased writing of contemporary and later historians.

ANNA MACIAS
Ohio Wesleyan University

DARRELL E. LEVI. *Michael Manley: The Making of a Leader*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1990. Pp. 349. \$29.95.

This is an excellent book. It is well researched and clearly presented. The specialist and the general reader alike will learn a great deal about modern Jamaican politics and the background and thinking of Michael Manley. Darrell E. Levi is sympathetic toward his subject, setting the interpretive framework, but he provides a full accounting of Manley's life and deeds, enabling the reader to make an independent judgment.

Michael Manley is a strong personality. He was reared for politics. The author suggests, however, that despite his own charisma, Manley perceived himself to be in the shadow of his statesman father, Norman, although he may have been influenced equally by his artist mother, Edna. Growing up in a middle-class, "brown," activist family, Manley was made sensitive to the injustices of Jamaican society but did not experience them firsthand. Manley's service in the Royal Canadian Air Force during World War II (1943-45) and study (the London School of Economics) and

residence in England from 1945 to 1951 further developed a broad perspective of the Jamaican condition. The author does not write that Manley was out of touch with Jamaica's black majority, but the reader may conclude that intellectual and emotional influences were dominant in shaping Manley's political beliefs. Although Manley's work in trade unionism during the 1950s gave him grass-roots experience, critics viewed his practice as prime minister of physically participating in works projects as patronizing.

Levi deftly places the personality of Manley within the economic, political, and social context of Jamaica. He emphasizes politics most but does not neglect social aspects, particularly the conditions in the Kingston housing projects that have engendered extensive gang warfare and violence in recent Jamaican history. As prime minister from 1972 to 1980, Manley did not solve Jamaica's perplexing problems and may even have worsened some, but he did articulate issues and mature as a leader.

Manley was visible internationally, which helped and hindered his domestic programs. He caused his tiny country to be noticed and swelled Jamaican pride. But his admiration of Fidel Castro and leadership in the Non-Aligned Movement created friction with the United States, with hints of U.S. economic retaliation and covert intervention by the Central Intelligence Agency. Despite his international stature, Manley's poor relations with the United States contributed to his electoral defeat in 1980.

The stereotype is that historians do not write about living and active political figures. This study is evidence that historians do not have to wait for the passage of time before putting their craft to work. They may illuminate the present as well as the past.

CHARLES D. AMERINGER
Penn State University

ROBERT L. PAQUETTE. *Sugar Is Made with Blood: The Conspiracy of La Escalera and the Conflict between Empires over Slavery in Cuba*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1988. Pp. xvi, 346. \$29.95.

Historians have long debated whether a conspiracy to end slavery existed in Cuba in 1844 when the colonial government instituted a reign of terror against the black population and its supporters. The events of 1844, known as *La Escalera* or "the Ladder" (ladders served as whipping posts), are the focal points for this significant scholarly work. Robert L. Paquette's thoroughly researched and documented book goes far beyond "the Year of the Lash" (1844) as it explores the social, political, and economic dimensions of sugar production in nineteenth-century Cuba.

In 1842, Cuba received a stricter slave law. Slave rebellions broke out on the island during the next two years. The Spanish crackdown entailed the beating of hundreds of suspected rebels and the execution of dozens, including the well-known free mulatto poet

Plácido. Also implicated was prominent liberal intellectual José de la Luz y Caballero, who rejected the idea that what existed in government, slavery included, expressed divine desire. The former British consul in Havana, David Turnbull, was convicted (in absentia) of being the prime mover behind the conspiracy.

This topically organized book begins with a strong chapter on the historiography of *La Escalera*, followed by a vivid portrayal of plantation life and astute assessments of the problems of land, color, and class. The author then ties transatlantic politics and diplomacy to the slavery question, explains the role of Turnbull in the antislavery movement, and studies the potential for the Africanization of Cuba and annexation to the United States.

The writer points out that, to Cuba's liberals, progress meant extension of individual freedom to whites. He notes that the denial of freedom to blacks prevented political freedom for Cuba's planters, who used the concept of imperial authority to justify slavery. Paquette finds that Turnbull, as a member of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, was dedicated to spreading the gospel of abolition and viewed democratic revolution as inevitable. The author asserts that leading an antislavery movement and engaging in ideological intervention enabled Britain to expand its financial interests under the guise of humanitarianism. He tends to view the slave revolts as part of the Age of Democratic Revolution—a move toward liberal restructuring of society, not just the end of slavery.

The book (the title is an expression used by Cuban planters) weaves rich descriptions, enlightening anecdotes, and perspicacious examinations into a cohesive work that in places reads like a good novel. The author uses class analysis to illustrate how the seigneurial values of Spain transferred to Cuba, how the nobility, the military, Catholicism, and pure-blood counted, and how people of color sought to whiten their progeny to enable them to advance socially. He demonstrates the deep roots of racism in Cuba and clearly delineates the attitudes of Cuba's slaves, free blacks, mulattos, and slave owners. Paquette's analyses make those familiar with contemporary Cuba marvel at how much racism has been overcome since 1959.

Currently, most historians in Cuba view *La Escalera* as Spanish persecution to prevent slave insurrections but reject a conspiracy theory. No consensus on the matter exists among historians in the United States. For example, in his respected *Slave Society in Cuba during the Nineteenth Century* (1970), Franklin Knight stated that no conspiracy existed, whereas Arthur Corwin, in his solid *Spain and the Abolition of Slavery in Cuba* (1967), claimed that there probably was a conspiracy. Paquette, supported by new evidence, concludes that the Spanish moved to crush general unrest fomented by the British led by Turnbull and that not one but several converging conspiracies existed.

The author maintains that *La Escalera* helped perpetuate slavery and destroyed the abolitionist movement led by members of the petty bourgeoisie and the

intelligentsia. As a result of *La Escalera*, "Northern expansionists" and "Southern particularists" (p. 265) in the United States became more concerned about British imperialism in Texas, and southerners fearing the Africanization of Cuba found it easier to confer with Cuban whites about annexation.

Paquette's lively narrative combined with critical social commentary will please most historians. His omission of a bibliography may not. By using all available tools, except quantification, he has written a masterful revisionist history of slavery in Cuba, one that should endure.

SHELDON B. LISS
University of Akron

LOUIS A. PEREZ, JR. *Lords of the Mountain: Social Banditry and Peasant Protest in Cuba, 1878–1918*. (Pitt Latin American Series.) Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1989. Pp. xvii, 267. \$29.95.

ROSALIE SCHWARTZ. *Lawless Liberators: Political Banditry and Cuban Independence*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1989. Pp. x, 297. \$44.50.

Extraordinary numbers of bandits operated in the Cuban countryside in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In exploring the social and political significance of Cuban banditry, these two books by Louis A. Pérez, Jr., and Rosalie Schwartz come to contradictory conclusions.

Pérez argues that Cuban banditry was social banditry in the sense described by Eric Hobsbawm in *Primitive Rebels* (1959) and *Bandits* (1969). According to Pérez, the upsurge of banditry in Cuba coincided with the expansion of the sugar plantations that devoured peasant communities, producing desperation during the depression of 1885 and during the U.S. occupation from 1898 to 1902. Symptomatic of the crisis of peasant society, banditry followed the spread of sugar from west to east. Pérez stresses that the acute social tensions that gave rise to banditry found more direct outlets in the Cuban war for independence in the 1890s and in the revolts of 1912 and 1917, which, beginning as political conflicts, soon turned into peasant jacqueries. The phenomenon of banditry and the revolts of 1912 and 1917 expressed the country folk's desire to expel the sugar planters and return to the more communal, egalitarian ways of the past.

Written in clear, vivid prose, *Lords of the Mountain* is worth reading for its description of the impact of the sugar economy on rural Cuba; the agrarian policies and consequences of the U.S. military occupation; and the history of Oriente province, where Fidel Castro later found his base of rural support. The book is less satisfying, though, in its interpretation of banditry. The author provides little information on the organization of traditional Cuban rural society, the social origins of the bandits, their relations to the peasants, or the nature and targets of their actions. Pérez's material suggests that there was a correlation between sugar

expansion, deterioration in rural living standards, and a high incidence of banditry, but the explanatory connections are not made.

This vagueness stems in part from the author's use of sources from above to do history from below. Although Pérez draws a graphic picture of socioeconomic and demographic change from Cuban and U.S. archives, he has not located the judicial and police records that have proved essential in illuminating the social dimensions of banditry in other countries. Nor does Pérez address the questions raised by critics of Hobsbawm's notion of social banditry: Were bandits more concerned with personal advancement than with defending the traditional community? Did they ally more with landlords and merchants than with the rural poor? Were they idealized, and, if so, did the myths correspond to reality? Without more concrete information and a more rigorous analysis that takes Hobsbawm and his critics into account, Pérez's argument that Cuban bandits expressed the resistance of the peasantry against capitalism remains a plausible interpretation with some important pieces missing.

In contrast to Pérez's concern with banditry and peasant protest, Schwartz explores the connections between banditry and political insurrection, specifically the contribution that Cuban bandits made to the struggle for independence. To this end, Schwartz makes effective use of the intelligence reports gathered by the last Spanish governors of Cuba, reports in Spanish archives that provide intimate glimpses of bandit lives. Her book focuses on the period between the two Cuban wars for independence (1878–95) and on western Cuba, specifically Havana province. Schwartz finds not only that endemic banditry did challenge Spanish authority but also that some bandits were in direct contact with exiled separatists and made significant financial contributions to the independence cause. Schwartz writes an engrossing narrative of the bandits, the plotting exiles, and the repressive Spanish colonial rulers, culminating in the uprising of 1895.

Schwartz's portrayal of the role of bandits in late nineteenth-century Cuba differs significantly from that of Pérez. Schwartz explicitly rejects the social banditry interpretation. She challenges Pérez's assertion that bandits emerged mainly in areas where the process of land concentration was most acute. Large, medium, and small properties in Havana province were interspersed, and there was no marked tendency toward property concentration in the 1880s. Several famous bandits came from tobacco towns. Thus, the relation between sugar, land concentration, and the inception of banditry becomes problematic. Schwartz emphasizes that Cuba in the late nineteenth century had virtually no traditional rural sector. It was, she says, a frontier society of restless, migrant people who sought economic opportunity and valued wealth and mobility. She portrays the bandits as individualistic, self-made men who put together support networks composed of landlords, plantation administrators, and merchants, as well as peasants and rural wage laborers. According to

Schwartz, the bandits were admired not because they defended the rural poor but because they acted on the dreams of wealth and power shared by all Cubans.

Schwartz is particularly informative on bandit support networks, and she is much more concrete than Pérez on what the bandits actually did. But there are some problems with her book as well. First, although Schwartz tells us that "brigand-patriots" were important in Cuba in the interwar years, she mentions only two gangs and discusses but one bandit, Manuel García, in detail. The reader is left wondering how widespread political banditry was. Furthermore, Schwartz is unable to shed much light on the political ideas of the bandit-patriots and the political images that they and the opposition newspapers that publicized their exploits communicated to sympathizers. Apparently Schwartz's sources do not allow her to determine whether political bandits espoused a sense of Cuban nationality that superseded the intense regionalism of the first independence revolt. Nor is she able to analyze the racial dimension of bandit support and political mobilization. Finally, although Schwartz's work contributes to the critique of the social banditry model, she does not fully draw out the theoretical implications of her case study. Regrettably, she does not relate her findings to the more general definition of political, as opposed to social, banditry advanced by Gonzalo Sánchez and Donny Meertens in their book on Colombian banditry.

To conclude, it is fortunate that the two books reviewed here were published in the same year. Both are well written and contain fascinating material. Taken together they focus attention on the relation between socioeconomic factors and political revolt in the independence period. One would wish that both authors had examined their material more rigorously within the comparative analytical framework of bandit studies. But certainly by focusing attention on the important bandit phenomenon in Cuba and through their differences of interpretation, they open interesting avenues for research.

CATHERINE LEGRAND
Queen's University

TZVI MEDIN. *Cuba: The Shaping of Revolutionary Consciousness*. Translated by MARTHA GRENZBACK. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner. 1990. Pp. viii, 191.

The origins of the Cuban revolution have been the subject of debate and dispute. For some, the revolution began in 1959, when a mobilized Cuban population ousted Fulgencio Batista and Fidel Castro took power. Others point to 1933 as the beginning, when a nationalist reform government was frustrated by an army coup. Still others advance the years 1895–98, a time of heroic revolutionary struggle for independence that ended in U.S. intervention and occupation. Some suggest that the Ten Years War (1868–78) set in motion the forces that culminated one hundred years later in

revolution, when a massive national uprising against slavery and colonialism ended in failure and defeat.

This is not a debate simply about periodization formats. Each claim raises larger issues, each of which contains a subtext in the form of a point of view about the character of the revolution. The choice of 1959, for example, represents a conservative perspective and implies the notion of a political movement seized, subverted, and betrayed by communists. The argument for 1933 is made by liberals and advances the proposition of a frustrated nationalism as the driving force of the Cuban revolution. The case for 1868–78 and 1895–98 is made by radicals and alludes to the revolution as a social phenomenon, that is, a revolution possessed of structural and historical origins.

Tzvi Medin begins his study in 1959. He focuses explicitly on the early efforts of Castro's government to create a revolutionary consciousness—through education, film, literature, theater, music, historiography, the army, and mass organizations. These efforts had as their objective the mobilization of vast sectors of the population behind the policies and programs of the new regime. The process, Medin argues, involved the forging of a national consensus by eliminating competing and potentially divisive alternatives and promoting Manichean constructs from which Cubans were expected to derive an understanding of their reality.

These are not wholly new observations. Similar themes have appeared previously in studies of education, literature, and the armed forces. The originality of this work, however, is its success in isolating and underscoring the importance that Cubans gave to promoting revolutionary consciousness. It was a factor of the highest priority through the 1960s and greatly preoccupied the Cuban leadership. Indeed, the very survival of the regime appeared to depend on the success of promoting a revolutionary spirit.

But, for all of the details about the Cuban campaign for revolutionary consciousness, the book lacks historical perspective and context. Certainly Cuban efforts had much to do with consolidating the internal hegemony of a radical polity. Whatever other functions Manichean devices may have served, and particularly as they involved the United States, they also met urgent needs for survival. These were years during which Cuba was under siege from the United States, including one invasion, several assassination attempts against Cuban leaders, a trade embargo, a campaign of sabotage against production, diplomatic isolation, and a protracted "secret war" waged by the Central Intelligence Agency. For many residents of the island during these years, the notion of good and evil was not at all far-fetched.

Missing, too, is discussion of the larger historical context of the revolution. Indeed, Medin explicitly rejects historical analysis. By using 1959 as the point of departure, he tends to obscure the roots of radical change, that is, the degree to which historical experience and national memory conditioned the political discourse and more than adequately served to predis-

pose Cubans to embrace the vernacular and the vision of radical change. The way in which circumstances, past and present, acted to shape the course of Cuban radicalism must be considered as factors influencing the means and content of revolutionary consciousness. The idiom of revolutionary consciousness was at once a product and a synthesis of that experience.

In new and important ways, Medin's study serves to raise these issues and in this sense makes an important contribution to the literature. He points to suggestive new approaches to the revolution, and for this we are in his debt.

LOUIS A. PEREZ, JR.
University of South Florida

IVÁN JAKSIĆ. *Academic Rebels in Chile: The Role of Philosophy in Higher Education and Politics*. (Latin American and Iberian Thought and Culture.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1989. Pp. xiii, 259.

This book is recommended to scholars interested in the history of ideas and education in Latin America, a woefully neglected field. In particular, specialists on Chile will welcome the careful, thoughtful analysis of the major philosophical currents that have coursed through that nation from independence to the present. They will also appreciate the abundant information on the central intellectual role of the University of Chile, where philosophy held a privileged position. Another virtue of this study is that Iván Jaksic closely relates scholarly debates to political struggles, and he notes comparisons with patterns in the rest of Latin America. Presented in flowing prose, his treatment draws on extensive research in a wide array of primary sources and secondary works.

By Latin American standards, philosophy developed an especially rich and vibrant tradition in Chile. It flourished because of the institutional stability of the national government and university until the military takeover in 1973. Although little known outside of Chile, these philosophers have been prominent actors in that republic's intellectual and political dramas. In addition to the views and careers of mainstream philosophers like Enrique Molina and Jorge Millas, Jaksic examines some key figures who were mainly historians or political thinkers such as Andrés Bello and Francisco Bilbao. He pays special attention to Juan Rivano, his own professor of philosophy who was imprisoned by the armed forces in 1975.

Jaksic traces Chilean philosophy through six historical periods. From the 1820s to 1860s, discussions over church-state relations predominated, producing fertile liberal and conservative schools of thought. The era of positivism between the 1860s and 1910s furthered secular trends that eroded Catholic influences. During the reaction in the 1920s through 1950s against positivism, populism, and Marxism, metaphysical and spiritual concerns gained favor over materialist outlooks. Amidst the conflicts in the 1950s and 1960s over

university reform and politicization, most philosophers retreated into highly specialized, esoteric isolation. In the 1960s and 1970s, governmental battles over the ideological visions of Christian Democrats and Socialists forced philosophers out of their ivory tower. Finally, the experiences of the 1970s and 1980s of military rule over the country and its schools silenced philosophers as well as politicians.

Jaksić concentrates on the evolution of Chilean philosophy within the context of national divisions over religion and politics. Although he notes the tremendous impact of European ideas, he stresses the influence of domestic political and educational issues on Chilean philosophers. In response, they split into two camps: "critics" oriented toward applying their theories to social change in national life and "professionalists" dedicated to cultivating a purely academic discipline of universal scope. This tension between outward-looking engagement and inward-looking reflection always polarized Chilean philosophers. Under the military dictatorship (1973–90), both factions clashed with an "officialist" group devoted to the authoritarian regime. Jaksić ends with the hope that, after the dictatorship, Chilean philosophers will be able to resurrect their independent tradition and once again contribute their opinions to the development of the nation. This study provides the essential background to understand their role in that country's democratic future.

PAUL W. DRAKE
University of California,
San Diego

SUSAN CALVERT and PETER CALVERT. *Argentina: Political Culture and Instability*. (Pitt Latin American Series.) Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1989. Pp. xiv, 327. \$39.95.

Argentina's history has frequently been interpreted in terms of opposing ideological and cultural forces. This concept was established by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, the Argentine pensador and president, in the choice he made famous between civilization and barbarism. Later writers have pitted Buenos Aires against the provinces and creoles against immigrants. The latest variation, postulated by Susan Calvert and Peter Calvert, involves a struggle between the Iberian heritage and European (meaning English and French) influence.

The problem for Argentina lies in the inability of either dispensation to gain supremacy and thus legitimacy. This continuing conflict determines Argentina's political culture and manifests itself in a persistent "instability" (undemocratic institutions and military intervention). Explanations for this condition are found in the particular nature of Argentine history. But the interpretation of that history belongs to a traditional view of political science: the Hispanic past is resistant to change, in contrast to the Anglo-American case. In Argentina, as elsewhere in Latin America, moderniza-

tion has been unable to overcome Spain's political, economic, and social heritage, and attempts to modernize the nation only strengthen the Iberian legacy.

The text begins with an explanation of this Hispanic patrimony and its key ingredient, Catholicism, which are then contrasted with European innovations and liberalism. Succeeding chapters deal with themes of personalism, kinship, commerce and industry, and nationalism, forces seen as subverting political development. The authors' approach is epitomized in their analysis of Argentines' unwillingness to compromise: "Again historical experience has reinforced an existing Hispanic characteristic, and the interaction of Iberian culture with that of Europe has exacerbated the operation of the trait" (p. 150).

Susan Calvert's dissertation, which forms the basis of this study, had its beginnings in the 1960s when the concept of political culture gained currency. Revisions have added more recent citations, but the majority of the documentation dates from more than twenty years ago. From these sources numerous impressionistic quotations are presented as the primary proof of Argentina's governmental incapacity. Although there are interesting and useful summaries of important periods of Argentina's history—for example, the way in which rightist nationalism was fragmented but influential in the 1930s—the sum is far less than the parts. And this work is definitely meant for the specialist, because names and events are brought up in random order, often without any contextual information.

The authors intend to provide an explanation of the current crisis in Argentina, which is presented as the ultimate Latin American paradox: a nation rich in material and human resources condemned to persistent stagnation and violence. Yet the Calverts are no more successful than most others in accounting for Argentina's dilemma. Their view of a political culture, the product of Hispanic historical foundations, gives little hope for change: "Argentina seems to be living entirely in a present determined by various interpretations of the past, not in a present oriented toward the future" (p. 279).

RONALD H. DOLKART
California State University,
Bakersfield

DOUGLAS W. RICHMOND. *Carlos Pellegrini and the Crisis of the Argentine Elites, 1880–1916*. New York: Praeger. 1989. Pp. xi, 206. \$39.95.

This study examines the political career of Carlos Pellegrini with a heavy focus on his two-year presidential term, 1890–92. Douglas W. Richmond does not write a political biography but examines themes important for understanding Argentine history through the eyes and participation of Pellegrini. Richmond suggests that three themes prove Pellegrini's significant influence on Argentina: his efforts to strengthen Argentina's ties to Europe, his commitment to Argentine

nationalism, and his relationships with various Argentine elites. Within these broad areas, Richmond shows Pellegrini's efforts to expand the Argentine economy, to centralize its fiscal system, and to decrease corruption in government. Particularly important was Pellegrini's efforts to establish a national bank, to develop a national currency, and to decrease Argentina's foreign debt. The oligarchy also exercised a tight control over the military and modernized it. Given these successes, the author argues that Pellegrini and his contemporaries more effectively dealt with the political and economic developments of the nation than rulers of twentieth-century Argentina. The middle class, urban workers, and small farmers eventually undermined the rule of the oligarchy because their interests had not been represented. The decline of elite power coincided with political instability.

Richmond has wisely focused his study on the political career of Pellegrini. Within that context one receives an understanding of those political leaders who most directly affected his own career: Leandro Alem, Juárez Cleman, Bernardo de Irigoyen, Bartolomé Mitré, Julio Roca, Dardo Rocha, and Roque Sáenz Peña. The title of the monograph, however, promises more than the book delivers. Although Richmond does define the term "elite," it appears to be a nebulous group. One does not receive a clear picture of how members of the elite thought, how they defined their vision for Argentina, and how they thought the political system

should operate. Nor do the times come through any more clearly, although the author makes an attempt to place Pellegrini within a context.

In his conclusions, Richmond analyzes the legacy of Pellegrini and his generation. Although discussion of the successes and failures of elite rule helps clarify the author's conclusions, coverage of one hundred years of Argentine history in twelve pages can only be superficial. The commentary on the Peronistas and Raúl Alfonsín seems forced and does not strengthen Richmond's thesis that Pellegrini successfully solved Argentine problems that contemporary politicians have failed to handle.

This study is solidly based on primary sources. Particularly impressive is the author's judicious use of secondary materials. The twenty photographs are a delightful addition to the volume. All of the recent works on Carlos Pellegrini have been articles, and a full-length monograph is in order. Furthermore, the examination of Argentine domestic politics in the era of 1880–1916 with the focus on Pellegrini provides a useful perspective. Richmond, maintaining a balanced presentation of Pellegrini, successfully evaluates both his strengths and his weaknesses. His monograph convincingly proves that Pellegrini's role in Argentina has been underestimated.

VERA BLINN REBER
Shippensburg University

Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

PETER KEMPER, editor. *Macht des Mythos—Ohnmacht der Vernunft?* Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch. 1989. Pp. 427. DM 24.80.

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B. JEWSIEWICKI, Présentation. R. ROBIN, L'Histoire orale: Quelques interrogations sur une pratique. G. BALANDIER, L'Anthropologie et les histoires de vie. PH. JOUTARD, L'Erreur et le flou, objets d'histoire. J.-C. DUPONT, Histoire de vie et technologie culturelle. D. BERTAUX, "Eppur si muovono": Le Problème de l'expression des sujets dans le discours des sciences sociales. D. MORIN and F. MONTAL, Sous l'angle de l'identité: Les Récits de vie et les récits de pratiques; De l'individu aux genres. I. BERTAUX-WIAME, Mémoires de la vie quotidienne dans une commune de la Banlieue parisienne. A. SÉGAL, Mémoire collective et communication de l'histoire. CH. LAVILLE, L'Histoire et l'identité des minorités. N. GAGNON, Sur l'analyse des récits de vie. B. JEWSIEWICKI, Le Récit de vie entre la mémoire collective et l'historiographie. J.-M. MORIN, Récits de vie: Oralement; Entretien de J.-M. Morin avec D. Bertaux et B. Jewsiewicki. B. JEWSIEWICKI and F. MONTAL, Ce que d'autres en ont écrit: Un Essai bibliographique.

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Communications

A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editor's discretion. Letters may not exceed seven hundred words for reviews and one thousand words for articles. They should be submitted in duplicate, typed double-spaced with wide margins, and headed "To the Editor."

ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

I have only just seen your issue of February 1989 (*AHR*, vol. 94), in which Philip West ("Interpreting the Korean War," 80–96) referred critically to comments by me in Bruce Cumings's edition of *Child of Conflict* (1983). West wrote: "Halliday offers an extreme version of the volume's anti-American thrust, when he attempts to place the [Korean] war in its 'correct context.' That context is the 'class struggle from 1945 on,' defined in terms of 'political origins, social policies, and the dependence on outside force.' Emerging from that struggle, North Korea has an 'incomparably stronger claim not only to legitimacy, but to represent the Korean people as a whole.'"

Before coming to the misrepresentations and inaccuracies, I would first like to reject the unpleasant adjective "anti-American" as applicable to what I wrote (as well as to the book as a whole, if I may speak for the other contributors—all, I believe, Americans). What I wrote is neither "anti-American" nor "pro-American." In fact, the passages West referred to *are not about America at all*. They are about *Korea*, about how *Korean* political forces appeared at the time *to Koreans*. As a British citizen, may I say that it is a sad day when discussing political forces in a third country is considered "anti-American."

What I wrote was: "If one takes just three basic criteria—political origins, social policies, and degree of dependence on outside forces [*sic*, not as West misquotes me]—the DPRK *had* [*italics added*] an incomparably stronger claim not only to legitimacy, but to represent the Korean people as a whole."

I did not write, as West falsely claimed, that "North Korea *has* an 'incomparably stronger claim'" to legitimacy or to anything else. What I wrote ("the reasons for the [Korean] war—and the nature of the war itself") unmistakably refers to the years 1945–50/53. As

Richard Nixon and Charles de Gaulle can attest, any government can lose its legitimacy.

The point I was raising was: how did Koreans view the two main competing political forces—the regimes headed by Kim Il Sung and Syngman Rhee—*then*? I have no doubt many people in Korea feared and hated Kim Il Sung. Many, perhaps the majority, might have preferred a third way—for instance, that represented by Yo Un-hyong (assassinated in the South in 1947). But this does not alter the fact that in the late 1940s the Northern regime did have a stronger claim than Rhee's (which is all I said) in terms of the three criteria I set out—and it is disgraceful of West to suggest that saying this has anything to do with being "anti-American," which, may I say, strikes me as extraordinarily arrogant.

The historical record shows that, *mutatis mutandis*, the Korean Communists were comparable to the Chinese Communists and Rhee's regime was comparable to that of Chiang Kai-shek. West or I may love or hate the regimes of Kim Il Sung or Syngman Rhee, just as we may love or hate the regimes of Mao Zedong or Chiang Kai-shek. Very few historians, even in darkest Montana, would now think it was off the wall (or "anti-American") to write that "the PRC had [in, say, 1949–53] an incomparably stronger claim [than the KMT] not only to legitimacy, but to represent the Chinese people as a whole." West himself writes: "to most patriotic Chinese, the Communist exercise of power at the time made sense" (p. 91). What many people in China (perhaps the majority?) thought at the time may or may not have been misguided (as, with knowledge of the later evolution of Mao's dictatorship, I believe it was). But it is the historian's task to tell it how it was. There is nothing incompatible or inconsistent in the following statements: "In the late 1940s many (most?) citizens of China/Korea felt that the Communists had greater legitimacy"; and "by four decades later the regime which originally had the lesser legitimacy had provided its citizens with a far higher standard of living and much greater freedoms."

West also grossly misrepresented Barton Bernstein's writing on the prisoner of war issue in Korea (also in *Child of Conflict*). Referencing the passage to Bernstein, West wrote: "The chief American negotiator, Turner Joy, decried the screening process, admitting in his

diaries that the Nationalist Chinese soldiers who were employed in the POW camps to conduct the screening had 'beaten black and blue or killed' those Chinese prisoners who refused voluntary repatriation." But this is not what Joy wrote, not what Bernstein wrote, nor is it true.

What Bernstein wrote is: "When the Nationalist leaders [usually meaning POWs, not KMT 'soldiers'] in the prison compound asked who wished to return to the PRC, Joy recorded in his diary, 'those doing so were either beaten black and blue or killed.'" The prisoners referred to who were beaten and killed were ones who simply said they wanted to go back to the PRC, not prisoners who "refused voluntary repatriation." The fact that he could so travesty Bernstein's perfectly clear passage says little for West's scholarly approach. But perhaps part of the confusion attaches to the term "voluntary repatriation." It was not as simple as its high-sounding name implied. The truth is, as Bruce Cumings and I wrote, "the principle of 'voluntary repatriation' covered both the attempt to enable genuine anti-communists to avoid enforced repatriation and a forcible, often brutal, campaign to compel large numbers of POWs to refuse repatriation" (*Korea: The Unknown War* [New York, 1988], 182).

West mentioned a six-part television series, "Korea: The Unknown War" (p. 84). This was not "based on 250 oral interviews," as he claimed. It was based on research and outlines done by me, with considerable input from Bruce Cumings, the principal historical consultant to the series. West referred to this series as demonstrating the role "nonacademic historians" (whatever that means) can play. Apart from Cumings, we also had help from distinguished experts such as Rosemary Foot, Callum MacDonald, and John Gittings.

West suggested that the series, which was completed in April 1988, would be broadcast by PBS in the spring of 1989; in fact, it was finally aired in the United States only in November 1990. WGBH, the Boston PBS station that was co-producer of the series—and a full party to what they themselves called "the consensus"—spent over two years extensively re-editing the series, changing my commentary without my permission (in fact, even without giving me the right to see what they had changed), excising important information (for example, the Japanese Army background of the ROK military leaders), misrepresenting a number of issues, and generally giving the agreed version a marked tilt in favor of the official positions of the U.S. government. Could I, as a British citizen, legitimately call this "pro-American"?

JON HALLIDAY
London

FILM REVIEWS

TO THE EDITOR:

"A thousand pictures are worth [at least] a thousand words."

Contrary to Thomas Sowell's opinion in the latest *AHR* "Communications" [February 1991, p. 328], your journal needs more film reviews, not less. Leaving the interpretation of visual texts to the Gene Shalits of our cultural life constitutes a willfully dangerous ignorance, as harmful to our historical picture of the past as to the historical awareness of our students. In this age of seven-hours-a-day image consumption, the effort to segregate movies off as unworthy of serious scrutiny is even more misguided than the notion that visual history consists of Hollywood fiction alone. Did Sowell notice that many of the reviews evaluate the vibrant American documentary tradition—scarcely ever mentioned by commentators such as Shalit? By 1991, historians have a right to expect the debate to center on the terms of interpretation of visual history, not the long-since-proven value of visual evidence.

KATHLEEN HULSER
New York University

TO THE EDITOR:

I am writing to congratulate you and the *AHR* on beginning to cover historical film. This is a critical arena at a time when film and video are so important in shaping people's understanding (or misunderstanding) of the past.

Historians who use film and video in teaching, who attempt to counter misperceptions fostered in film and video productions, and the growing number of historians who work with film and video producers as advisers, researchers, and co-producers all need to engage in a more vigorous analysis of this medium of expression. Ignoring it won't make it go away; and serious analysis—of individual films, yes, but, more important, of research approaches and implications of the medium—may enrich discussion of historical methods generally.

Thank you for beginning this task.

PATRICIA AUFDERHEIDE
American University

TO THE EDITOR:

I've just seen Thomas Sowell's snobby little note to the editors regarding the film review section in the journal [*AHR*, 96 (February 1991): 328]. I sincerely hope that there are *not* others who've been protesting about this, as the addition of the film sections is one of the creative directions that have made the *AHR* more interesting again. Please take this as a strong expression of support for your decision to do this, which I see as a welcome broadening of scholarship rather than any "bias" against it.

GEOFF ELEY
University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor

TO THE EDITOR:

I am writing in response to Thomas Sowell's letter to the editor in which he denounces *AHR* film reviews. Anyone whose criterion of "movie" criticism is Gene Shalit obviously knows nothing about the significance of film. Is Sowell's model of historical scholarship *American Heritage*?

SUMIKO HIGASHI
State University of New York,
College at Brockport

TO THE EDITOR:

We live in a society in which people increasingly learn about the past through visual media, especially in film and television, so I was amazed at Thomas Sowell's antediluvian response to the addition of film reviews in the journal. As both an *AHR* author and a filmmaker myself, I think it only appropriate that the journal evaluate all historical production. I will reserve the right to complain about individual reviews of both books and films but am delighted that the profession has finally accepted its responsibility for evaluating historical media. I would even support your continuing to review sociology that professes to be about the past!

DANIEL J. WALKOWITZ
New York University
and Past Time Productions, Inc.

TO THE EDITOR:

I am writing to commend the *American Historical Review* for inaugurating a section devoted to detailed reviews of documentaries and other historical films by scholars familiar with both film as a visual medium and with the historical events such films seek to portray. Robert Rosenstone has assembled an assortment of films from around the world and has accorded each reviewer sufficient space to treat these films in their full complexity.

The inclusion of this section has been long overdue. Historians have been devoting substantial attention to film as a historical artifact for the past two decades, so certainly the journal that serves the broadest segment of the historical community should treat film seriously. Given the volume of our own students' exposure to film and television, it is equally imperative that we provide them with the tools of visual literacy so that they can challenge the historical accuracy and political biases of visual media with the same skill with which they should be prepared to interpret narrative texts. The new film review section has made substantial progress in realizing both goals, and as teachers and scholars we should be grateful for its existence.

LESLIE FISHBEIN
Rutgers University,
New Brunswick

TO THE EDITOR:

I commend the *American Historical Review* for its decision to include a section on film. For the past quarter of a century, I have incorporated films into my Latin American history courses. Those films, fictional and nonfictional, stimulated both the intellect and imagination of the students. I concluded long ago that they enriched my courses. Although films are now almost a century old, students enthusiastically embrace their use as "innovative."

Others have made the case for the historians' use of film far more persuasively than I can. I simply want to congratulate the *Review* for this refreshing innovation. I shall look forward to more lively reviews of and essays on film.

E. BRADFORD BURNS
University of California,
Los Angeles

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

I want to thank Patricia Root Fouquet for praising my economic and diplomatic scholarship in her review of my book, *Hitler and Spain: The Nazi Role in the Spanish Civil War 1936–1939* (1989) [*AHR*, 95 (December 1990): 1528–29].

Unfortunately, she misunderstood what I have to say about the ideologies of Hitler and Franco. I agree with her remark that the ideological link between José Antonio Primo de Rivera and Franco was weak. I did little research on Primo de Rivera and have written little about the chief of the Falange in the book.

What the chapter on ideology tried to do, backed by archival research, was to answer a different question from that which Fouquet pursues. The key ideological problem about Hitler, Franco, and Mussolini during the Spanish Civil War was what they did and said about the Communists.

ROBERT H. WHEALEY
Ohio University, Athens

PATRICIA FOUQUET REPLIES:

Robert Whealey believes I misunderstood his comments on the ideologies of Hitler and Franco, yet his own words suggest he misunderstands the role of anticommunism, not only in the fascist ideology but in Europe in the 1930s. He makes the case that Franco was motivated by anticommunism and used it to his political advantage, and he supports Franco's tactical use of this ideological position. However, he writes as though anticommunism were the essence of fascist ideology, which it is not. Few people would take serious issue with the suggestion that a common opposition to

communism was an important factor in uniting Franco with Hitler and Mussolini, but this community of interest hardly made them ideological brothers. Many Europeans were anticommunist in the 1930s, and appealing to this emotion was a typical tactic almost across the political spectrum. The differences between the fascist leaders and the "reactionary general" remained great, and Whealey suggests no other ideological ties. I suggest that this is because there were none.

My major disagreement with Whealey therefore concerns his statement that Franco "moved closer to the fascist concepts of Hitler and Mussolini" (p. 42). Franco was never a fascist or even a fellow traveler. He was a reactionary who *used* what was left of the fascist party, including its name, after the imprisonment and death of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the martyred leader whom Whealey recognizes as the major ideologist of the party. After appropriating the party organization, Franco restructured the Falange to suit his own conservative views.

Whealey goes on in the same paragraph to identify Ramón Serrano Suñer (Franco's brother-in-law) as the effective leader of the Falange and further states that if "fascism were to win in Spain, Serrano Suñer appeared to be in a key position for the future" (p. 42), implying that Franco's Falange was fascist. Nor was Serrano a fascist. Despite Whealey's reference to him as the Falange party's leader, he not only had no real ties to the early, fascist period of the Falange but he quickly lost influence in the party under Franco after serving as his aide in balkanizing the party beyond salvation. He was installed as party leader by Franco primarily to destroy the ideological base of the party.

Neither Franco nor Serrano Suñer had the kind of

background, personal or political, that would ally him with the fascist cause. Franco was a trained military man, essentially apolitical, in a country with a history of *pronunciamentos* in which the military seized political power until various disorders could be resolved. The major difference between Franco and others who issued such *pronunciamentos* is that Franco encountered much stronger opposition and was forced to use every means at his disposal, including political ones, to offset it. Anticommunism was useful for that purpose, especially when it coincided with the attitude of potential allies.

Although Whealey recognizes Franco's essentially apolitical character, he seems to assume a longstanding relationship between Franco and the Falange, which was not the case. If he had understood that Franco only became involved with the party after the removal of José Antonio, and that Franco never intended to endorse its ideology or implement its goals, he would perhaps not have been led into this ideological morass. He might also have understood that Franco's diplomatic friendship with the two fascist leaders demonstrates a *lack* of ideology rather than an ideological community of interest.

This letter may appear to revolve around a point of minor importance, but I should add that it is symptomatic of our profession's tendency to write more and more about less and less that makes such hair splitting necessary. Where is the historian who can write about the broad sweep of European history in those crucial years of the late 1920s and 1930s without faltering on some similar points?

PATRICIA ROOT FOUQUET
Fayetteville State University

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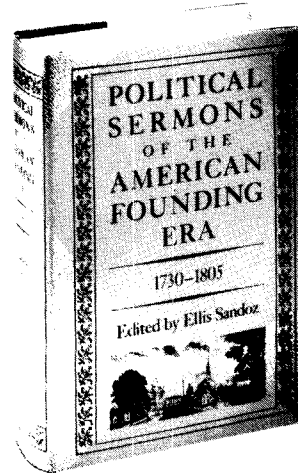
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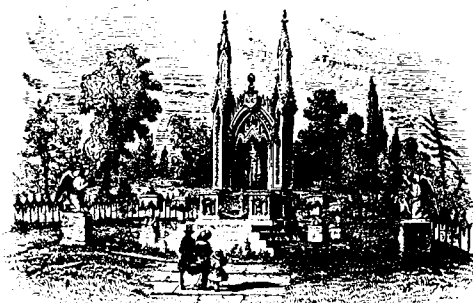
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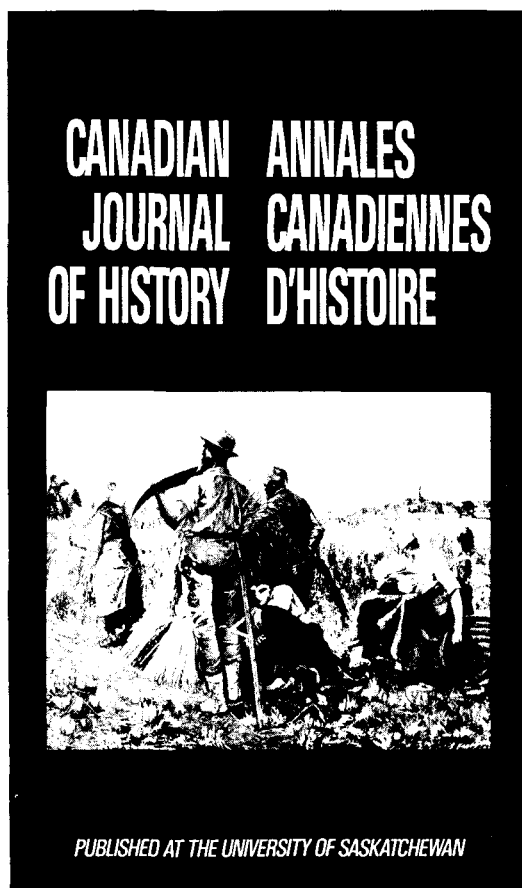
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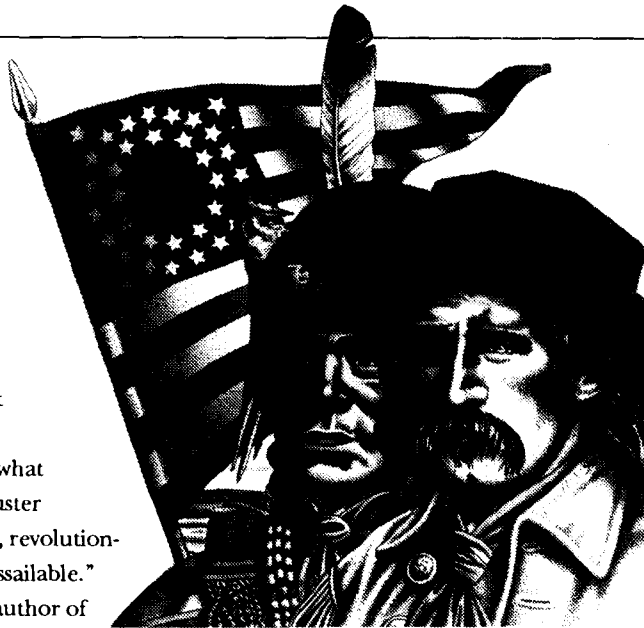
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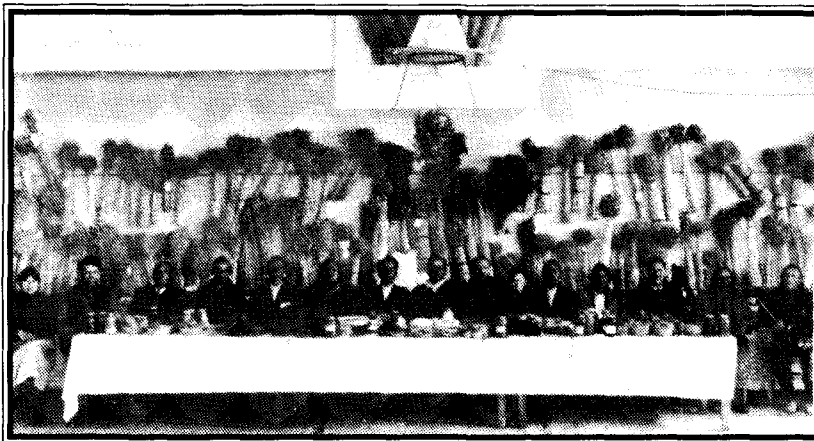
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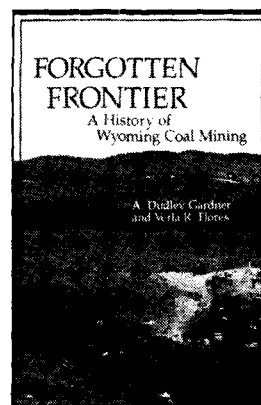
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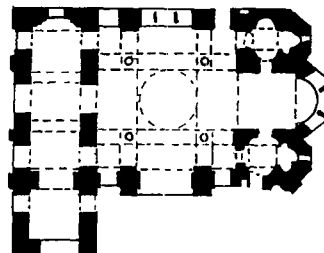
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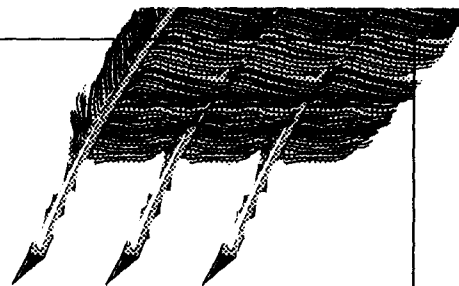
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